

**FROM POLITICAL FRONTIERS TO ECONOMIC  
CONVERGENCE: A STUDY ON THE RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND THE  
VIJAYANAGARA, 1498-1565**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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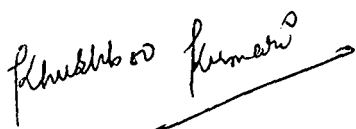
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**DECLARATION**

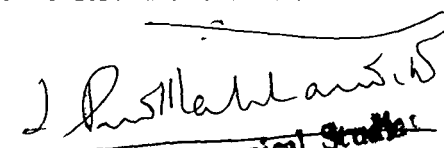
I declare that the dissertation entitled : **From Political Frontiers To Economic Convergence: A Study on the Relations Between The Portuguese and the Vijayanagara, 1498-1565** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this or of any other University.

  
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*Feeling gratitude and not expressing it is like wrapping a present and not giving it.*  
*William Arthur Ward*

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ICHR	Indian Council for Historical Research.
NAI	Natioanl Archives of India
NBT	National Book Trust
QJMS	QJMS Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
IRISH	IRISH Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities.

## **Introduction**

This research work proposes to look into the meanings of relationship that evolved between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers at different time points of 16<sup>th</sup> century. In fact the Portuguese, who discovered a new sea –route to India via Cape of Good Hope to get spices at cheaper prices from the sources and to find collaborators for fighting against the expanding Muslim forces in Europe, found themselves in a crusading spirit on their arrival in India. On the one hand their attempts to establish and maintain royal monopoly over Indian Ocean trade by blocking Red Sea ports created a lot of conflicts and tensions in the commodity movements of the Arabian Sea, making it a zone of frequent wars between the Portuguese and the Muslim merchants. On the other hand no political power of significant standing came forward to support the Portuguese to base their commercial and political establishments in his or her principality fearing antipathy of the powerful Muslim mercantile groups. It was at this juncture that the Portuguese turned towards the Vijayanagara rulers, who had for long been waging a series of wars of expansion and defence against the various Muslim rulers of Deccan.

The Portuguese occupation of coastal territories along Konkan was realized initially with the help of Vijayanagara chiefs and mercantile groups. In 1510 Goa was captured from the Adil Shahis by the Portuguese with the help of a Vijayangara feudatory called Timmayya, who besides passing on various strategic pieces of information about the city to the Portuguese , extended military and logistic support to the latter. There was a long chain of diplomatic and political negotiations and interactions between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara ruler followed by economic reinforcement for the purpose of initiating a chain of socio, economic and political processes in Deccan and Konkan almost parallel to those initiated by Adil Shahis and Qutub Shahis in Deccan and its coasts.

The relationship which initially began as a political relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese eventually developed into a type of alliance that stimulated the economic process of the region, making Goa captured from the Bijapuris to be the main maritime outlet for the commodity –distribution of Vijayanagara. Goa, Cochin and Cannanore ensured regular supply of war horses from Persia and Hormuz to Vijayanagara territory for the purpose of meeting the war needs of the Vijayanagara rulers. The best quality horses made available in the city of Vijayanagara by the Portuguese *casado* traders through Hormuz-Goa-Hampi route put the Vijayanagara rulers on a relatively superior position. The Portuguese also benefited immensely out of this trade since they got a sum of 40 ducats as customs duty from every horse. In Vijayanagara capital each horse was sold at a value of 1000 ducats and each Portuguese vessel used to bring an average of 110-125 horses to Goa for further distribution in Vijayanagara terrains. In order to ensure regular supply of horses, despite the high risk of mortality seen among the horses, the Vijayanagara rulers even used to pay the price of a horse, provided the Portuguese private traders were capable of producing the tail of the dead horse. The larger rapport that developed between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers helped the latter to ensure better quality war animals for military mobilization and to assert their relatively superior political position despite the regional assertion of power by the Bijapuris and the Qutb Shahis following the fragmentation of Bahamani sultanate by the last decades of the fifteenth century.

The Portuguese who used to take horses to the capital of Vijayanagara used to take back diamonds and textiles to Goa, Chaul and Bhatkal, from where they were further transshipped to Lisbon. During the period between 1515 and 1545 a large number of diamond merchants from Europe including the traders from Portugal, Germany and Antwerp began to conduct trade on precious stones in Hampi. Lazarus Nurenberger, George Pock, George Imhoff were the major trade agents of the German business houses of the Imhoffs and Hirschvogels in Vijayanagara procuring diamonds and precious stones between 1515 and 1545. Along with diamonds, there was a great flow of textiles to the Portuguese ports of Goa, Chaul and Thana, from where they were carried further to Europe by Portuguese vessels. The rice ports of Karnataka regularly supplied food materials for feeding the Portuguese settlers scattered along the Konkan coast. Hundreds of tons of rice were taken from these ports of Vijayanagara to Goa,



Thana, Chaul and Malabar. A great chunk of it was further taken to Maldives for further trade in return for cowries and coir.

This process of circulation of wares and political collaboration between the two virtually converted Vijayanagara kingdom and the Portuguese enclaves into two dimensions of one and the same economic unit. Since both were mutually interdependent politically and economically the meanings of relationship got much more intense, as is testified both by the Portuguese sources as well as by the Vijayanagara sources including *Amuktamalyada*. *Amuktamalyada*, as we all know, which was written by the Vijayanagar ruler Krishnadeva Raya (1509-29), epitomizes the nature of relationship that had evolved by this time between the two Empire.

### **Aims and Objectives**

The central purpose of my research is to look into the political and economic meanings that one can read out of the relationship that existed between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. The study tries to see the various mechanisms and strategies with the help of which the Portuguese managed to create a commodity hinterland out of Vijayanagara territories for the purpose of maintaining and accelerating their commercial activities. On the other hand the research also intends to show how far the Vijayanagara rulers succeeded to use the politico-economic rapport with the Portuguese as a mechanism to bolster their position in the region, both through the monetary devices as well as through the military devices. In the study an attempt will also be made to see whether the political interdependence between Vijayanagara and Portuguese empires was a manifestation of their economic interdependence, besides highlighting the basic pillars of their mutual interdependence.

### **Situating the Historiography**

The historical literature on Vijayanagara has been multi-layered echoing the varied ideological orientations of the scholars, the thematic interests they had as well as the nature of the source materials they had made use of. Fortunately enough a great body of historical literature has been produced by scholars on the political processes and

cultural life of Vijayanagara kingdom. The historiographical tradition on Vijayanagara that appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century manifested two general trends: first strand falls within the category of colonial enterprise of history writing to project British rule a necessity and a virtue, while the other used history to bolster nationalistic feelings and to arouse patriotism when being subjugated by the British. *A Forgotten Empire –Vijayanagara* of Robert Sewell,<sup>1</sup> a British official of the Madras civil service, comes under the first category, where construction of Vijayanagara's past was done as an exercise to control the subjects of Madras Presidency and to show that British rule was necessary to protect the past of Vijayanagara. The book gives an outline of the chronological evidence on the dynasties of Vijayanagara, followed by two long and historically configuring translations of the accounts of two sixteenth century Portuguese visitors to the city, Domingo Pães and Fernão Nuniz. The account describes the Vijayanagara kings of the sixteenth century as oriental despots whose authority consisted partly of sacred power founded upon royal sacrifices and partly on feudal relations between them and great territorial lords. Though this is an appreciable work, it suffers from the neglect of various evidences available in various forms of archaeological artifacts, literature and epigraphy. In contrast to Sewell, we find the works of Suryanarain Rao<sup>2</sup> and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar<sup>3</sup> on the Vijayanagara history bringing in a new element of nationalist ideas and the ideal of patriotism. Suryanarain Rao in his work *The Never to be Forgotten Empire* tries to see in what particular ways the empire of Vijayanagar distinguished itself and highlights the contribution that its rulers gave to the progress of civilization, science, philosophy and literature. The work of Krishnaswami Aiyangar is a systematic collection of the extracts from both Telegu and Sanskrit literature profusely bearing upon the history of Vijayanagara. He departed in two important ways from the historiography inherited from Sewell and other Europeans. One was his emphasis on Hindu- Muslim conflict as being the cause and principal shaper of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the claim that resistance to Islam was the great vindication of Vijayanagara. He insisted that literary evidence of that period should have as much standing in the interpretations of

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire –Vijayanagara* , *A contribution to the History of India*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962.

<sup>2</sup> B. Suryanarain Row, *The never to be Forgotten Empire*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1905.

<sup>3</sup> S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar ,*Vijayanagara –History and Legacy*, Aryan books, New Delhi. 2000.

historians as epigraphy and archaeology. It was with the extensive works of Krishnaswami Aiyangar that the Vijayanagara history was established in academic circles.

The works of B. A. Salatore<sup>4</sup> as those of Aiyangar viewed the Vijayanagara history from a regional perspective focusing on Karnataka as the home of the founders of Vijayanagara kingdom, whereas N. Venkatramanayya<sup>5</sup> and Nilakanta Shastri<sup>6</sup> presented it from an Andhra perspective. For Saletore, the Vijayanagara kingdom of the fourteenth century was created by the release of 'the latent energy of the Hindu Dharma in Southern India' following Muslim conquest and humiliation. Saletore presented Vijayanagara as an expression of Karnataka nationalism while N. Vankatramanayya challenged this view by emphasizing the point that the Vijayanagara rulers had adopted the Kakatiya method of administration. He referred to the 'Nayankara' system as an example of Kakatiya influence. T.V Mahalingam's work<sup>7</sup> focused on the Tamil region coming under the Vijayanagara umbrella, especially the social and administrative processes of the third dynasty. Mahalingam treats it as a vast undifferentiated period with evidence of political usages from widely disparate times and places taken as elaborations upon some single structure of power relations.

The old historiography that equated Vijayanagara as a Hindu bastion set up to contain and fight against the expanding Muslim powers gave way to a new understanding of the political and economic processes of Vijayanagara kingdom with the work of

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<sup>4</sup> B.A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, 2 vols, Madras, 1934.

<sup>5</sup> His monograph appeared in the year 1933 and 1935 which challenges the view of Karnataka historian and he argues that Sangama brothers were Telugus from Andhra coast and emblem of Vijayanagara was borrowed from the Telegu Kakatiya kingdom of the fourteenth century thus challenging the idea of connection of the boar emblem with the ancient Karnataka kingdom of the Chalukyas.

<sup>6</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History Of South India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966 and *Development of Religion in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., New Delhi, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> T.V Mahalingam, *ministration and Social Life under Vijayanagara*, Madras, 1940 and *Economic life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951.

Burton Stein<sup>8</sup>. In *The New Cambridge History of India and Vijayanagara* Burton Stein looks into the ways how the Vijayanagara kingdom ruled a substantial part of the southern peninsula of India for three centuries, beginning from the middle of the fourteenth century and how its society got transformed from its medieval past toward its colonial future. The kings or rayas who were peninsular overlords of Vijayanagara became more powerful because of martialization of its politics, and the transfiguring of older economic and social institutions by the forces of urbanization, commercialization and monetization, making agriculture and trade emerge as the material foundations of the kingdom. Though his perceptions of a segmentary state model for Vijayanagara had a lot of critics, the historiographical tradition laid down by Burton Stein invited a long range of historians to look at it from various perspectives.

