CHAPTER II

PRE-COLONIAL URBAN HISTORY
OF MANGALORE
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Location

The geographical location of an area plays a crucial role in the emergence of urban centres. Mangalore assumed its urban status because of its geographical location. The favourable ecological base facilitated its trade and commerce. The development of Mangalore was largely economic in nature and its geography made possible this type of urbanization. Mangalore, one of the important towns of the state of Karnataka, has got its claims to considerable antiquity. Mangalore had a long history of trans-ocean agrarian trade. Its hinterland was well-known for its agricultural prosperity. Mangalore is situated on the confluence of two rivers, the Gurupura and Netravati, which drains into the Arabian sea. It is the headquarter of the South Kanara district and is situated on the western coast of India, about half way between Bombay and Kanyakumari. It is 363 Kms. west of Bangalore, 596 Kms. west of Madras and 673 Kms. south of Bombay. The town lies midway between the ports of Cochin in the south and Mormugao in the north, at latitude 12°55'24"11 north and longitude at 74°46'31"13 east.

Mangalore forms a tongue-like structure, almost the whole of which is sandy, washed by the sea and rivers on the three sides. The city has roughly the shape of a triangle with the apex towards the south. The structure of the river formed a backwater which increased
the navigability of Mangalore port. The heavy south-west monsoon and the broken nature of the region make the rivers sometimes ill-suited for communication. A striking feature of the area is the confluence of two rivers before they join the sea. Rivers run parallel to the shoreline to some distance, separated by the barrier spits of 500 to 1500m width. Because of this feature the shoreline of Mangalore is called as barrier-beach shoreline. The barrier-beach shoreline is restricted to major river mouths only.

Mangalore is subjected to erosion mainly during south-west monsoon period. The problem of erosion is a matter of great concern because the existing residences of fishermen living close to the beach are under threat. The invading monsoon waves remove sand from the beaches, causing severe erosion in some areas. In the majority of cases, the sand is replenished during the swell-wave conditions. The bottom currents in the water off Mangalore vary from season to season in magnitude and direction. During the monsoon bottom currents are directed towards south and during pre-monsoon season, the currents are generally directed towards north. This topographical alterations, owing to sea level changes, cause disturbance to the sites of human activities.

A greater part of Mangalore consists of sedimentary rocks of Precambrian age, which is true of Dakshina Kannada also. This sedimentary sequence is known as 'Mangalore beds,' which in the type area consist of graded gravel and pebble beds at the base,
followed by current-bedded, friable variegated sandstone with pockets of clay and peat. This sequence is capped by laterite. The 'Mangalore beds' are considered to be Mio-Pliocene / Quaternary in age. The sediment distribution is a reflection of the related energy-domain of the sea-bed, which is recognisable in this part of the Arabian sea. Nearer the shore there is medium to coarse sand with silt and clay. This sediment is characteristic of the inner shelf. The sand is occasionally mixed with silt and clay. The outer shelf comprises of fine to medium sand with clay and neritic shell fragments. The slope is characterised by dark olive-gray clay.

During the low stands of the sea, the rivers develop channels into the palaeoshelf and get buried during subsequent transgression. A number of palaeochannels of rivers are encountered in the offshore sector of Mangalore. The presence of linear topographic highs north-west of Kodialbail and south-west of the river mouth, are possible palaeoridges. The Mangalore beds are of restricted occurrence, cropping out at Attavara, Kankanadi, Kodialbail and Kadri areas of Mangalore city. The Kadri section covering an area of about 1sq. Km. and covering a lateritised cross-bedded sand deposit. The section at Kankanady covers an area of about 0.5sq. km. and consists of 7m thick gravel in a sandy-clay matrix, while the Attavara section consists of graded cobble-pebble assemblage. The Kodialbail section covers an area of about 3sq. km. Here the pebbles are set in a matrix of sand-size particles. On the basis of nature and distribution, the 'Mangalore beds' are ascribed to a single
depositional environment. The nature of graded and current beds indicates that these are flood-plain deposits. The beds are considered to have been laid down in the paleochannels of Netravati and Gurupur rivers. These rivers have subsequently shifted to their present channels.

Another geographical feature of Mangalore is the mangrove formation. In Mangalore mangrove vegetation is found in the estuarine regions of the Netravati and Gurupur rivers. Mangrove formation is a tropical phenomenon, mostly confined to coastal areas. Economically, mangroves are a source of timber, wood, charcoal and fodder. The mangrove vegetation stabilises the shoreline by checking erosion of land by sea and also serves as shelter-belts providing protection against the ravages of cyclones and storms. The mangrove swamps are an excellent feeding and breeding grounds for a wide array of marine and estuarine fauna including fishes and prawns. Thus, the mangrove vegetation forms an important constituent of ecosystem. In Mangalore the mangroves grow well on silty and clay muds or mixture of these soils. Mangrove vegetation is found in Kodialbail and Boluru. Kodialbail is completely under tidal influence with floristic composition. The Boluru region is a part of the riverine bank along the backwaters of the river Gurupur But today, all along the coast, considerable damage has been done to these mangroves. The rapid growth of urban land, discharge of effluents from factories into the rivers and
Indian Remote Sensing Satellite Image of Mangalore Coast

estuaries, felling of trees under this or that pretext, etc. are the causes of the rapid destruction of mangrove vegetation.

The climate of the city is marked by heavy rainfall, high humidity and oppressive weather in the hot season. The year as experienced by this region may be divided into four seasons. The summer from March to May is followed by the south-west monsoon season from June to September, while the period from October to December constitutes a kind of winter season. January and February are generally dry.