Noboru Karashima, refuting the Stein's model of segmentary state, looks into the meanings of political integration of the region and the peasant's relation to the state in his work *History and Society in South India*.<sup>9</sup> He uses the Vijayanagara sources to investigate agrarian structures, revenue systems, and landholding patterns of the period. Recently Karashima-Subbarayalu-Shanmughan team has attempted to analyse the Vijayanagara history and their method of study is based on the Vijayanagara inscriptions of Tamilnadu.<sup>10</sup> They reject Stein's model and tries to explain the Vijayanagara polity by applying the feudal model with significant variations. A number of studies are done in various centres in India and abroad and these studies are expected to open up new vistas in the study of transitional stages in the society and polity of pre-modern India.

The recent works published under Vijayanagara research project Monograph Series have given a new richness to the Vijayanagara historiography. The first volume under this series titled *Pots and Palaces*<sup>11</sup> and authored by Carla M. Sinopoli, deals with the ceramics of the imperial capital with special focus on the ceramics found at

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<sup>8</sup> Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.

<sup>9</sup> Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, *Towards a new formation, South Indian Society under Vijayanagara rule*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, GUP, 1992.

<sup>11</sup>, Carla M. Sinopoli, *Pots and Palaces, The earthen ware, ceramics of the Noblemen's quarter of Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993.

noblemen's quarter enabling us to enhance our knowledge of different facets of Vijayanagara society, culture and state. Analyzing archaeological remains, the author looks also into the position of lower sections of the society including the peasants and crafts people who were responsible for providing economic base to the society and cosmopolitan nature of the capital.

The religious processes in the city of Hampi are discussed by the work *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*<sup>12</sup> edited by Anna L. Dallapiccola, John M. Fritz, George Michell and S. Rajasekhara as well as by *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its Monuments* of Anila Verghese.<sup>13</sup> While the first work looks into the urban and political meanings of Ramchandra temple, which occupied the central position in the plan of the city of Hampi asserting an homology of king and god, the work of Anila Verghese looks into the ways how religious transition happened from the cult of Pampadevi into the consort of Virupaksha of Shaiva tradition and also from Narasimha cult to that of Rama in the fifteenth century, ultimately making these religious transitions to appear visibly on the monuments of the city of Hampi. To this category of historical literature one may also include *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and Style* by Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese.<sup>14</sup> As a work that basically looks into iconography and images of gods and goddesses, this examines a wide variety of cults and religious traditions of Vijayanagara related to Hindu, Jaina and Islamic themes.

The life and culture in the court of Vijayanagara forms the major theme of two monographs recently published under Vijayanagara research project Monograph Series. *King, Court and Capital (An anthology of Kannada literary Sources from the Vijayanagara period)*, translated by C.T.M. Kotraiah and edited by Anna L. Dallapiccola<sup>15</sup> discusses "non religious" texts in which king, court, people, artefacts

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<sup>12</sup> Anna L. Dallapiccola, John M. Fritz, George Michell and Rajasekhara S., *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992.

<sup>13</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995.

<sup>14</sup> Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998.

<sup>15</sup> Anna L. Dallapiccola (ed.) *King, Court and Capital: An Anthology of Kannada Literary Sources from the Vijayanagara Period*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2003.

and the habitats surrounding them. It throws light on the way the city, its palaces, markets, streets, private life, royal family, patronage of cults, bestowing of honours, army, warfare, weddings, feasts, festivals were perceived during the period between the fourteenth century and sixteenth century. *The Vijayanagara Courtly Style* of George Michell<sup>16</sup> focuses on monuments of the court, its architecture, Bahmanical architectural traditions and imported Islamic style for decorating courtly monuments and looks into the functional aspects of the Vijayanagara buildings and their symbolic meanings.

*Irrigation and Water Supply Systems at Vijayanagara* by Davison- Jenkins Dominic<sup>17</sup> explores how with a unique mixture of science and art, the Vijayanagara kings mastered and controlled the water available to provide for the many and varied needs of the population, both urban and agricultural. He argues that the rulers of Vijayanagara exploited the hydrological environment to its maximum advantage, irrigating agricultural land and directing water into urban areas for domestic use, and building impressive systems of baths and channels in the 'Royal Centre.' Examining the agricultural water supply system, the tank irrigation, the anicuts and canals of Vijayanagara, the author states that the rulers of Vijayanagara kingdom viewed it as their duty to facilitate wet cultivation, there by demonstrating his wealth and power.

In the existing historiography, the focus is more on the political aspects or on the iconography or religious processes of Vijayanagara. Though trade was one of the material foundations of the kingdom of Vijayanagra, its commerce and other related economic activities of sixteenth century, stimulated by the intense contacts with the Portuguese did not get in the existing historiography the weightage that it deserves.

On the other hand, there are a lot of historical literatures on Portuguese activities in India, but their focus is mainly on the core areas of Portuguese presence and activities like Goa, Cochin, Gujarat, Bengal and Coromandel. During the dictatorial regime of Salazzar (1926-1975) historical writing was used as a tool to bolster imperial claims and legitimize hold over various Portuguese possessions of India. The historical literature of this period was meant to show that the golden age of Portuguese

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<sup>16</sup> George Michell, *The Vijayanagara Courtly Style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Jenkins Dominic J. Davison, *The Irrigation and water Supply Systems Of Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997.

discoveries and their commercial activities in India of the sixteenth could be realized in the twentieth century only through the dictatorial ruler Antonio Salazar. The works of Antonio Silva Rego<sup>18</sup> and Antonio Baião<sup>19</sup> etc., were carried out as a continuum with the Imperialist and positivist historical reconstructions of the heroic achievements of the Portuguese. However the new historiographical tradition initiated by C.R.Boxer,<sup>20</sup> M.N. Pearson,<sup>21</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho,<sup>22</sup> Luis Felipe Thomaz<sup>23</sup> and Artur Teodor de Matos<sup>24</sup> tried to explode the myth of golden age created by the historians of Salazar period and highlighted the internal contradictions within the so-called Portuguese sea-borne empire, which Luis Filipe Thomaz refused to even call an empire, but a chain of disconnected Portuguese territories. They also showed how the Portuguese state suffering from the acute shortage of material and human resources was compelled to incorporate native collaborators and local resources to run the show.

From mid 1970s one could see a definite and clear shift in the historiographical tradition in India, which was represented mostly in the works of P.S.S Pissurlencar,<sup>25</sup> P.P Shirodkar,<sup>26</sup> K.S.Mathew<sup>27</sup> and Teotonio R.de Souza<sup>28</sup>. Their works indicated a shift from the conventional practice of studying the impact of the Portuguese activities in India. They introduced the new approach of critically analyzing the Portuguese

<sup>18</sup> Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 vols., Lisboa, 1948-55.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa vol.I: Tentativa de Historia de sua Origem, estabelecimento, Evolução e Extinção*, Lisboa, 1945.

<sup>20</sup> C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese in India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1980; Idem, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825*, London, 1969.

<sup>21</sup> M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1976; Idem, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981.

<sup>22</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 4 vols., Lisboa, 1981-4.

<sup>23</sup> Luis Felipe Thomaz, *From Ceuta to Timor*, Lisboa/London, 1991.

<sup>24</sup> Artur Teodor de Matos, "The Financial Situation of the State of India during the Philippine Period" in Teotonio R.de Souza(ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, New Delhi, 1985.

<sup>25</sup> P.S.S Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India*, Bastora, 1952; Idem, *Os Portugueses a as Maratas*, Bastora, 1964.

<sup>26</sup> P.P.Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, 2 vols., Publication Scheme, Jaipur, India, 1998.

<sup>27</sup> K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi, 1983.

<sup>28</sup> Teotonio R.de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, New Delhi, 1979.

source materials to understand the various Indian historical processes along the coastal terrains. These authors argue that the Portuguese dominance in India was possible as a result of “native collaboration” in political, military and economic realms and they showed how the Muslim, Banya and Saraswat traders in their eagerness to conduct business ended as being collaborators to the Portuguese endeavours.

Jeyaseela Stephen<sup>29</sup> and Pius Malekandathil<sup>30</sup> have looked more into the circulatory processes of Indian Ocean and the meanings of commercial networks that the *casado* traders developed connecting eastern and western coasts of India, highlighting also the aspects of the ways how intra-Asian trade was conducted in this maritime space bypassing the Portuguese control systems.

So far only two works have made some attempts to examine the Portuguese activities in India vis a vis the Vijayanagara kingdom. The first one is Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s work *Political Economy of Commerce*<sup>31</sup>, which made an initial effort to highlight the commodities and the various trade routes of Vijayanagara kingdom, with which the Portuguese maintained commercial contacts. This, Sanjay Subrahmanyam has done as a part of his larger discourse on the commerce of South India; however he does not indulge in any comprehensive study of the meanings of Vijayanagara-Portuguese interactions nor in the different layers of trade happening between the two. The recent research article of Maria Augusta Lima Cruz<sup>32</sup> highlights some of the political developments and exigencies of the beginning of the sixteenth century that necessitated the formulation of a relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese; however none of these works actually focus on the political and economic meanings of the relationship that existed between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara in

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<sup>29</sup> S.Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System, 1500-1600*, New Delhi, 1997.

<sup>30</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1663*, New Delhi, 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy Of Commerce in South India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.

<sup>32</sup> Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, “Notes On Portuguese Relations With Vijayanagara, 1500-1565”. in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Saints and Sinners The Successors Of Vasco Da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.



the sixteenth century. My present research topic is to fill in this lacuna and to show how the relatively land-locked Vijayanagara economy and polity got a different meaning when they were put together as one economic unit along with the politico-economic processes that the Portuguese initiated from the coastal terrains. The period of study is from 1498, when the Portuguese came to India and the terminal point is 1565, when the Vijayanagara forces were defeated in the battle of Talikota.

### **Design of Study**

The study is divided into four chapters, besides an introduction and a conclusion. The introductory chapter states the basic objectives of the research and locates the theme of study within the existing historical literature.

The first chapter proposes to examine the nature of the political and economic processes initiated by the various Vijayanagara rulers till the advent of the Portuguese. Through a chain of conquests spanning for about 170 years, the Vijayanagara rulers occupied a major chunk of cultivable zones and strategic trading centres of South India, making trade and agriculture to evolve as the material foundations of the kingdom. Along with the expansion of tank-based cultivation in the interior, the Vijayanagara rulers kept control over the major trading centres of South India like Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur, Gangoli, Baindur, Mulki, Manjeshwar, Kumbha etc. The trade centres like Barkur and Basrur had their own governors to administer daily affairs and the city of Barkur was divided into 10 Keris, where different traders had their commercial establishments. Many of these trading centres had trade guilds like *hanjamana*, *nakhara* and *settikaras*. Through these ports rice and textiles flowed from the interior of the kingdom to the major trading centres of the Indian Ocean, and particularly to the exchange centres of West Asia. The wealth deriving from trade and agricultural activities in the interior enabled the rulers of Sangama and Saluva dynasties to resist the inroads made by the Bahmanis, particularly into the fertile Raichur doab. In the midst of increasing divide and conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism spreading among the co-sharers of power and polygars in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the political edifice of the kingdom was well maintained by the clever balancing of cultural processes, between Saivism and Vaishnavism, by the Sangama and Saluva rulers. The empire's founders Harihara I and Bukka Raya I,

while being strong Shaiva bhaktas, made grants to the Vaishnava order of Sringeri with Vidyananda as their patron saint, and designated Varaha (the boar, an avatar of Vishnu) as their emblem. The later Saluva and Tuluva kings declared the Vaishnava faith, but worshipped at the feet of Lord Virupaksha (Shiva) at Hampi as well as Lord Venkateshwara (Vishnu) at Tirupati. Virupaksha, the lord of the Nagas (snakes) was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Idol of Vithala was brought from Purdhanpur was kept in Hampi in the process of attracting devotees for creating a social base supportive of the Vijayanagara rulers at Hampi. Vithala and Vithoba is projected as one of the chief deities of protecting the Vijayanagara rulers. Through this balancing of cultural processes there was a welding together of the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society. This chapter brings out the complex and nuanced face of Vijayanagara kingdom on the eve of Portuguese arrival.

Chapter two dwells upon the modes and the strategies that the Portuguese resorted to for expanding in the Indian Ocean and the nature of power structures that they set up in India. Immediately after their arrival, the Portuguese expanded along the west coast of India as the major economic actors controlling the trade of the Indian Ocean. After having established their hold over the principal spice ports of Kerala they moved to Gujarat and Konkan to bring under their control the trade happening over there in textiles. In their attempts to establish a base in Goa in Konkan, from where they could easily control the trade of Malabar, Gujarat and Red Sea, the Portuguese sought the help of the mercantile and political elites of the Vijayanagra kingdom. The emergence of Qutb Shahis in Golkonda (1518) and the Adil Shahis in Bijapur (1490) and Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1490) as successor states to Bahmnai kingdom put enormous pressure on the Vijayanagara rulers. The major trading centres of the Vijayanagara kingdom including Goa had already fallen into the hands of the Adil Shahis in 1490s. The Tuluva ruler Krishna Deva Raya looked at the Portuguese as a potential ally and collaborator in his political and commercial ventures. The Portuguese, who had been relentlessly trying to shatter the trading networks of the paradesi Muslims in the ports of Kerala through their repeated attacks for the purpose of conducting their monopoly trade through their Cape route and the Vijayanagara ruler, who had been trying to assert his position and authority in the South against the background of fast expanding Muslim principalities had already found a common

meeting ground to come together and collaborate in Political and commercial endeavours. It was the political and mercantile elites of Vijayanagara kingdom like Timmayya, Krishna Chatim (Chetty) and /Loque Chatim (Chetty) who acted as the principal collaborators of the Portuguese in their establishment of political and commercial base at Goa. On the one hand, military chieftain Timmaya extended support to the Portuguese to capture Goa, while the Vijayanagara merchants like Krishna Chatim, Loquoe Chatim and Senayis, acting as economic intermediaries between Vijayanagara terrain and the emerging Portuguese settlements along the Konkan coast, supplied the cargo that the Lusitanians needed for their commerce. The intense stimulation given to the trading activities in Vijayanagara ports thanks to the participation of the Portuguese is well attested to by *Amuktamalyada* of Krishnadeva Raya. With the help of these merchants the Portuguese private traders expanded their commercial links to Hampi for supplying horses imported from Hormuz to Goa and a few of them extended their networks to its different mining and weaving villages to obtain diamonds and textiles.

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The third Chapter examines the different arteries of trade and markets and the trade routes with the help of which the Vijayanagara markets were linked with Portuguese Ports. On the one hand there was the land route stretching from Goa to Hampi and then moving to Masulipattanam. This route was criss-crossed by the routes flowing to Golkonda and Bijapur, which were the major arteries for diamond trade. On the other hand there were routes emanating from the ports of Bhatkal, Honavar and Barcelor, which later intersected at different convenient points in the inland for commodity flow between Hampi and Arabian Sea. The various markets and merchant groups involved in the exchange process would also be discussed in this chapter.

The economic foundations were laid with the help of four major commodities that sustained both these power entities for a considerable period of time. On the one hand, there was the immense flow of rice to the Portuguese enclaves to sustain their residents. While there was equal amount of flow of bullions from Goa and other Portuguese ports to Vijayanagara territories for minting pagodas and other coins which were consequently used as monetary mediums and also as mechanisms for controlling the regional markets of Deccan in South India. The Portuguese *casados* traders who used to import horses from Persian Gulf, particularly from Hormuz via

Goa carried back diamond and textiles from Vijayanagara markets to the Portuguese trade centres along the coast for further transshipment to Portugal. In 1520s Jorge Pock and Lazarus Nurenberger refer to the large volume of transactions happening between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara kingdom. In 1512 Afonso Albuquerque promised to give to the Vijayanagara ruler all the horses reaching Goa. Some of the *casados* traders also used to go to different mining villages and attempts to weaving villages to procure these items for the trade. Some of them even settled down in the city of Hampi and the neighbouring suburban regions for the purpose of easy conduct of their business.

Against the background of intensified trade and political rapport between the two, the Portuguese king Manuel (1495-1521) even put forward a project of marriage between one of his children and one of the rulers of Vijayanagara kingdom. The Portuguese even sought the help of Krishna Deva Raya to attack the city of Calicut by land. In turn the Portuguese soldiers were occasionally given to the Vijayanagara ruler, as well, for meeting his war needs, as it happened in 1515, when a detachment of Portuguese soldiers under Christovão Figueiredo helped Krishna Deva Raya in capturing the fortress of Rachol. The latter in gratitude gave the whole territory of Salcete as a gift to the Portuguese.

Chapter four proposes to look into the changing nature of the relationship between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers. There appeared a change in the policies following the confusion that grabbed the kingdom with the death of Achyuta Raya in 1542, when his brother in law, Salakam Timma Raju usurped the throne and killed almost all members of the royal family. Though later Sadasiva Raya was temporarily placed on the throne, he was eventually made a puppet ruler and later imprisoned appropriating actual power into the hands of Rama Raya, the founder of Aravidu dynasty. During this period, in order to legitimize the power process, we find Rama Raya resorting increasingly to religious grants and lavish bestowing of temples of Mallikarjuna, Krishnapuram, and Kosanepalle with grants of villages and lands. This was followed by increasing processes of constructing temples and the revival of orthodox Hindu traditions in the kingdom. The result was the erasure of the rich liberal religious traditions initiated by the rulers of Tuluva family, particularly Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya. During this period we find frequent clashes

happening between the Vijayanagara forces and the Portuguese. Unlike under the Tuluva rulers, the forces of Sadasiva Raya in 1544 attacked the Christian Parava villages of Pearl Fishery coast and took many of them as prisoners, while a large number of them fled in *kattamarams* to save their life. The reason for this attack was non-payment of tribute from pearl fishing to the Vijayanagara ruler after their shifting allegiance to the Portuguese. The attack by Vijayanagara forces on a territory controlled by the Portuguese was uncommon till then; however with the increasing use of religion for seeking legitimacy the conservative strand got emboldened in Vijayanagara kingdom and the liberal and accommodative phase of Luso-Vijayanagara relationship dwindled and it was against this background that Vijayanagara forces attacked the Portuguese controlled Pearl Fishery Coast. Later Vittula Nayak of Vijayanagara attacked in 1553 the Pearl Fishery Coast to crush the Portuguese as well as the newly converted Paravas with the help of the forces of the Marakkars and the Ottomans. The churches of Punnaikayal were burnt down and about 52 Portuguese soldiers along with captain and priests were taken as prisoners by the Vijayanagara forces and their allies. This exhibits the turbulent phase of the Luso-Vijayanagara relationship, which also negatively impacted upon the flow of commodities and war animals. Meanwhile the Portuguese in Goa tried to convert the newly obtained territories from Vijayanagara, principally Salcete and Bardez, into culturally homogenous space with the help of religious institutions and devices. The *Gaoncars* (who were the original owners of land and holders of shares in the system of Communitarian ownership of land still continuing in Goa) and the village elites of the newly acquired territories of Salcete and Bardez, but till then linked with the Vijayanagara kingdom, were converted to Christianity or made to flee away to border areas like Ponda. In the changed scenario Salcete was handed over to the Jesuits in Goa and Bardez was given over to the Franciscans for Christianization with immediate effect. Conflicts happened in many of these places between the Portuguese and the adherents of old belief system which was till then linked with the Vijayanagara cultural traditions and the Gaoncars and local religious leaders of these new territories vehemently opposed the Portuguese attempts for cultural mutations as it happened in Cuncolim in Salcete, where they killed five Jesuit priests. Against this context of conflict the Portuguese did not go to the rescue of the Vijayanagara rulers when he was confronted by the Deccani muslims forces in the battle field of Talikota in 1565 which finally led to the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire.

The major findings of the research will be summed up in the conclusion.

**Methodology and Source materials:**

The study is basically deductive and analytical. The historical information gathered from a variety of primary source material is corroborated with the help of visual and literary evidences and travel accounts, particularly the accounts of Nicolo di Conti and the Persian ambassador, Abd ar-Razzaq as well as the sixteenth-century accounts like the chronicles of the Portuguese visitors, Duarte Barbosa, Domingo Paes, and Fernao Nuniz.

The sculptures, visual sources i.e. paintings, buildings and architecture, court Chronicles, inscriptions, *Amuktamalyeda* (written by Krishnadeva Raya) and the work by Appayya Dikshitar, maps and survey reports and numismatic sources, besides the data and photos collected through my field study in Goa, Hampi and other parts in Karnataka form a major source material for my work. The works and documents preserved in Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Departmental Library of Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi, National Archives of India, New Delhi, libraries of Xavier Centre for Historical Research, Goa, Vidya Jyoti Library and ICHR, New Delhi, besides the personal collection of Prof. Pius Malekandathil, are of immense help for undertaking this study.

## Chapter -I

### Vijayanagara on the Eve of Portuguese Arrival (upto 1498)

The Vijayanagara rulers, who cleverly managed to create a vast imperial edifice out of the returns from organized agricultural and trading activities, stand out as remarkable examples and representatives of pre-modern imperial personalities of South India. Pushing its authority over a vast terrain of land-space covering partially or fully six modern states of India, viz., southern Maharashtra, Goa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and northern Kerala, the political umbrella of the Vijayanagara rulers shielded and facilitated a wide variety of socio-economic and processes of South India. During the period between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, this South Indian empire spanned a vast area and incorporated diverse ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic and political groups. Beyond the imperial bounds, Vijayanagara was also a part of complex sub-continental political and cultural nexus, with cooperative and antagonistic relations with neighboring states and empires.<sup>1</sup> Two centuries (1336-1565) of military violence, intrigues, steady growth, fabulous glory and wealth, find peak expression in architecture and the material remnants of Hampi. They speak of the history of a Hindu kingdom that tried to stop the expansion of Islam to the South, and was eventually destroyed by it. What we see today in Hampi is an eerie site along a very scenic river, some magnificent temples and miles of ruins of a dynasty that ruled all of South India, negotiated with the Portuguese and ruled the waves of many seas.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carla M. Sinopoli, "From the Lion Throne: Political and Social Dynamics of the Vijayanagara Empire" in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2000, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Winand M. Callewaert, *Gods and Temples in South India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 175.