Mangalore, as we find today, has undergone many territorial, structural and functional changes and inclusions. The administrative and commercial activities of the British Government and the multifarious engagements of different occupational groups and Christian Missionaries led to an unprecedented growth of urban land. The older areas continue to flourish, while several new areas have also sprung up as a result of developed trade and crafts, education and industry. During the times of colonial take-over several parts of Mangalore consisted of forests. But the pressure on land, however, has banished the forest from the region. Mangalore in 1799 mainly included Jeppu, Attavara, Bunder, Bolar, Kudroli, Car Street, Kadri and Kodialbail. Bunder became the centre, and Mangalore grew around this place. In the later stages, places like Kankanady, Balmatta and Hampanakatta emerged as important centres of Mangalore. After the arrival of the Basel Mission, Balmatta emerged
as one of the important centres of Mangalore, as it became the first base of the Basel Missionaries in India\textsuperscript{11}.

**Historical Background**

Mangalore, was known throughout its history as an important port on the west coast of India. A glance at the history of Mangalore reveals that trade was a significant part of its life in the pre-colonial times. The increase in trade resulted in enrichment of the trading classes. The existence of port and fertile hinterland offered splendid commercial prospects to the Arabian, Persian, European and indigenous merchants. Mangalore with its brisk trade attracted the rulers and merchants. This region was known for the commercial advantages it had offered to whoever had the privilege of controlling it\textsuperscript{12}.

Mangalore is known by different names like *Mandegor* (Arabic), *Maganur* (Roman), *Mangaruth* (Greek), *Mykalth* (Local Malayalam), *Mangalapura* (Malayalam), *Kaudiyal* (Urdu), *Mangaluru* (Kannada), *Kudla* (Tulu), *Kodial* (Konkani) and Mangalore (English). The Tulu name for Mangalore derives from *Aluvekodi* or the place where the river meets the sea, modified to *Kodi-Aluve, Kodiyala* and *Kudala* or *Kudla*. *Aluve* in Tulu means the confluence of two rivers and *Kodi*, the meeting place of two water sources. The place where a river meets a stream or a lake is also called *Kodi*. Mangalore lies at the junction of the Netravathi and Gurupur rivers. A part of the
present day Mangalore still retains this name in the locality Kodialbail or low lands of kodiyal.

Tradition takes the place-name Mangalore to the 10th century and to the Mangaladevi temple, built then in the memory of a famous princess of Malabar Mangaladevi, who is said to have accompanied Mathsyendranath of the Nath sect to Mangalore. Tradition has it that the sage Mathsyendranath, his disciple Gorakhnath and Mangale camped at Gareya Dande near Bolar on their way from Kerala. Here Mangale fell ill and was forced to remain at the site where the Ballals of Attavar constructed a temple with an image of shakthi. The place assumed religious significance. After Mangale’s death in 968 A.D. an Alupa King, Kundaverma Alupendra II built a temple in her memory known as Mangaladevi Temple.

Roman, Greek, Arab and European traders came to Mangalore in search of profit and gain. It was a place familiar to and often mentioned in the writings of early travellers and geographers. Pliny and Ptolemy describe the settlement as the port of Nitra, while the author of Periplus of Erythrean Sea describes Mangalore as Naura. Pliny, who lived in the 1st century A.D. refers to the pirates that infested the west coast around Nitrías (probably Mangalore, derived from Netravathi) and Barace (probably Barcelore). Mangalore is mentioned as a port on the west coast of India by the geographer Ptolemy who lived in the 2nd century A.D. Yule opined that Naura and Nitra refer to the same port town of Mangalore and that the name
Nitra was derived from the name of the river Netravathi which passes through this town.\textsuperscript{15} The 2\textsuperscript{nd} century Roman author Arrian refers to Mangalore as Mandegora. Cosmas Indicopleustus refers to Mangalore as Mangaruth.

The fortunes of Mangalore were linked with the various local chiefs of South Kanara and the royal houses outside the region. The history of Mangalore, in its early period, was bound with that of the Alupas. The Alupas of Udyavar held their sway over a thousand years from the second till the fourteenth century A.D. At the same time the Chutus and the Kadambas of Banavasi had their control over Mangalore. The Kadambas ruled the city from 200 A.D. to 600 A.D., till they were defeated by Kirthivarman, a Chalukya King. But Kadambas continued as feudatory princes under successive dynasties.

After 10\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. the Kadambas of Hangal captured Mangalore and caused the establishment of Kumble dynasty. The Kumble rulers divided their state into Kumble Rajya and Mangaluru Rajya. They ruled in Mangalore directly till 17\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. The local rulers named Bangas held their sway over a six hundred years from 1179 A.D. to 1838 A.D. For a short while this city was ruled by a local family, named Choutas. In the 8\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. the Pandyas inflicted a crushing defeat on the Rashtrakutas at Mangalore.
Town Plan of Mangalore with Places of Historical Importance

Source: P. Gururaja Bhatt, Studies in Tuluva History and Culture, Manipal, 1975, P.178
The Alupas ruled this region as feudatories of the various Karnataka suzerains like the Chalukyas of Badami, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, the Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra. By 1345 the Vijayanagara rulers brought Mangalore under their control. By then the Alupa power had almost waned, though they lingered in shadowy existence upto the end of that century. Though the Chalukyas of Badami, the Rashtrakutas, the Pallavas, the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Cholas and the Hoysalas had thrust their power on the Alupas at different times, the latter had always seemed to maintain their political independence during their long sway over the region. But, in the fourteenth century, the conqueror, in the form of Hoysala Ballala III, came to stay as a ruler of the Alupa Kingdom. Again, towards the end of the first half of that century, the Alupa kingdom was subjected to the power of Vijayanagara. Actually, though only for a brief period, Mangalore was simultaneously ruled by three powers, those of the Alupas, of the Hoysala queen Chikkayi-Tayi and of Vijayanagara.

Knowing the importance of this port-town the Hoysalas wanted to maintain their sway over it. The Hoysala king Vira Narasimha I sighted, from the balcony of his palace on the Light House Hill in Mangalore, seven Chinese ships and entertained a desire to capture them. An opportunity soon came when all the seven ships were wrecked by the terrible gale that blew during the night, with the result that the king was able to plunder the ships without any resistance. The helpless Chinese were, however, allured and assisted
to settle in Mangalore, although they were deprived of all their treasures\textsuperscript{18}.