Banking heavily upon Hindu cultural idioms for political processes that in turn caused a Hindu consolidation to happen in the South and patronizing a variety of Hindu religious and cultural processes not only as a part of their state building endeavours , but also as device to bolster the self-pride of the people against the context of increasing Islamization processes under Bahmanis and its successor states, the span of Vijayanagara rule in Indian history continues to capture the fascination of many historians studying the region. However, the Vijayanagara did not remain the same all through the period in the sense that the geography that they ruled , the political houses that ruled this geography at different time points and the versions of Hinduism that the various rulers patronized varied considerably from time to time. Reflecting these changes, Vijayanagara on the eve of Portuguese arrival stood not as a monolith; but as a multi-layered political house, with varying degrees of involvement in the socio-economic and cultural processes of South India. This chapter highlighting the complex and nuanced face of Vijayanagara Empire on the eve of Portuguese arrival attempts to look into the historical background against which the rapport between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers evolved, besides showcasing the foundations that emitted forces to sustain the political and economic processes of the empire.

### **I. The Material Foundations of the Empire**

The material foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire was agriculture and trade, which got intensified over years under the patronage of different dynasties. The empire's founders Harihara I and Bukka Raya I had their core political activities in the agrarian heartland of Deccan in general and Raichur doab in particular. The rulers of Sangama and Saluva dynasties brought a major chunk of cultivable zones and strategic trading centres of South India within the frontiers of Vijayanagara Empire. The tank-based cultivation in the interior got all the more intensified with the incentives from the Tuluva rulers and their co-sharers of power, the polygars and the surplus agrarian products were taken for maritime circulation through their major trading centres like Ankōlā, Mirjān, Honāar, Bhatkal, Baidūru, Bārakūr, Basrūr, Mangalore and Kumbla.<sup>3</sup> The trade centres like Barkur and Basrur had their own governors to administer daily affairs and the city of Barkur was divided into 10 Keris, where

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<sup>3</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp.182-97. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, P. 236.



different traders had their commercial establishments.<sup>4</sup> Many of these trading centres had trade guilds like *hanjamana*, *nakhara* and *settikaras*.<sup>5</sup> The economic processes, particularly secondary production and trade in different parts of the empire, were organized and networked with the help of these corporate entities.

The dynamics of this economic process depended heavily on the agrarian production, stimulated immensely by their extensive projects of tank-irrigation. Land was very fertile and capable of producing abundant crops. Sorghum (*jowar*), cotton and pulse legumes grew in semi arid regions, while sugarcane, rice and wheat thrived in rainy areas. Betel leaves, areca (for chewing), and coconut were the principal cash crops, and large scale cotton production supplied the weaving centers of the empire's vibrant textile industry. Spices such as turmeric, pepper, cardamom and ginger grew in the remote Malnad hill region and were transported to the city for trade. The empire's capital city was a thriving business centre that included a burgeoning market in large quantities of precious gems and gold.<sup>6</sup> Rice, being the staple food of the people was the principal crop grown on a large scale.<sup>7</sup> Duarte Barbosa's account is indicative of the intensified agrarian production in the empire:

"Beyond this mountain range on the further side, the land is almost flat and level, and this kingdom of Narsinga, possesses many great cities, towns, villages and fortresses, and in the country there is much husbandry of rice, pease, beans, and other pulse, also much breeding of goats, cows and sheep, and there are as well many small ponies, good walkers, asses and oxen, all of which they use as beasts of burden and for ploughing. All these villages and hamlets are inhabited by Heathen, among whom dwell a few Moors. Many places here belong to Lords who hold them from the King of Narsyngua, who in his own towns keeps his governors and collectors of his rents and duties."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Some Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara", in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, Mar Mathews Press, Kerala, 2001, p.316.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> From the notes of Duarte Barbosa (Kamath 2001, p. 181).

<sup>7</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp.184-5, 188.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 200.

This confirms what Abdur Razaak, the horse trader, had stated as early as 1443:

“He saw a place extremely large and thickly peopled, and a king possessing greatness and sovereignty to the highest degree, whose dominion extends from the frontier of Serendib to the extremities of the country of Kalbergah. From the frontiers of Bengal to the environs of Belinar (Melinar), the distance is more than a thousand parasangs. The country is for the most part well cultivated, very fertile, and contains about three hundred harbours. One sees there more than a thousand elephants, in their size resembling mountains, and in their forms resembling devils. The troops amount in number to eleven lak (1,100,000).”

One might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindoostan to find a more absolute *rai* (king); for the monarchs of this country bear the title of *rai*. Next to him the Brahmins hold a rank superior to that of all other men. The book of Kalilah and Dimma, the most beautiful work existing in the Persian language, and which presents us with the stories of a *rai* and a Brahmin, is probably a production of the talent of the literati of this country.”<sup>9</sup>

Literary sources, foreign accounts as well as epigraphic records throw lights on the importance the Vijayanagara rulers gave to the tank-based irrigation system. As we have seen agriculture was the backbone of the empire, the rulers gave prime importance to the water canal system and thus made arrangements to provide irrigational facilities. Domingo Paes writing about the tank-based irrigation says : " The land has plenty of rice and Indian-corn, grains, beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat, and that good<sup>10</sup>. This country wants water because it is very great and has few streams; they

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<sup>9</sup> R.H.Major (ed.), "Journey of Abd-er-Razzak" in *India In The Fifteenth Century* , Hakluyt Society, London, 1858, pp. 22-3.

<sup>10</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), "Narrative of Domingo Paes " in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz* (16 Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others), NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 60.

make lakes in which water collects when it rains, and thereby they maintain themselves."<sup>11</sup>

The early travelers, who visited Vijayanagara, were struck with astonishment at the wonderful irrigation system that prevailed throughout the empire. Nuniz relates, "This king (Krishna Raya) also made in his time a lake for water, which lies between two very lofty hills. But since he had no means in the country for making it, nor any one who could do it, he sent to Goa to ask the Governor to send some Portuguese masons, and the governor sent him Joao Della Ponte, a great worker in stone, to whom the king told how he wanted the tank built. Though it seemed to this man impossible to be made, nevertheless he told the king he would do it and asked him to have lime prepared, at which the king laughed much, for in his country when they build a house they do not understand how to use lime. The king commanded to throw down quantities of stone and cast down many great rocks into the valley, but everything fell to pieces, so that all the work done in the day was destroyed each night and the king amazed at this, sent to call his wisemen and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing. They told him that his idols were not pleased with this work, it being so great and he giving them nothing, and that unless he spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that the work would never be finished. So, the king sent to bring there all the men who were his prisoners, and who deserved death, and ordered them to be beheaded; and with this the work advanced. He made a bank across the middle of the valley so lofty and wide that it was a crossbow-shot in breadth and length, and had large openings, and below it he put pipes by which the water escaped, and whom they wish so to do they close these. By means of this water they made many improvements in the city, and many channels by which they irrigated rice-fields and gardens, and in order that they might improve their lands he gave the people the lands which are irrigated by this water free for nine years, until they had made their improvements, so that the revenue already amounts to 20,000 pardaos."<sup>12</sup>

Krishnadeva Raya in his famous work, *Amuktamalyada* says that "The extent of a state is the root- cause of its prosperity and that if it is small its prosperity would

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins Described and Illustrated*, Government Press, Madras, 1917, pp. 49-50.

increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed in favour of the poor cultivators and for matters of taxation and services.<sup>13</sup>”

The state provided irrigational facilities and the rayas of Vijayanagara empire took measures to build several tanks for the promotion of agriculture. Paes observes:

“The king made a tank there, which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon-shot, and it is at the mouth of two hills, so that all the water which comes from either one side or the other collects there; and, besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice- fields. In order to make this tank the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men, looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

The tank burst two or three times, and the king asked his Brahmans to consult their idol as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmans said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should make a sacrifice, and should give him the blood of men and horses and buffaloes; and as soon as the king heard this he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the pagoda the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done.<sup>14</sup>”

The extensive digging of tanks and laying out of irrigation canals accelerated the expansion of rice cultivation, along with other crop cultivation in the empire. The following table shows that the construction processes of tanks and water reservoirs in

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<sup>13</sup> Quoted by B. Muddachari, “Irrigation Policy of the Vijayanagara rulers”, in K.Veerathappa (ed.), *Studies in Karnataka History and Culture : Proceedings*, Vol.I, *Karnataka History Congress*, 1985, pp. 58-9.

<sup>14</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narrative of Domingo Paes ” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz* (16 Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others), NBT, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 67-8.

the core area of Vijayanagara Empire got intensified in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

**Table 1: Reservoirs built in Vijayanagara's core**

Year	Nos.
1300-1350	2
1350-1400	16
1400-1450	19
1450-1500	3
1500-1550	20
1550-1600	3
1600-1650	2
1650-1700	3

Source: Morrison, Kathleen D. *Fields of Victory Vijayanagara And The Course of Intensification*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 2000, p.132.

The number of reservoirs built in the core area of Vijayanagara increased considerably during the period between 1400 and 1550, which also corresponds to the period that witnessed intensification of commerce in the Indian Ocean. This is indicative of the correlation between agriculture and commerce that got augmented with the incentives like irrigation facilities extended by the state.



Map 1. Vijayanagara Site Map

(Courtesy: Anila Verghese, *Archaeology Art and Religion, New Perspectives on Vijayanagara*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p.8.)

By 1500, all of the South India till the cape of Comorin had been consolidated under the Vijayanagara empire. But within this consolidated and unitary framework, several

local centres of power had also come up under various nayaks, though varying degrees of autonomy.<sup>15</sup> Burton Stein in his book *The New Cambridge History of India, Vijayanagara* states that the 'kings', or 'Rayas' who were peninsular overlords of the capital of city of Victory or Vijayanagara became more powerful because of martialisation of its politics, and the transfiguring of older economic and social institutions by the forces of urbanization, commercialization and monetization.<sup>16</sup>

The Nayaks with very small areas under their control, and thus with a narrow power base, sought to extend both their economic and political power through their control over trade and ports. The state played an important role in the expansion of commerce. The flourishing condition of internal trade in a country depends on the security and safety maintained over there. This was done with the help of the police system and imposition of severe punishment for offences. The Vijayanagara rulers in their anxiety to procure for themselves foreign merchandise and to prevent them from going to the Muslim court in the north gave the dealers in foreign goods special privileges and facilities to trade in their empire freely, besides consuming a large part of the imports.<sup>17</sup> In the midst of these processes, several maritime trading centres and populous and flourishing towns appeared on the west coast, among which the most important were Ankola, Mirjan, Honavar, Bhatkal, Baidur, Beriur, Besrur, Mangalore and Kumbha.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Kanakalatha Mukund, *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchants: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 1999, pp. 42-3.

<sup>16</sup> Burton Stein *The New Cambridge History of India Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. Xi.

<sup>17</sup> Kanakalatha Mukund, *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchants: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 1999, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp.185-97. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagr*, Publications Division, Government of India, Delhi, 1962, p. 236.