Arab geographer Yaqut (1179-1229) testifies to the commercial importance of the town\textsuperscript{19}. He states that after leaving Barwas and passing through a curve one comes to the country of Malibar, from where pepper was exported. Its famous cities were Mangarur (Mangalore) and Fakanur (Barkur). Abul Feda (1273-1331) mentions that it was one of the largest towns of Malibar\textsuperscript{20}. Ibn Battuta (1324-47) also states that Mangalore was the arm of the sea (inlet) in the land of Mulaybar\textsuperscript{21}. Reference to a separate class of merchants known as 'protected merchants' is found in the writings of Ibn Battuta. Possibly, they were Arab merchants who traded under the protection of kings. The rulers offered protection to these traders because their activities brought immense wealth to the state. The guilds of Settikaras regulated and controlled the trading activities of Mangalore\textsuperscript{22}

Ibn Battuta refers to disputes between the merchants of different communities in Mangalore and their settlement by King Ramadeva.\textsuperscript{23} He also states that there were four thousand Muslim traders from Yemen and Persia in the bazaars of Mangalore alone.\textsuperscript{24} Large quantity of pepper and ginger were exported from Mangalore to the Arab countries.\textsuperscript{25} The town was regarded by the Arab travellers as one of the biggest towns and a great commercial centre. The notice taken by several classical writers only emphasize the
importance of Mangalore as a commercial centre during pre-medieval times. During the early medieval (6th–9th) centuries) Mangalore appears to have lost much of its commercial importance. It is not without some historical significance that the sources of 6th – 9th centuries either do not take notice of this settlement or merely refer to some form of religious or administrative activity missing altogether. The settlement re-emerged as an important mercantile town during the 10th-14th centuries, and perhaps also later. During these later centuries most of the references are furnished by Arab travellers, but such information is also supplemented by inscriptive records of the period. These sources make it clear that the commercial significance of the settlement was as much due to large scale export of luxuries as due to the organised trading activities of the Muslim merchants of Turkish and Arab origin. The Persian merchants commenced their activities from the 12th century A.D.26

The accounts of the foreign travellers like Ibn Battuta, Barbosa, Verthema, Caesar Frederick and Dalle Valle throw light on the condition of trade in Mangalore from 14th century to the 17th century A.D. Mangalore was a flourishing trade centre under the Vijayanagara rule and it continued to be so, even centuries later. During these periods Mangalore was frequented by the Chinese, Arab and Portuguese traders. Under Vijayanagara rule, Mangalore had been developing as a major maritime trade centre and harbour under their pioneering leadership. Their vessels were engaged not only in
coastal trade but also trans-oceanic trade. These contacts with the foreign countries resulted in the growth of indigenous technology of ship-building for all purposes and also in the emergence of a class of mariners capable of shouldering the responsibility of maritime trade and its defence. These changes led to the expansion of Mangalore city.

During the Vijayanagara period Mangalore was named as the capital of Mangaluru Rajya²⁷. Mangaluru Rajya comprised the Mangalore, Karkala, Puttur and Kasaragode Taluks. Governors were appointed by the Vijayanagara rulers to look after the administration of the rajya. These governors were the connecting links between the ruler and the province. The governor ruled the rajya together with the petty rulers and the guardians. In the Mangaluru region, which abounded in tiny principalities, there were the Bangas, Choutas, the Maddaheggades, the Kinnl-kaheggedes, the Ajilas, the Nalinas and the Samantas.²⁸ The local chieftains assisted the imperial governor in carrying out his responsibilities. The governor had his court and assembly at the capital. He was assisted by the pradhanas, the adhikaris, the bahattara-niyogis, the halaru (perhaps a body of municipal councillors), the nakhara and the nadu in various aspects of administration. The town was divided into Keris (streets). The following names still continue; Gollarakeri, Bastikeri, Kasayigalli, Gujjarakeri and Basavanagudi Keri.²⁸A

An interesting institution connected with the town was an assembly called the Hanjamana or the Nagara Hanjamana²⁹. This
body formed part of the general assembly of the town wherever it existed and its consent was sought on all important public and social decisions connected with the town. Hanjamana was a trading association of the Persian Muslims settled on the west coast with special privileges granted to them by the rulers. This Hanjamana flourished in Mangalore as in other important trading centres of South Kanara. Many other guilds like the Settikaras, the Balanjus, the Nanadesis, the Gavares and the Nakhara also figure in the area. Mangalore had a council of property-holders such as the Uraluva and officials like the Senabova. Senabova served in the various guilds and was, perhaps, entrusted with the task of maintaining their records. The Mangalore city was the headquarters of an imperial official called Navigada-Prabhu (i.e. Lord of Ships).

Mangalore was a valuable possession for the Vijayanagara empire. The rulers of Vijayanagara could hope to build a formidable cavalry only with the help of horses imported from Arabia and for doing this they needed suitable ports. On this account they annexed Mangalore into their empire. The Italian traveller, Verthema, who visited India in 1506 says that he witnessed nearly sixty ships laden with rice ready for sail in the port of Mangalore. The Mudabidure inscription (A.D. 1430) of Devaraya describes the city of Mangalore as the abode of groups of beautiful damsels, with its rich markets dealing in gold, etc., whose inhabitants were ever kept happy with plentifuls of paddy and other grains. In the 16th century the
merchants of this town traded in ginger with the merchants of Persia and Yemen\textsuperscript{32}.

With the help of the inscriptional and literary sources we can identify a marked change in the functional character of the city. The growing mercantile importance of the settlement can be seen from the presence of several groups of traders who not only carried on their trading activities from this place but even shared the responsibility of the proper administration of the economic affairs of the town and its surroundings.

Abdul Razzak, the Persian Ambassador, wrote that Mangalore was on the borders of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, it being the first station on the way to Vijayanagar, all visitors to that capital had to pass through Mangalore\textsuperscript{33}. This was between the years 1442 and 1443. Several inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers found at Mangalore and its suburbs. Such places are Attavara, Boluru, Kadri, Codialbail and Pavanje\textsuperscript{34}. It was the period of the Vijayanagara rule that witnessed the brisk commercial activities of the Portuguese in this region. The Portuguese trade in the coast gradually gathered momentum and in the process they even tried to curb the Arab and Moplah trade along the coast.

During the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries, the Portuguese commanded the Arabian sea and they intervened actively in the internal affairs of the place. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to enter
Mangalore. They established a strong trade network on the west coast of India through their fortress-factory system. They were also the first to show a political interest in this region. The accounts of Ibn Battuta, Varthema, Barbosa, Caesar Frederick and Linschoten refer to the commercial importance of the town and also the Portuguese attempts to monopolise its trade. The Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa (1514) has left an elaborate description of the town. He writes, “there is another large river towards the south, along the seashore, where there is a very large town, peopled by Moors and Gentiles, of the kingdom of Narasinga, called Mangalore. There many ships always load brown rice, which is much better and more healthy than white, for Malabar, for the common people, and it is very cheap. They also ship there much rice in Moorish ships for Aden, also pepper which henceforward the earth begins to produce, but little of it, and better than all the other which the malabars bring to this place in small vessels. The banks of this river are very pretty, and very full of woods and palm trees, and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles, which are very large, and enriched with large revenues. There are also many mosques, where they greatly honour Mahomed”35.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese launched their campaign of monopolization of the sea trade. Saki writes, “The Portuguese wanted to oust the Muslims, subdue the trader of Karnataka and realise their unparalleled suzerainty over the
sea trade. This was explicit in the treaties and conditionalities which the Portuguese enforced soon after they concluded these military expeditions and ravaged the towns. Mangalore was the best example for this Portuguese monopolization. B.S. Shastry says, “The port town (Mangalore) suffered most at the hands of the Portuguese. Not only was its freedom of trade hindered, but it was also attacked and damaged several times.”

In 1513 A.D. Mangalore’s trade was strangled until some ships from Calicut which had anchored at the port were made over to the Portuguese. In 1525, the port was blockaded and some ships from Malabar were chased up the river and destroyed. Again in 1530, the Portuguese caused great destruction to Mangalore. That year they learnt that a rich Hindu merchant of Mangalore, a Shetty, had clandestine commercial dealings with the Zamorin of Calicut, an enemy of the Portuguese, which caused considerable damage to the Portuguese trade interests. The Zamorin finding it impossible to export his spices from his ports to the Strait of the Red sea on account of the Portuguese vigilance, sent the spices to Mangalore, probably by land with an understanding between himself and the Shetty. From Mangalore those spices were exported to the Red Sea Strait on board the ships of the Muslim merchants of Mecca who were allowed by the Portuguese to load at Mangalore. The merchants paid the Zamorin for the spices.
The Portuguese were not aware that the spices actually belonged to the Zamorin, until they discovered the fact in 1530. The Zamorin had such great profits that he aided the Shetty to fortify Mangalore, supplied him with artillery, and at his own cost maintained a garrison to defend the city and the fort. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Viceroy, decided to punish the Shetty for his league with the Zamorin and sent his fleet against him. The Shetty was forewarned of the attack. He could therefore prepare himself well. The Shetty getting intelligence of the intended attack erected some fortifications to guard the entrance to the river and placed some artillery before his own house.

Diogo da Silveira, on approaching Mangalore, left the big vessels behind him and with the help of small boats made his entrance with only 240 musketeers. In the fight the Portuguese gained an easy victory. The Shetty lost the battle and his soldiers were killed. The fortification was partly pulled down and partly burnt. Seventy guns, a lot of copper, coral, mercury grains, velvet and many other articles of trade from Mecca, quantities of explosives and sacks of provisions fell into Portuguese hands. A major part of these spoils was burnt as they did not have sufficient space in their ships to carry all of it. The city was also burnt. Thirteen ships which were anchored at the port, were sunk. The gardens were ruined and reduced to ashes. All these were done in such a manner that it appeared there was never a habitation in Mangalore.
The attack of 1538 ended by killing many residents and burning some of their ships because they held some Calicut vessels to defend against the Portuguese at the port. Mangalore experienced another devastating fury of the Portuguese in 1555. The town was burnt and many residents were killed. Again in 1558, the Portuguese attacked the city. The Portuguese learnt that a ship belonging to the Muslims of Cannanore was anchored at Mangalore. While they attempted to capture the ship, it was aided by some local people. Furious, the Portuguese entered the town and put to sword all those whom they confronted, without discriminating between men and women, old and young. The town was set on fire.

The next Portuguese attack of the town was in 1568. At this time the Portuguese faced problems from the Queen of Ullal, Abbakkadevi. But, the Portuguese had gained a victory. The Portuguese Viceroy Dom Antao de Noronha built the fortress of Mangalore (situated at Bolar) on a flat elevation commanding the mouth, and indeed the whole, of the river. It was named after St. Sebastian, because the first stone was laid on this Saint's day. While the fortress was under construction the charity of the friars was responsible for setting up a hospital, where the sick were given bodily and spiritual attention. There was a settlement of about 35 families of Portuguese casados close by the fort. The habitation consisted of houses built of stone and lime and having tiled roofs. It was surrounded by a wall, 4.4/c metres high, with many watch towers and bulwarks of circular shape. The wall was a little higher on the
side of the mainland and had a small moat. The Portuguese set up their factory at Mangalore in 1568. It was a garrisoned fortress keeping a constant vigil over the incoming and outgoing trade of the port. This factory also contained customs houses which collect a toll from incoming and outgoing vessels, which had to submit themselves to inspection by the Portuguese. These customs houses were centres of fraud and they often harassed local merchants.