Duarte Barbosa states:

“On passing Cintacora, beyond it on the further side, we enter at once the great kingdom of Narsyngua,<sup>19</sup> which is so great that it contains five vast provinces, each with its own language. The first of these extends along the coast as far as Malabar, and this they call Tolinate, and another in the back- country behind it, which they call Danseam Rayen. The next which marches with the Kingdom of Narsyngua proper, is called Telingu; then the city of Bisnaga itself, which they call Canarim, and the Kingdom of Charamandel, where the language is Tamul. This kingdom is very widespread, and a very fruitful land with many farmsteads, large villages, towns and cities. In this province of Tolinate are sundry rivers and towns with havens, where there is much seafaring and traffic in goods of diverse kinds.”<sup>20</sup>

“The kingdom of Narsinga<sup>21</sup> is large and very important. It is bordered on one side by the kingdom of the Deccan and Goa and that part is Kanarese, the chief city which is Vijaynagar (Bizanaguah), where the king is in residence. On the Ganges side, where the river flows into the sea it marches with part of the dominions of the kingdom of Bengal and with the kingdom of Orissa and inland it is a bounded by the

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<sup>19</sup> The kingdom of Narsinga, The extensive Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar was known to the Portuguese as Narsinga from the name of the ruling Raja at the time of Vasco da Gama's first arrival in India. His name was Narasinha or Narsingha. This kingdom had grown from the small state of Karnata in the fourteenth century, and at this period included a great part of Southern India. On the north-east it had extended into Telingana and on the South-east into the Tamil- speaking country of Ma'abar or Coromandel. Towards the west it included the coast provinces below the ghats, including Bombay and Kanara, in which dwells a Tulu- speaking population of about half a million between the rivers Chandragiri and Kalyanapuri. See G. Grierson, “General Report”, *Census of India*, 1901, p. 287.

<sup>20</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol.1 Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989 pp. 182-4.

<sup>21</sup> The term Narsinga, Bisnaga or Bisnagar, is used by the Portuguese to refer to the empire of Vijayanagara . Similar forms were applied by many other Europeans after them, such as Beejanugger, Bidjanagar, Bichenegher or Bijanagher- in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Bisnagar or Bisnaga is a corruption of Vijayanagara, the name of a dynasty that reigned until about 1487. The capital of kingdom was the city of Vijayanagar, founded in 1336. In 1487 the dynasty of Vijayanagar was replaced by Narasinha, a prince who reigned till 1508. When the Portuguese first arrived in India they called that part of the country the kingdom of Narasinga, a name derived from that of its actual ruler.



mountains of Delhi and on the ocean side by the provinces of Malabar and Choromandel and Benua Builim”<sup>22</sup>.

Although agriculture was the main occupation in the rural country side, many industries also developed in the empire with the activation of economy. The goldsmith, the potter, the carpenter, the weaver etc., constituted a major chunk of the village population. Among the non agricultural production, mining of diamond and gold got intensified unprecedentedly. As we had seen earlier Abdur Razzak and Paes were profoundly impressed by the vibrant economic life with huge population, rich bazzars, number of skilled craftsmen and dealers in precious stones and other articles in the imperial capital. Razzak observes the importance of roses in the daily life of the citizen. Temples, as landlords and bankers, because of large endowments made to them, played an important part in the public economy of the period. Foreign trade carried on through important ports like Honnavar, Bhatkal, and Nagapatnam. Pulicat and others by a variety of traders forming organizations brought in prosperity adding to the luxury and magnificence of court-life and urbanity. The prosperity of a country depends largely on her trade. Inscriptions recording the grant of taxes on the commodities sold in *pettais* (markets) or *sandais* (fairs) to temples by the Vijayanagara kings or nayaks as their charities also reveal the brisk trade taking place.<sup>23</sup>

Duarte Barbosa’s account highlights not only the geo-physical extent of the empire, but also the major maritime trading zones, through which mercantile surplus used to get accrued. Thanks to the immense wealth getting converged at the core from agricultural and commercial ventures, this new city originally went under the name of Vijayanagar or Bijanagar, and was subsequently revived into still grander proportions by the sage Vidyanarya after his own name of Vidyanagara. It grew rapidly in extent,

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<sup>22</sup> Armando Cortesão, (ed.) *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005. pp. 63-4.

<sup>23</sup> Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India, The Cholas to Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 171.

wealth and magnificence till it became one of the largest-if not the largest city-in the world.<sup>24</sup> Abdur Razaak visiting the city in 1443 states:

“The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world.”<sup>25</sup>

The native sources also refer to the agricultural prosperity, the commercial intensification and the socio-economic processes of the kingdom on the eve of Portuguese arrival. The literary work, *Proudharayana Kavya*, has the following passage on the kingdom of Vidyanagara and its capital.

“Of the 56 kingdoms of Bharatakhand, the kingdom of Kuntala was one of the important ones, like a jewel (on the forehead of a lady). It was beautiful and prosperous. It had a number of wealthy cities, towns and villages. All of them, invariably, had temples dedicated to Shiva, as well as tanks, canals filled with water, and gardens and groves with various kinds of trees and plants bearing fruits, nuts, etc., in plenty, ensuring thus the welfare of the population. In all directions one could see cultivated fields with well- grown paddy, crops of sugarcane, and trees bearing pomegranates, lemons, grapes, jack- fruits and oranges. Plenty of flowers bloomed in the gardens, which were filled with bees, parrots, cuckoos, peacocks, etc. At special places on the roadside there were free feeding- houses and charity water- pavilions.”

“These houses for the use of the travelers were mainly managed by beautiful young ladies, who were a great attraction for the public. They stood in enticing poses at the entrance of the pavilions holding jars of water in their hands, and bantered with the weary travelers. Thus they laughed and enjoyed themselves.”<sup>26</sup>

The city known as Vidyanagara stood out in that kingdom like the nose-ornament on the face of a beautiful lady. It was surrounded by a tall fortification wall

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<sup>24</sup> Bangalore Suryanarain Row, *A History of Vijayanagar: The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Volume 1, Asian Educational Services, 1905, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup> R.H. Major, (ed.), “Journey of Abd-Er-Razzak” in *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1858, , p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> S.S. Bhusanurmata (ed.), *Proudharayana Kavya*, Murgha Matha, Dharwad, 1957\_ (PK, I, 32-4; pp. 9-10).

surmounted by beautiful merlons. Bastions and towers were placed at regular intervals all along it. On top of the bastions were tall staffs with flags and banners fluttering in the air. The gates were embellished with gems. Inside the fort there were two well laid-out main streets, the *chandra-vidhi* and *surya-vidhi*, both lined with shops.

Good and noble-minded citizens inhabited the metropolitan city. They were intelligent, rational, clever, rich and flirtatious; they were conversant with the many languages learned in all the 64 branches of knowledge; they were devotees of the supreme god.

This city, with no equal on earth, was ruled by Proudharaya, who had a minister, Jakkanacharya, an ardent Shaiva devotee.”<sup>27</sup>

The Vijayanagara rulers and their co-sharers of power, the polygars, successfully managed to translate the returns from trade and agriculture to build a political edifice that on the one hand controlled a major chunk of the resourceful regions of South India and on the other hand forming itself a cultural barrier, the Vijayanagara kingdom, particularly the Sangama and Saluva dynasties tried to resist the inroads made by the Bahmanis, particularly into the fertile Raichur doab and other parts of Deccan and South India.

## II. Cultural Processes and the Power Edifice

In the midst of increasing divide and conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism spreading among the co-sharers of power and polygars in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the political edifice of the kingdom was well maintained by the clever balancing of cultural processes, between Saivism and Vaishnavism, by the Sangama and Saluva rulers.<sup>28</sup> The empire's founders Harihara I and Bukka Raya I, while being strong Saiva

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<sup>27</sup> Quoted from *Proudharayana Kavya* by Anna L Dallapiccola (ed.), *King, Court and capital: An Anthology of Kannada literary Sources from the Vijayanagar Period*, translated by C.T.M. Kotraiah, Manohar, American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 2003, p. 6; S.S. Bhusanurmata (ed.), *Proudharayana Kavya*, (PK, I, 36-9; pp. 10-11).

<sup>28</sup> South India is known for large number of temples which became a subject of interest for the scholars who want to study it. There were different ideologies. Some were prominent in some particular point of time and other at other point of time. Seeing the prominent ideologies which were there in current point of time, the rulers shifted their ideology for political upliftment. Sometimes temples were constructed

bhaktas, made grants to the Vaishnava order of Sringeri with Vidyanaraya as their patron saint, and designated Varaha (the boar, an avatar of Vishnu) as their emblem.<sup>29</sup> The later Saluva and Tuluva kings declared the Vaishnava faith, but worshipped at the feet of Lord Virupaksha (Shiva) at Hampi as well as Lord Venkateshwara (Vishnu) at Tirupati. Virupaksha, the lord of the Nagas (snakes) was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara dynasty.<sup>30</sup> Through this clever balancing of cultural processes there was a welding and piecing together of the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society.

Since notion that the empire had been built to shield Hindu dharma from the onslaughts of the Bahmanis and their successor kingdoms was circulated for justifying the political processes of the Vijayanagara kings, the latter used to carry such titles such as “supporters of dharma” or “upholders of ancient constitutional usage”<sup>31</sup> that appealed heavily to popular imagination for projecting themselves as the

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on the basis of shift of ideologies. These shifts were followed by special processes like building of temples, maths and different structures. Despite their sectarian preferences, the Vijayanagara rulers adopted a tolerant policy towards all sects. Cf. Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions At Vijayanagara*, Carla Sinopoli, *Pots and Palaces*, p.93, Burton Stein, (1980: 369)

<sup>29</sup> Suryanath U. Kamath, *A concise history of Karnataka: from pre-historic times to the present*, Jupiter books Bangalore, 2001, p. 177.

<sup>30</sup> Hampi was the centre of Virupaksha cult. This god had emerged as the principal deity of the site before the founding of the empire. He continued to enjoy this position of pre-eminence throughout the empire period (except briefly during the later Tuluva times, when the vithala cult temporarily eclipsed the cult of Virupaksha in the city) and in the post- 1565 times only. Vijayanagara Empire, with its capital built in the proximity of this temple. The founders accepted Virupaksha as their patronal deity, a practice continued by the later Sangamas and also the Saluva and Tuluva rulers (whose Ishtadēvatas, or personal deities, were vaishnava gods such as Venkatēśvara, Vithala or Narasimha). The Saivite Sangamas and the Vaishnava Saluvas and Tuluvas inscriptions usually end with “śrī Virūpāksha,” which took the place of the signature of the emperor, in Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions At Vijayanagara As Revealed Through Its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 17, 19.

<sup>31</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed Through Its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 2, 3. The use of title testified to their intention of protecting Hinduism and yet were at the same time staunchly Islamicate in their court ceremonies and dress, as Philip Wagoner points out in his 1996 article 'Sultan Among Hindu Kings' published in the *Journal of Asian Studies*. The Empire did create atmosphere and conditions for defense of Hindu culture as Anila Verghese points out. New studies done by Sinopoli showed the presence of other religion also in the

protector of Hinduism. Different layers of ideologies prevailed in the empire that led to a certain amount of conflicts in the society. Early scholarship had viewed the empire as monolithic Hindu state but now the recent studies have shown that predominantly it was a Hindu state with a considerable amount of people belonging to other religion like Jains, Muslims and practitioners of various local tribal religions.<sup>32</sup> Even within the 'Hindu' segment of the empire, there were different strands and layers including the Virasaivites (who opposed and abhorred all forms of Brahminical hegemony including Brahminical rituals, their literature, religious practices, Brahminical perception of pollution etc), the Warkaris, ( who abhorred the institutionalization of religion around temples and ritualism and promoted pilgrimage to Pandarpur as the alternative channel to experience spirituality), the Vaishnavites ( who formed a strong cultural group within the empire with large number of followers subscribing to the religious philosophies of Ramanuja and Madhavacharya) and the Saivites (who comprised a large segment of multi-layered cultural group worshipping not only Siva and members of Siva's divine family but also many local deities). These differences existed within the empire, along with the conflicts they necessarily carried with themselves, even when the rulers struggled hard to project themselves as champions of Hinduism to ensure legitimacy for their political processes, to bolster support and to mobilize resources for their wars of defence and offence.

The Vijayanagara rulers banked heavily upon religious and cultural processes to justify their political ventures. Historical sources both epigraphic and literary provide a unique picture of life in the city, especially of dynastic successions, royal ceremonies, donations, entertainments and battles. They show that this site from pre-Vijayanagara times has an unbroken tradition of sanctity. It is a place of pilgrimage hallowed by the goddess Pampā and her consort Virūpākṣa. Kiṣkindhā of the

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empire. For details see, Carla M. Sinopoli, *The political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Carla M. Sinopoli, *The political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 93.

Rāmāyaṇa is also believed to be close to Hampi and certain incidents of this epic are said to have taken place in and around this area.<sup>33</sup>

A Sanskrit work, *Jambavati Kalyanam* by king Krishnadevaraya, refers to Lord Virūpākṣa as *Karnata Rajya Raksha Mani* ("protective jewel of Karnata Empire").<sup>34</sup> A staunch Vaiṣṇava himself, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, repaired and rebuilt the temple of Virūpākṣa (Śiva) at Hampi very soon after his accession<sup>35</sup> in a manner that suits the new economic development of the empire following its participation in the expanding commerce of the Indian Ocean. Virupaksha, the lord of the Nagas (snakes) was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Virupaksha temple was a centre of pilgrimage and the most important annual festival was the Kalyanotsava<sup>36</sup> or marriage festival of Pampa, goddess of the river with Siva.

The Vijayanagara period is marked by significant increase in the Saiva *mathas* in all regions of south India. Unlike the pre- Vijayanagara *matha* organizations, which were less visible in the political sphere, except for providing spiritual guidance to the ruling powers, and exercising control over temple affairs- the *mathas* of this period were internally more cohesive. They evolved parallel authority structures for the respective religious communities such as the Vaisnava the Saiva and the Jaina. More importantly, the Smarta tradition acquired an influential role in society and polity by building up impressive spiritual lineages, and re-establishing the power of Vedic authenticity in all sectarian traditions.<sup>37</sup> The old Hindu temples and *mathas* were powerful, social and economic centres for these movements besides being a source of religious inspiration. They were corporations where the co-operation of the people of the locality, aided with royal patronage, was possible. They had the courage to give independent and timely advice, unhampered from any mercenary motives and because

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<sup>33</sup> Anila Verghese, *Archaeology Art and Religion, New Perspectives on Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> John M. Fritz and George Michell (ed.), *New Light on Hampi: Recent Research at Vijayanagara*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2001, p. 14.

<sup>35</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1992, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> Anila Verghese, "Deities, Cults and Kings at Vijayanagara", *World Archaeology*, Vol. 36, No. 3, The Archaeology of Hinduism (Sep., 2004), pp. 416-431, p. 420.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted by R. Champakalakshmi, *Religion, Tradition and Ideology Pre-Colonial South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p. 302.

of the source of such advice, the difficulty of opposition to it was great, if not often impossible. These were therefore, common meeting grounds for the ruler and his subjects providing opportunities for a cordial and healthy co-operation.<sup>38</sup>

The idol of Vithala or Vithoba was brought from Phandharpur<sup>39</sup> and was kept in the heart of the city Hampi in the process of attracting devotees for creating a social base, which is supportive of the Vijayanagara rulers at Hampi. Vithoba was projected as one of the chief deities, protecting the Vijayanagara rulers.<sup>40</sup> Through this balancing of cultural processes there was a welding together of the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society. The cultural circuits were made to follow the economic circuits keeping the core to be in Hampi. The most significant among the cultural processes was connected with the cult of Vithoba, whose former core centre was Pandharpur.<sup>41</sup> But the Vijayanagara rulers had by this time brought the idol of Vithobha to Vijayanagara and installed in the city after constructing a temple for this deity. An analysis of the inscriptions of the period suggests that it was only during the period between 1500 and 1565 that we find Vithobha being invited increasingly to witness the land grants made too many

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<sup>38</sup> S. Srikantaya, *Founders of Vijayanagara*, Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1938, p.160.

<sup>39</sup> An interesting legends explain the presence of Vithoba at Pandharpur. Narada, during one of his wanderings on earth, witnessed the extraordinary devotion of Pundalika for his aged parents and he reported it once to Lord Krishna. Both of them repaired to the place where Pundalika was performing his duties, but the lad, fully engrossed in his loving service, tossed a brick towards Krishna and asked him to wait. Thus the god stands on the brick, with his arms akimbo. It is evident, therefore that Vithobā or Vithala is considered to be a form of Krishna. Quoted by Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> The continued occurrence of the name of Vithala, in varied forms, in inscriptions of the time, such as Vitheya nayaka, Vithane, Vithaparya, Vithaladeva, Vithala, Vithanna etc and the adoption of the name of the Vithala is indicative of the devotion of the people to this deity. Quoted by Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 60.

<sup>41</sup> The holy city of Pandharpur is in the Sholapur District of Maharashtra and is situated on the banks of the river Bhima, the main tributary of upper Krishna. It rises at the Bhimasankar in the Sahyadri range about 50 miles north west of Poona and meets river Krishna about 16 miles North of Raichur in the Nizam's territory Quoted by T. Divya "The Cult Of Vithoba As Revealed Through The Inscriptions- A Study" edited by Dr. G. Sethuraman, *South Indian History Congress Twenty ninth Annual Session Proceedings*, Tirunelveli, Jan 30, 31 and Feb 1, , 2009, p. 396.

grantees,<sup>42</sup> signifying that the cultural process around Vithobha cult got accelerated during the period of intensified commercial and political relationship with the Portuguese. The political and economic integration of Deccan with Konkan by the Vijayanagara rulers and their power sharers was followed by a cultural process revolving around Vithobha strengthening the weight of political authority over the region.

Patronage at this time was extended not only to Vishnu and Siva temples, but also to Jaina constructions and a minister of the king Harihara II contributed liberally to the establishment of a *caityālaya* for Kunthu Jinanātha in AD 1385, one of the largest and the most imposing of the early group of temples.<sup>43</sup> The all five early shrines indicate that by the 14<sup>th</sup> century the originally Saiva *tirtha* had been transformed into one where shrines of different religious affiliations were present.<sup>44</sup>

The archaeological study of the city of Vijayanagara indicates a diverse landscape of the sacred space, and the coexistence of the Hindu temple with the Jaina shrines, the mosque, and local and regional cults not only in the environs of the various urban centres, but also in its political core. The countless small shrines and large temples found throughout the Vijayanagara metropolitan region provide evidence for the diversity of South Indian religious practices and institutions, which varied widely in scale and in scholarship<sup>45</sup> and truly exemplify spirit of tolerance and religious understanding. Devaraya II built a mosque in his capital for the use of his Muslim

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<sup>42</sup> An inscription of 1516 A.D. mentions the construction of a thousand pillared Mandapa to Lord Vithala at Hampi by Krisnadevaraya. Another inscription of 1531 A.D. mentions the granting of a village to Vithala temple at Hampi by Achyutharaya. In an inscription of 1536 A.D., Hiriya Tirumala Nayaka gave 200 varahas as daily offerings to Vithala temple and also ghee, milk, and curd rice (dadyadana) were offered. Name Vithalaraya is mentioned in an inscription dated 1549 A.D. A Brahmin of Bharadwaja Gotra named Vithalaraya is mentioned in an inscription dated 1516 A.D. as the holder of vritti (village) Quoted by T. Divya "The Cult Of Vithoba As Revealed Through The Inscriptions- A Study" edited by Dr. G. Sethuraman, *South Indian History Congress Twenty ninth Annual Session Proceedings*, Tirunelveli, Jan 30, 31 and Feb 1, , 2009, p. 398.

<sup>43</sup> Anila Verghese, *Archaeology, Art and Religion*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 45.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p. 45.

<sup>45</sup> Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 93.



soldiers.<sup>46</sup> The temples of Kanchi, Tirupati, Simhacalam and Ahobalam (all Vaisnava) as well as those of Tiruvannamalai, Chidambaram, Kalahasti, Srisailam and Amaravati (all Saiva) received liberal grants of land from Krishnadeva Raya. Smartas, Vaishnavas and Jains were found in his service.<sup>47</sup>

The ruler's right from beginning tried to keep the various religious groups and communities in balance by projecting the elements of commonality. The following passage is evidently suggestive of it. "The Jainas and Śrivaishnavas (followers of Śri Ramānujācārya) were two prominent religious communities in the Vijayanagara period. Serious differences appear to have developed once, between the two, regarding the use of certain privileges like the use of *pancha-mahāvādyas* and *kalaśa* in their respective temples. Differences soared so high that they resulted in clashes and even to the extent of the killing of the Jainas. An inscription from Kalya (No.88) reporting this event bluntly puts that the Jainas were killed by the Śrivaishnavas. Interestingly, an inscription from Śravaṇabēlgoḷa (No.89) which also reports the same event, only states that a dispute arose between the two communities. The matter was taken to the king by the Jainas of the whole *nāḍu*. The king Bukka I heard both the parties and examined the case and gave a verdict, which satisfied both the parties. As a process of compromise, he made them hold the hand of each other and told them that there was really no difference between the two religions and that it was incumbent upon the Śrivaishnavas to protect the Jainas."<sup>48</sup>

Duarte Barbosa records that "The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go, and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without inquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> K.A.Nilakanta.Sastri, *Development of Religion in South India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1992, p. 126.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>48</sup> Shrinivas Ritti, B.R. Gopal (ed.) *Inscriptions of Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, ICHR, New Delhi, 2004, p. xxv

<sup>49</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 202.



**Figure 1: Jain Temple of Kunthu Jinanatha (1385)**

The centuries just prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom were characterized by intense religious activity in southern India. Various sects and sub-sects emerged; temples assumed great importance and *mathas* fostered the spread of religion and learning.<sup>50</sup>

South India is known for a large number of temples, whose beginnings can be traced back to the times of the Pallavas, the Chalukyas, the Hoysalas and the Cholas. Along with the temples, there got disseminated different set of ideologies. Some were prominent in some particular point of time and the other at another point of time. Seeing the prominent ideologies, which were there in currency the rulers shifted their ideology for political advantages. Sometimes temples were constructed on the basis of shift of ideologies. These shifts were followed by spatial processes and the new ideologies were inscribed onto space through a chain of construction process by

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<sup>50</sup> Anila Verghese, *Archaeology Art and Religion, New Perspectives on Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 4

which temples, *mathas* and different structures were erected as apart of the strategy to capitalize on the dominant ideology for political processes.