The Portuguese defeat at the hands of Queen Abbakka of Ullala in 1619 has become a legend in the history of this coast. The disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire gave the rulers of Keladi greater power in dealing with this region. Queen of Ullal supported Venkatappa Nayaka, the ruler of Keladi, against Portuguese. By 1554 Mangalore had come under the Keladi control. The Vijayanagara ruler, Sadashiva Raya, entrusted the work of administering Mangalore to Sadashiva Nayaka of Keladi. The Queen of Ullal gained independence from the Portuguese, only to come under the rule of the Keladi chiefs. The accounts of Pietro Della Valle, an Italian traveller, is a main source of information about Mangalore and the surrounding country during these times. He writes in 1623, 'Mangalore stands between Olala and Banguel and in the middle of the bay right against the mouth of the Harbour, into which the fort extends itself, being almost encompassed with water on three sides. It is but small, the worst built of any I have seen in India, and as the captain told me one day, as I visited him, may be termed a house of a Gentleman than a fort. The city is but little
Sketch of the Mangalore port in the 17th century

Source: Luiz da Silveira, *Livro das Plantas Fortalazas, Cidades....*
neither contiguous to the fort and encompassed with weak walls, within which the houses of the inhabitants are enclosed.'

Pietro Della Valle's account gives details about the city of Mangalore, harbour, its fort, geographical features and the various settlements. It begins with the description of the city itself. He next gives an account of Ullal, its Queen and her relations with the Portuguese. He gives an account of the religious practices prevalent among the inhabitants of Mangalore and its suburbs. He also gives some information about the location of Kadri, its temple and the settlements around the region. All the details given by the traveller is interesting and instructive. It helps us to understand the nature of relationships between three powers, namely, the Portuguese, the Queen of Ullal and the Keladi rulers.

The total submission of Mangalore was achieved in 1658, when Abbakka was killed after putting up heroic resistance to the invaders. But there also was the resistance put up by the Keladi Nayakas. Shivappa Nayaka took the Portuguese fort of Mangalore in concert with the Dutch colonialists. There was a revival of the Portuguese trade at Mangalore at the end of the 17th century as Somashekara Nayaka of Keladi was in friendly terms with them. In 1671, he offered some sites to the Portuguese at Mangalore for the erection of factories, under certain stipulations; these conditions were that the proposed factories should not be surrounded by double walls, that no bastions should be erected thereon, that no oil mills should be
established and that the native weights and measures should be employed.

According to Buchanan, 'The princes of the house of Ikeri had given great encouragement to the Christians and induced 80,000 of them to settle in Tuluva. They are all of konkany descent, and retained the language, dress and manners of the people of that country.' The Ikkeri kings invited the Christians of konkana to reside in Ferringy-petta, a settlement often confused as consisting of Europeans. Firinghee is a very old Asian term for a frank or European, derived from the Persian faranghi or firingi. The term, over the years associated with the dominant race. In South India it came to be applied specifically to the Portuguese as given in Moor's Narrative of 1794: 'Feringee, the name given by the natives of the Deccan to Europeans in general, but generally understood by the English to be confined to the Portuguese.' Portuguese Missionaries were often regarded by natives as mere agents of white penetration, conversion being termed turning Parangui. The Ikkeri rulers invited cultivators, artisans, merchants and other business class people to settle in their territories. Mangalore and nearby towns like Bantwal, Faringepet, Mulki, Kasargod, etc. received a large number of Konkani-speaking peoples from Goa and its surroundings. The new migrants were given lands in and around Mangalore. The Portuguese thus, took advantage of every opportunity to extend their control over the Christians who increasingly came to be identified with Portuguese interests.
King Somashekara Nayaka undertook to give the Portuguese every facility for trade, on payment of the customary duties and in turn for all these privileges he asked that the Portuguese should assist him with military weapons against the Muslims and others, and that they should not help his enemies and give them shelter. The Viceroy agreed to the proposals, but demanded that the factories should be such as to admit of artillery. A little after this treaty fresh hostilities seem to have broken out between the king of Keladi, and the Portuguese. But soon in 1678 another treaty of peace, alliance and commerce was signed with Rani Chennamma. The Queen further undertook to supply stone and wood for the erection of a factory at Mangalore and 1,500 sacks of clean rice to pull down the existing factory belonging to the Arabs, not to allow them to trade in any way in his dominions, and not to send any of his ships to their ports.

Danvers provides us with an interesting account of the bombardment of Mangalore. In 1706, the Viceroy of Goa, Vasco De Menezes, bombarded Mangalore. From this time onwards the Portuguese appear mainly as traders and not as conquerors; and even in trade they do not seem to have had the lion's share as they had before. As early as in 1673 other nations of Europe began trading in Mangalore. John Fryer observed that in Mangalore the Dutch had a Fort and that six miles to the north the French had a flag flying. J.V. Sein Van Gollvessi, a Dutchman from Malabar, had written in
1743 that there was a Dutch Resident in Mangalore in a kind of a fort. According to the same document all nations had free trade among these people in Mangalore, in spite of the contracts bestowing exclusive right of trading to the Dutch East India Company.59

The Dutch also faced the opposition of the Portuguese in their attempt to monopolise the pepper trade. The French at Mahe used the Portuguese factory at Mangalore as a sort of post office through which the French and the Portuguese authorities exchanged communications. The French came to Mangalore for sandalwood and the Portuguese allowed its supply on payment of a duty. Like the Portuguese, the English too had negotiated with the Nayakas of the Keladi for pepper, rice and other articles of trade at Mangalore, of course, amidst the Portuguese protest.