Paes who visited the city in 1520 gives a very interesting account of the city and shows how religious activities were celebrated in the empire, “Outside the city walls on the north there are three very beautiful pagodas, one of which is called Vitella,<sup>51</sup> and it stands over against this city of Nagumdym (Anegundi); the other is called *Aōperadianar*,<sup>52</sup> and this is the one which they hold in most veneration, and to which they make great pilgrimages”<sup>53</sup>. He visited the Pampapati temple in the reign of Krishna Raya, and states that the temples seem to have presented much the same appearance that it does now. He further states, “In this pagoda, opposite to its principal gate which is to the east, there is a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades, in which are sheltered the pilgrims that came to it, and there are also houses for the lodging of the upper classes, the king has a palace in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda. There is a pomegranate tree above this first gate; the gate has a very lofty tower all covered with rows of men and women and hunting scenes and many other representations, and as the tower goes narrowing towards the top so the images diminish in size. Passing this first gate, you come at once into a large courtyard with another gate of the same sort as the first, except that it is rather smaller throughout, and passing this second gate, there is a large count with verandahs all round on pillars of stone, and in the middle of this court is the house of the idol.”<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Fifth line of the wall encircles the heart of the city which probably was the “Hosapattana” of Hoysala kings. In later days it came to be called Vijayanagara. By and large “Vijayanagara” is used for the whole of the capital, but in some cases, in restricted sense, it represents only the heart of the city. That is why Paes says “outside the city wall...” Vithala is outside the city wall and the most beautiful temple in Hampi. Glorious days of the temple started in the times of Sāluvas and reached the zenith during the Tuḷuvas due to the influence of Mādhva pontiffs who were also royal preceptors and also great devotees of God Vithala. Later, in king Sadāśivarāya’s period their places were occupied by śrivaishnavas. Other temples were kṛṣṇa Acyuta & Virūpākṣa.

<sup>52</sup> Probably, Pampāvirūpākṣa or Pampāpatinātha has become Aōperadianar to Portuguese ears. There is no doubt that Paes is now in and around Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi. The protecting deity Pampā-Virūpākṣa was also the royal deity and it was the main temple in the capital.

<sup>53</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narratives of Domingo Paes” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz* (16 Century Portuguese Chroniclers and others), NBT, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 84-5.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85-6.

One of the mechanisms for strengthening dharma, which constituted the value base of the empire, was temple festival. Festivals were believed to strengthen dharma, establish the presence of divine powers in the kingdom and stimulate the cosmic flow of gifts and fertility. For Paes, festivals, although basically religious in character had political, economic, social and military significance. The patronage of religion, especially the royal celebration of public rituals such as Mahanavami<sup>55</sup>, highlights the fact that in the Vijayanagara system the relationship between kings and gods was one

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<sup>55</sup> The *Mahanavami* festival was the largest festival in Vijayanagar calendar. The principal information of the festival was received from the accounts of Paes and Nuniz who observed the festival during their visit to the city. Paes in his account describes the festival of the Vijayanagara Empire, “Whenever the festival of any temples occur, Brahmans drag along certain triumphal cars which run on wheels, and with it go dancing girls and other women with music to the temple, (conducting) the idol along the said street with much pomp. When the time of the principal festival arrives the king comes from the new city to this city of Bisnaga, since it is the capital of the kingdom and it is the custom there to make their feasts and to assemble. For these feasts are summoned all the dancing women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues, except only those whom the king may have sent to make war, or those who are in other parts, or at the far end of the kingdom of Oria and the territories of the Ydavcao.”

These feasts begin on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September and they last nine days, and take place at the king's place. This festival represented the splendor, power, religious commitment and affluence of the Vijayanagar Empire. Although the festival was mainly religious but involved a lot of common people of the region. The king of Vijayanagar used to preside over the festival during their visit in the city.

During the *Mahanavami* festival, the nobles of the kingdom used to make a new promise to their monarch and he in return granted them favours. The festival used to commence by the king's visit to the statue of the deity and after his sacrifice of twenty-four buffaloes and hundred and fifty sheep.

On the day of the *Mahanavami* festival, the royal audience arrives in the afternoon. The afternoon events of the *Mahanavami* festival mostly involved the dancing of women and wrestling.

The *Mahanavami* festival continued even after sunset. Then the celebration proceeded with drama, fireworks, dancing and displays of wealth. According to Nuniz, the women used to wear heavy gold ornaments adorned with precious stones during the festival. Each day of the *Mahanavami* festival ended with further prayer and sacrifice. The festival concludes on the ninth and final day. On the concluding day of the festival, 250 buffaloes and 4500 sheep were slaughtered. The final event of the *Mahanavami* festival was a military review in which the huge army was lined up in such a way that one could see neither plain nor the hill as that was entirely covered with troops.

of partnership. The transactions between kings, temple deities, priests and sectarian leaders point to a relationship of mutual interdependence. The priests made offerings to and performed services for the gods, the gods preserved the king, his kingdom and his subjects and the king protected and awarded material rewards to the temples, the priests or sectarian leaders. Thus while the temples and sectarian leaders bestowed honours and blessings on the king, the ruler in turn conferred on them protection and riches.<sup>56</sup>

Two passages from *Amuktamalyada* also speak of the role of religion in one's life, which is indicative of the way how the people blindly believed in religion during the Vijayanagara reign: "Giving endowments is

For the protection of Brahmins;

Gaining divine knowledge is

For your own protection; in any case,

Have faith and seek protection from Nārāyan!

In any way, 'Rajyante narakam dhruva'

After the end of the reign hell is for sure

Is a saying none can escape! <sup>57</sup>

The otherworld captured the fascination of even the rulers, who banked upon religion not only for political processes, but also for reasons of their spiritual perceptions.

"The expenditure of money, which is utilized

For buying elephants and horses, in feeding them,

In maintaining soldiers, in the worship of gods and Brahmins

And, in one's own enjoyment can never be considered expenditure!"<sup>58</sup>

The temples of Vijayanagara period could be divided into three groups on the basis of the century in which they were constructed; namely those of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The early Sangama kings were ardent Saivas as is indicated by the presence of a number of pre-Vijayanagara Saivite Shrines on Hemakuta hill

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<sup>56</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Srinivas Sistla (trans), *Sri Krishna Deva Raya Amuktamalyada*, IV, (277) *Drusya Kala Deepika*, Visakhapatnam, 2010, pp. 328-33.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (262), 2010, pp. 328-33.

and the south bank, some even dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.<sup>59</sup> Temples of the fourteenth century are confined to its last two decades, specifically from the reign of the third monarch of Sangama dynasty, Harihara II (AD 1377-1404). Of the fifteenth century, the dated monuments are mainly those built in the first half of the century, from the period of the later Sangamas such as Devaraya I (AD 1406-1422), Devaraya II (AD 1424-1446) and even Mallikarjuna (AD 1446-65). During the latter part of the fifteenth century political turmoil and debility entered the kingdom. Since then no dated buildings are available from this period. However, the heyday of Vijayanagara temple architecture was once again initiated in the sixteenth century, prior to AD 1565 during the times of the Tuluvas. Two main traditions of temple buildings, namely the Deccan and the Tamil, merged to form the mature Vijayanagara style of temple architecture. The earlier influence was of the Deccan tradition that had developed in this area from the 10th-11th century AD onwards. Temple architecture in the Deccan, in the centuries prior to the Vijayanagara period, consisted of several closely related styles, using different materials.<sup>60</sup>

Dhurjati or Dhoorjati who was a Telegu poet in the court of the king Krishnadevaraya had written *Sri Kalahasteswara* (hundred poems in the name of Lord Shiva.) His lines suggest that while the Vaishnava cult was patronized by the rulers, devotion to Siva was equally vibrant:

The lines of *Sri Kalahasteswara* run as follows: “Oh lord Siva, by addressing your name, it gives us all needs, oh Siva Maheshwara, by praising your name a hard diamond could become a soft flower, fire could become a cold ice, ocean into land and thus making it a zone to stay, even enemy could become close friend and poison could be changed into *amrit*”<sup>61</sup>.

Mahalingam is of the opinion that, “The temple was a wealthy institution on which depended a large number of persons belonging to different professions; it was a land

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<sup>59</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as Revealed Through Its Monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 16.

<sup>60</sup> Anila Verghese, *Archaeology, Art and Religion New Perspectives on Vijayanagara*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 58-9.

<sup>61</sup> Pramila Chandramohan, Sri Kalahastiswara poem no 45 in Satakam in Telugu Sataka Sahityam available in the internet :<http://telugubhakti.com/telugupages/Monthly/Satakalu/Satakalu.htm>.

45. పవిత్రపుష్పంబగు, నగ్నిమంచగు, నకూపారంబు భూకీంకలం  
బవు, శత్రుండతిమిత్రుడౌ, విషముదివ్యావశిరమౌనెన్నగా  
నవ నీ మండలి లోవలన్ శివ శివేశ్వర భాష డోల్లాసికిన్  
శివ! నీ నామము సర్వవశ్యకతమౌ, శ్రీకాళహస్తీశ్వరా!

'శివ, శివ యన రాదా! శివనామము చేదా?

భవ సాగర మీద దుర్భర వేదన లేదా?

కరుణాకుడు కాదా! ' అను విధముగా నీనామజపము మాకు అన్ని భోగములనిచ్చునుకదా శివ  
మహేశ్వరా! నీ నామము వజ్రాన్ని పూవులాగా మెత్తగా, అగ్నిని మంచులాగా చల్లగా, సముద్రాన్ని భూమి  
లాగా నివాసయోగ్యంగా, శత్రువుని మిత్రునిగా, విషాన్ని మృష్ణాన్నంగా చేస్తుంది.

lord, engaged labour and cultivated lands, besides encouraging rural activities like extension of cultivation and rehabilitation of villages. It was a huge consumer and purchased various articles for purposes of carrying on worship in temple. The temple treasury was a bank, lending money to the people during times of need. It was a great promoter of rural industries like handicrafts and afforded employment to the poor.”<sup>62</sup>

Inscriptions give us some idea of the diverse secular functions the Hindu temples were designed to discharge: they were fortresses, treasuries, courthouses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, and halls of learning and amusement. <sup>63</sup>

Vijayanagara temples not only discharged secular functions but also provided employment and livelihood to a large number of people. Perhaps the most detailed account of the number of people who were thus supported by a temple and the wages thus received is that given in the Tanjore inscriptions.<sup>64</sup> The list includes the following:-

**Table: 2 People supported by a temple and the wages they received given in Tanjore inscriptions.**

Details of the Employee	Number	Remuneration for each
Dancing girls	400	1 <i>veli</i> of land and 1 house
Dancing masters	12	1 ½ to 2 <i>veli</i> of land
Singers	5	1 ½ <i>veli</i> of land
Pipers	7	1 ½ <i>veli</i> of land
Drummers	2	1 ½ <i>veli</i> of land
Lute- players	2	1 ½ <i>veli</i> of land

<sup>62</sup> T.V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life In The Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> A. Appadorai (ed.), *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, Vol. I, University of Madras, 1990, pp. 274-5.

<sup>64</sup> 1011 A.D, *Archaeological Survey of India, South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Calcutta, Part I 1891, Part II 1892, Part III 1895, Part IV 1913, Part V 1916. p. 66; A. Appadorai(ed.), *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, vol.I, University of Madras, Madras, 1990, pp. 275-6.