The Portuguese monopoly over Mangalore’s trade went on for nearly two and half centuries. The agrarian produce that were grown in Mangalore and its hinterlands went to Goa, the centre of the Portuguese Power. Portuguese trade curbed the free advancement of Mangalore’s merchant classes. The trading activities of the Portuguese had a contradictory influence on economic development. On the one hand, the Portuguese ousted by force of arms local and other Asian merchants from their monopoly positions in the foreign marine trade. The profits were reaped by the Portuguese and this weakened the independent positions of the local merchants in socio-
economic life and strengthened compradore tendencies and elements. At the same time the Portuguese were being assisted in their task of extraction of surplus by a new class which it had created. The new merchant class was the Gowda Saraswath Brahmins who profited by serving the Portuguese. They settled in Goa and later acquired a share in the coastal trade. The Portuguese appointed these merchants as their mediators in Mangalore, because the Portuguese found it inconvenient to go themselves to the interior and negotiate business transactions with local dealers. In many areas the Portuguese were dependent on local manpower and expertise. The Gowda Saraswath Brahmins occupied prominent place in the Mangalore - Goa trade. They remained loyal not only to the Portuguese but to every other colonial power, namely, the Dutch, French and English, that would set its feet on the region. Thus on the eve of 1799 A.D. both the internal and external trade of agricultural products were in the hands of local traders who belonged to Gowda Saraswats and the Muslims.

Haidar Ali marched his cavalry into Kanara in 1763 in connection with a quarrel between the Queen of Bidnore named Virammagi and her son. The Sultan was promised the port of Mangalore by the Prince Chennabasavaya, as a reward for his efforts to restore the latter to the throne of Bidnore. When the local affairs drifted from bad to worse in 1763, Haidar Ali captured
Bidnore. Immediately after, Haidar turned his attention to other regions, particularly, Mangalore. Haidar regarded Mangalore important as a naval station, where he established a dockyard and an arsenal, and placed it under the command of one Latif Ali Baig. Haider changed the name of Mangalore into Corial and the Bundar as Port Royal. For Haidar Mangalore was the nearest port to his capital and as such, it received utmost attention.

In 1763, Haidar Ali issued a firman permitting the British to export rice from Mangalore. The main Articles of this agreement are, "The Honourable English Company have free liberty to export annually from Mangalore 300 corges of rice for the service of Tellicherry exempt from the duty called Adlani or if they choose to carry this rice to Bombay, it is exempt from the same duty, but any private English merchants, who purchase rice, must be liable to the same customs as other merchants. The English will not assist the enemies of the Nawab, nor on the other hand shall the Nawab afford any assistance to the enemies of English". The frequent visits of the English to Mangalore disclosed to them the natural wealth of the region and its hinterlands and whetted their appetite for its capture. Accordingly in 1768 the British Government of Bombay had sent a force to seize Mangalore. The British sent an army of 400 Europeans, 800 sepoys under the command of Major Gavin by land and Watson by sea. They captured Mangalore, and bulk of Haidar's fleet. Thereupon Tipu advanced towards Mangalore, captured the bazar but was repulsed from the port. But finally Mysore army was successful
in driving the English into the sea.\textsuperscript{68} The success at Mangalore gave Haidar stores, guns, money, and to his people boldness. He also got a fine train of field artillery. Immediately after this victory Haidar Ali signed a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship with the British in 1770. One of the articles of this treaty provided for a supply of rice for Bombay from Mangalore and other ports.\textsuperscript{69}

Before Haidar's conquest of Mangalore, Portuguese had a factory in its port, which was fortified with artillery and a military garrison. The Portuguese merchants traded freely in Mangalore and other ports in Kanara. To maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese Haidar restored to them their factory and trade privileges in Mangalore. But in 1768, when the British attacked Mangalore the Portuguese faced severe problems. The new conquerors would not allow them to enjoy such concessions and accordingly they acquainted the Portuguese resident that they could not permit his exercising any authority in that place. Nevertheless they offered them to stay there under the protection of the British flag. This the resident refused and embarked for Goa.\textsuperscript{70}

In 1771 a treaty was signed between the Portuguese and Haidar Ali, by which the Portuguese were allowed to continue their factory at Mangalore. Haidar Ali promised to supply sandalwood, pepper, rice and other articles produced in his dominions to Goa. But in 1776, Haidar suddenly revoked all the privileges, he stopped the Portuguese merchantships, and confiscated their cargo. He brought
down the Portuguese banner from the factory at Mangalore, imprisoned the factors, and garrison, and removed their artillery. His grievances against the Portuguese at Mangalore was that, they had turned pro-British. But Haidar’s desire of building a citadel at Mangalore was the main cause for his opposition towards the Portuguese. For this reason Haidar forced them to leave their factory.71

Haidar used Mangalore as a base to drive out the British and dreamt of having a navy of his own at Mangalore.72 He made his first attempt to build a navy in 1763. In 1778 he again built a large fleet. In 1780 Sir Edward Hughes entered Mangalore harbour and destroyed two ships, a large grap and many small vessels at anchor. Thus Haidar’s second attempt to build a navy at Mangalore failed. His own ignorance of navigation placed him at a great disadvantage. His technical advisers were European adventurers, who could not be expected to have the necessary zeal in his cause.

Mangalore was once again surrendered to the British in 1783. Tipu appointed his commander Ali Beg to recapture Mangalore, who failed and surrendered to the enemy. The British success under General Mathews was short lived. Tipu was determined to regain Mangalore, which was the principal seaport of his dominions. Immediately after the capture of Bidnore he marched with a huge army on Mangalore, which was defended by the British army under the command of Major Campbell. Notwithstanding the largeness of
Tipu Sultan’s troops, the chief burden of the siege fell upon the French auxiliaries, who alone managed the batteries. In the meantime news reached that peace was concluded between England and France. Tipu was exceedingly hurt at the conduct of France. The siege of Mangalore was then converted into a blockade. Tipu entertained the hopes of becoming the master of the place, but the arrival of General Macleod with a huge army put an end to his high hopes. Negotiations for peace having commenced soon after, Tipu agreed to a suspension of arms, and in the year 1784 a treaty of peace named Mangalore treaty, stipulating the release of all prisoners and the restitution of all places taken by either party during the war, was concluded. Accordingly Mangalore and all other places taken by the British were delivered up.

During the reign of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan Mangalore had trade relations with foreign countries. At the same time this port maintained its internal trade links. In this port merchants from Bangalore exchanged considerable quantities of cotton cloth, both white and coloured, in return for raw silk and silk cloths. The merchants of Siddalaghatta went to Mangalore for betelnut, blackpepper and tobacco. Rice was sent to Bombay, Goa, Malabar and Muscat. Rice was the grand article of export. The merchants of Oman depended for their subsistence on rice from Mangalore. Betelnut was sent to Surat, Bombay and Cutch, sandalwood to Bombay. Cassia was sent to Muscat, Cutch, Surat and Bombay, turmeric to Muscat, Cutch, Surat and Bombay. Cotton was imported
from Surat, Cutch and Madras, salt was imported from Bombay and Goa. Raw silk was imported from China and Bengal, sugar from Bengal and China and oil and ghee from Surat. Tipu Sultan tried to have trade relations with the foreign countries like Pegu, China, Muscat, Turkey, Armenia, Oman, etc. Since Mangalore was the only emporium on the coasts of Tipu’s kingdom, all trade beyond seas had to be carried on through Mangalore.

The principal articles of export from Mangalore consisted of sandalwood, black pepper, cardamom, betelnut, arecanut, ivory, cotton thread, painted cloths, raw cotton, timber, etc. The articles of imports were silk of different sorts, velvets, copper, lead, tutenaigue, flat diamonds, pearls, broad cloths, dried fruits, coral, raw silk, spices, drugs, tobacco, saffron seeds, silk worms, horses etc. Haidar Ali coaxed merchants from great distances and induced them to settle in Mangalore by allowing them a lakh of rupees in advance. This had the desired effect and many people from distant places came and settled down in Mangalore. Among the principal merchants of those days in Mangalore were Konkanis, Moplas and few from Gujarat.

Tipu offered concessions to the foreign traders, like remission of the whole or part of the duty to be paid at the port, supply of sites for the merchants to erect trading centres, providing loans for the merchants and the exemption from taxation of the profits for a limited period. For improving foreign and internal trade, Tipu
established a commercial department called 'Malikut Tujar', a board of trade consisting of nine officers. The objective of the board was to attract foreign merchants by extending concessions and encouragement and controlling the supply of foreign imports and exports. Tipu encouraged building a ship-yard for improving trade and commerce. Tipu promised every aid to foreign and internal merchants. Tipu gave them armed protection against British merchants. He was a confirmed enemy of British who intended to destroy his power and capture Mangalore. Tipu tried to curb the trading monopoly of the British and followed restrictive trade measures. For this reason British trade at Mangalore suffered a setback. Tipu built a watch-tower, known as Sultan's Battery, to help prevent the entrance of warships into the Gurupur river. It has a complex construction and though it was meant to be a simple watch-tower, it gives the impression to the onlookers of a miniature fortress with its many apertures for mounting canons all round.

During the reign of Tipu and principal merchants were Moplahs and Konkanis. The Bunts at that time were also beginning to pursue commerce. The Muslim community received trading protection and privileges under the Mysore Sultan's rule. The Bearys of the region exclusively engaged in trade and commerce. They were generally known as Mapillas or Moplahs. During Tipu's period, the Deccan officers called the local Muslims as Mapillas. The other people who belonged to Muslim community settled in Mangalore are the Decknees or Turkas, Nawayaths or Bhatkalis, Memons and Boharas.
The Christian merchants seemed to suffer at Mangalore due to the restrictive trade measures of the Tipu. He also introduced Persian as the official language, which had adverse effect on the local and British merchants. Several imperialist writers considered the reign of Tipu Sultan as the dark period for Christian communities. They projected it as religious conflict between Christianity and Islam.

Buchanan writes that, 'During the Government of Hyder Christians were possessed of considerable estate in land, all of which were confiscated by Tippu, and immediately bestowed on persons of other castes from whom it would be difficult to resume them. These poor people have none of the vices usually attributed to the native Portuguese and their superior industry is readily acknowledged by the neighbouring Hindus than avowed by themselves.83 Sir Thomas Munro, the first English Collector of Kanara observes that, 'Haider secured a highly improved country, filled with industrious inhabitants, enjoying a greater proportion of the produce of the soil and living more comfortably than any native power in India... The whole course of his administration was a series of experiments to discover the utmost to which the land-rent could be raised without diminishing cultivation'. The Asiatic Register of 1799 comments, 'since Tipu assumed the Government, the revenues have diminished greatly, in consequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father. He removed from the hamaldaries all the Brahmins and others of the Hindu caste who were well versed in the country business, and put Mussalmans in their places. The forbade the sale
of arrack and ganja throughout his dominions, which had produced a very considerable revenue to the Sircar’. Thus the rule of Mysore Sultan’s has been interpreted differently.

Both Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan suspected that the Christian merchants were helping the British and the local merchants except Muslims were helping the local rulers. This resulted in the creation of misunderstandings and trading conflicts between various trading communities. But Tipu gave every facility to the Syrian Christians and Armenian Christian merchants. Local Roman Catholics also derived benefits during Tipu’s rule. Tipu punished several Canara Christians not for the reason that they were Christians but for their support to the British at the time of his conquest of Mangalore. There is an allegation of prosecution of Konkanis (Gowda Saraswaths) in the region by Tipu. Konkanis were the trading community and they must have had grievances against Tipu’s state monopoly policy on articles like pepper, sandalwood etc. Tipu’s steps in checking or removing the non-Muslim merchants for internal security reasons. He had to ensure that he did not have to depend on those whose loyalty to him was suspect.

The British, had watched with apprehension all these developments and they were anxious to take possession of Mangalore. The British were keen on exploring the potential of this rich land sending there a succession of assessors, among them Alexander Hamilton (1727) who found, ‘the fields here bear two
crops of corn yearly in the plains, and the higher grounds produce pepper, betle-nut, sandalwood, iron and steel which make Mangalore a place of pretty good trade'. After the fall of Srirangapatna in 1799 the political control of Mangalore passed into the hands of the British and it continued under their control till 1947, as did the rest of what was called British India.

East India Company's commercial interests became so much interwoven with its political ambitions. The earlier argument of the Company was that its power was rendered necessary by the requirements of trade. Later, it maintained that its trade privilege was a condition for the continuance of its power. This logical culmination of the mercantile - cum - imperialistic designs of the British worked well in Mangalore. The British administrators were well aware of the potentiality of Mangalore. This strategic importance of the town attracted the Europeans for centuries. The territorial and commercial grievances of the foreign and indigenous powers disturbed the trading atmosphere of the region. But the picture of Mangalore as described by the British writers and administrators fits well with a stereotype. The accounts of misgovernment on the eve of the British take-over had become a part of this stereotype.

The above survey presents the picture of the historical evolution of certain major aspects of life in Mangalore on the eve of the British take-over. From the beginning of the Christian era till the
colonial take-over, Mangalore remained as an important trading centre. The change of rule from Alupas to the Vijayanagara, from Vijayanagara to the Keladi and from Keladi to the Mysore Sultan's did materially alter the texture of economy in this port town. Trade and commerce underwent a drastic change throughout these years. But structural and functional changes of the town were witnessed during the British rule.
NOTES


7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., P.210

9. Ibid., PP. 210-211

10. Chandrashekar K.R. and Kaveriappa K.M., "Mangroves of the West Coast of Karnataka", in: *Perspectives on Dakshina Kannada and Kodagu, op.cit.*, PP. 288-295: The term mangroves is derived from Portuguese and English words viz. ‘Mangue’ and ‘grows’ respectively. The mangrove tree or bush is called ‘Mangue’ whereas the community of mangrove trees and bushes is popularly called Mangals. Mangroves defined as a type of
coastal woody vegetation that fringes muddy saline shores and estuaries in tropical and subtropical regions. (Chandrashekar K.R. Kaveriappa K.M., *op.cit.*, p.289)


12. The functional character of the town is determined by the percentage of workers under one occupation to the total workers in the town. If workers under one of the occupational form 40 percentage or more of the total workers, it is a monofunctional town, e.g. commercial town or industrial town etc. (Ghosh A., *The City in Early Historical India*, Mushiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1973 (Reprinted 1990), P. 40.


15. Yogendra Mishra, *op.cit.*


36. Saki, *Making History –Karnataka’s People and their Past*, Volume 1, Vimukthi Prakashana, Bangalore, 1998, P. 348. The mercantile scheme of the Portuguese had several characteristics. They were: keeping control over of the sea trade in the Indian Ocean littoral by means of a system of sailing permits; Imposition of monopolistic practices in certain merchandise like pepper, horses and tobacco in deals with the eastern rulers and merchants; Exploitation of the local state of demand and supply, war and peace, lack of concord among local rulers and so on to garner commercial advantages; Waging wars or entering into peace treaties or trade contracts; Organization of trade through their Fortress-Factory system, brokers, agents, linguists, etc; and Exploitation of missionaries for the expansion of commerce in the region. (Shastry B.S., “Commercial Policy of the Portuguese in Coastal Karnataka: Sixteenth Century” in: *Essays on Indian History and Culture*, (eds.), Sreenivasa Moorthy H.V. and others, New Delhi, 1990, P.109.


38. Ibid.

39. George M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, p.6

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.
42. Shastry B.S., *op.cit.*

43. George M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, P.7.

44. Shastry B.S., *op.cit.*

45. George M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, P.11; There are said to have existed at different periods, four forts with in the limits of the present Mangalore city. They were: the St. Sebastian fort, built by the Portuguese in 1568; the Banghel or Bangar fort near Urva, said to have been built by a Banga chief and dismantled by Venkatappa Nayaka of Ikkeri was already in ruins by about 1623 when Della Velle visited the place; the Mangalore fort, built by Basavappa Nayaka of Bidanur (1740-54) and dismantled by Tipu Sultan in about 1784; the Light-House Hill Fort, the existence of which is only a matter of conjecture based on some old documents. Of these the remains of only the St. Sebastian fort and the Mangalore fort can be seen to day (Abhishankar K. (Ed.), *South Kanara Gazetteer*, Bangalore, 1973, P. 745). The Light House Hill is situated in the centre of the town, where is a hill called Bavata Gudde, meaning the flag hill. On the top of the hill is a deserted light-house facing the sea (Abhishankar K. (Ed.), *op.cit.*, P. 746).


49. Sarojini Shintri, Raghavendra Rao K., *Women Freedom Fighters in Karnataka*, Prasaranga, Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1983, P.14: Ullal is situated on the South bank of the Netravati river at a distance of 8 Kms. from Mangalore. A branch of the Chauta royal family of Puttige ruled from Ullala. The most famous ruler of this branch was Abbakkadevi. The place has the well known dargah of the Saint Syed Mohammed sheriful Madani. He is stated to have come to Ullala from Madina about 400 years ago. (Abhishankar K. (Ed.), *South Kanara District Gazetteer*, Bangalore, 1973, P.764).


56. Ibid, P. 75 ; George M. Moraes, op. cit., PP. 36-37.
57. Danvers F.C., op. cit., P. 77.
60. Chicherov A.I., *op.cit.*, P. 112.
64. George M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, P. 40.

71. William X Mascarenhas, "Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in Canara", Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xaviers College, Bombay, 1931, P. 132.


73. M.M.D.L.T., History of Hyder Shah and his son Tippoo Sultan, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1976 (First Published, 1855), P. 268.


76. Francis Buchanan, op.cit., P. 58.


80. Francis Buchanan, *op.cit.*, P. 58.
80A. Abhishankar K., *op.cit.*, PP. 745 – 746.