Singers in Sanskrit	3	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Singers in Tamil	4	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Drummers (big)	3	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Conch- blowers	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Pakkavādyar	5	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Gāndharvar (Musicians)	3	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Drummer	1	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Troops of musicians	16	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Tiruvāy kelvi	5	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Superintendents of temple women and female musicians	2	2 <i>veli</i> of land
Accountants	4	2 <i>veli</i> of land
Under- accountants	4	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Drummers	66	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Sacred parasol- bearer	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Sacred parasol- bearers	10	8/20 <i>veli</i> of land
Lamp- lighter	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Lamp- lighters	7	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Sprinklers of water	4	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Cannāliyal	2	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Potter	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Potters	10	8/20 <i>veli</i> of land
Washermen	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Kāvidi	2	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Barbers	2	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Barber	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Astrologers	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Astrologers	4	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Tailors	2	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Jewel- stitcher	1	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Brazier	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Master- carpenter	1	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <i>veli</i> of land
Assistant carpenters	4	<sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> <i>veli</i> of land

Pānan	4	1 ½ <i>veli</i> of land
Superintendent of goldsmiths	1	1 <i>veli</i> of land
Total	609	

Hampi was traditionally associated with Shiva long before the founding of the Vijayanagara empire.<sup>65</sup> It has its ancient sanctity in the fact that it was considered to be the capital of the kingdom of Kishkinda which is said to have flourished during the period of the *Ramayana*, and was ruled over by the powerful brothers Vali and Sugriva of the monkey clan. Various natural features around the temple are associated with the story of Rama and thus provide a fitting landscape for the Rama temple complex. For example, a small tank near the south bank of the river Tungabhadra is known as Sita sarovar and is said to be the place where Sita bathed.<sup>66</sup>

Within the empire, the royal patronage of the cult of Rama dates from the early fifteenth century. An inscription of AD 1433 of Devaraya II, records a gift of a village to a temple of Ramachandra.<sup>67</sup> The urban and political meanings of Ramchandra temple ( Hazara Rama), which occupied the central position in the city of Hampi assert an homology of king and god. It was the first major construction in the capital in the imported Tamil style.<sup>68</sup>

The first inscription on the *mandapa* of the principal shrine is conspicuously located on the *adhishtana* moulding immediately to the right (north) of the main entrance (east doorway). The inscription consists of a two- lined Sanskrit *shloka* in Devanagari script<sup>69</sup>. According to this record, Devaraya is blessed by the goddess Pampa, and is compared with three other great kings of the past and their protective goddesses.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese, *Sculpture At Vijayanagara: Iconography and style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998, p. 30.

<sup>66</sup> Himanshu Prabha Ray, "Vijayanagar: The City of Victory An Archaeological Perspective" in International Seminar on *Cities in Medieval India*, JNU, 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> March, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 47.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>69</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, IV, Archaeological Survey of India, Madras, 1923, p. 252.

<sup>70</sup> Anna L Dallapiccola., John M Fritz., and George Michell and S. Rajasekhara , *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992, p. 271. Sanskrit inscription on the *mandapa* of the principal shrine, *adhishtana* of east wall:

1.Sri Vani- iva Bhojarajam Tripuramba Vatsarajam- iva



**Figure 2: Ramachandra Temple , South Wall**

One of the most significant cultural and religious transformations that happened in the Vijayanagara was the religious transition from the cult of Pampadevi into the consort of Virupaksha of Saiva tradition and also from Narasimha cult to that of Rama in the fifteenth century, ultimately making these religious transitions to appear visibly on the monuments of the city of Hampi.<sup>71</sup>

Many of the Vijayanagara rulers conveniently chose to keep themselves closer to the religious institutions of the resourceful segments of the society and patronized them in the process of mobilizing resources and support from the latter. One evident case is the visit of the king to a Jaina temple referred to by Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha<sup>72</sup>

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2.Kali-va Vikramarkam Kalayati Pampa- adya Devarayanpam.

As Vani blesses king Bhoja, Tripuramba king Vatsaraja, and Kali king Vikramarka, so does Pampa now bless king Devaraya.

<sup>71</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995.

<sup>72</sup> BVS was composed in about 1457 either in Karkala or Mudabidre. The author is Ratnakaravarni.

The king at times made his visit to such religious institutions in a highly impressive way, making his presence impressively visible and attracting a large crowd, whose attention while converging at the shrine was made to get concentrated on the ruler, making him (in the place of the deity) to evolve as the centre of attraction. Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha says:

“Next day, awakened by the songs of the ladies, he got up and went directly to the bathing chamber. After the bath, he wore a silk dhoti, applied an auspicious *tilaka* on his forehead, slipped on his silver sandals and walked towards the Jaina temple. With all humility he proceeded towards the shrine. No panegyrists or [other] persons paid homage to him; no attendants carrying the royal umbrella were to accompany him. Only his wives, who had also taken a bath, followed him. The king held in his hand a *madala* fruit to be offered to the deity, while his wives carried the various items required for performing the puja. As they were walking they sang or chanted the names of the god.”

“The temple was situated in a garden filled with flowers close to the king’s palace. On nearing it, the king left his sandals outside. The shrine was similar to the *kalpabhujā* (divine wishing tree, which can grant any desire of mankind). It had been embellished with pot-shaped finials of pearls and with gems set in decorative patterns. [On its roof] flags and banners were fluttering. In the temple, big bells were loudly resounding and at the appropriate places were the statues of the Jaina siddhas. Having folded his hands, the king went round the shrine, keeping it to his right [side]; then he washed his feet and entered. He stood before the image of the Jina, offered it golden flowers and prayed with great reverence. He prostrated himself three times before it; thereafter he sat on a mat of grass [or reeds] and performed the prescribed rituals. While he was thus engaged, the queens prayed for the welfare of their husband. After paying reverence to the Jaina ascetics, the king and his 500 queens performed the *ashtavidha- archane* (eight kinds of worship) before the life-sized image of the Jina. Then, together, they performed *abhisheka*, bathing the statue with pots full of tender coconut water, flower petals, smashed bananas, pure ghee, milk, curds, sugarcane juice and the like. All the while, the lady servants quickly removed any *abhisheka* leftovers [from the ground]. The statue was further lustrated with *lajonga- churna* (flour of parched grains), *kumkumachurna* (saffron coloured powder) and basketfuls of variously colored flowers. Once the *ashtavidha- archane* were celebrated and 108 lotus flowers were placed before the image, the concluding ritual was performed.

Though it was a private chapel situated near the palace and not meant for public worship, yet twelve lakhs of devotees had gathered there to witness the ritual. At noon, the bell rang and the priests went to their respective monasteries, while the king and the queens continued their religious practices, such as fasting and meditating; [they spent] the rest of the day relaxing”.<sup>73</sup>

The early Sangama kings were ardent Saivas, with Virupaksha as their patron deity. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Vijayanagara rulers developed a preference for Vaishnavism, and came to be influenced more and more by Shri vaishnava doctrine. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Tuluvas were particularly devoted to Venkateshwara of Tirupati (Tirumala). Under Krishnadeva Raya, the cult of Vithoba (Vithala) was promoted at the capital. The Krishna cult in the city was propagated and fostered by the great Krishnadevaraya who following his victorious Udayagiri campaign, brought an icon of the deity from Udayagiri and installed it in a magnificent and spacious temple complex that he built in his capital in A.D. 1515.<sup>74</sup>

Yet the king, like his predecessors, continued to pay homage to Virupaksha, and made substantial grants to the temples dedicated to this deity and other important Saiva deities throughout the empire, as at *Kalahasti* and *Kanchipuram* for example.<sup>75</sup>

The rich endowments made to the temple of Virupaksha and the list of donors also highlight the extensive patronage enjoyed by the cult during this period. Among the various endowments included villages, land, wetland, reservoir, canals etc, which is indicative of the factor these gifts though had a religious purpose, virtually acted as stimulants for agriculture.

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<sup>73</sup> Ratnakaravarni, *Bharatesha Vaibhava Sangraha* edited by T.S. Shyama Rao, Tandavamurthy Press, Mysore, 1986, (BVS, XVI, 1-15; pp. 220-7) quoted by Anna. L. Dallapiccola (ed.), *King, Court and Capital*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2003, p. 117.

<sup>74</sup> Anila Verghese, *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara as revealed through its monuments*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 56.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19, 135.

**Figure 3 Inscriptional subject**

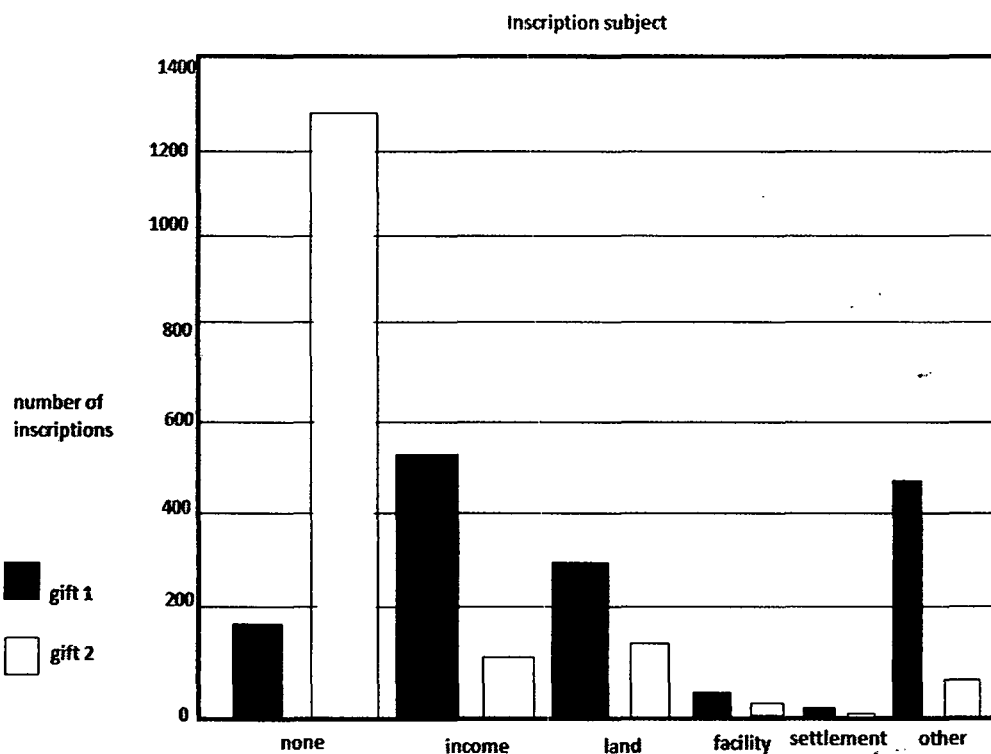


Figure. Inscriptional subject, both gifts(all districts)

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 gift of village                       | 11 meligolaga rights          |
| 2 gift of land                          | 12 cash gifts for agriculture |
| 3 gift of wet land                      | 13 land transfer              |
| 4 construction of reservoir(or gift of) | 14 land reclamation           |
| 5 maintenance of reservoir              | 15 land below a reservoir     |
| 6 construction of canal                 | 16 gift of office             |
| 7 maintenance of canal                  | 17 gift of money income       |
| 8 tax remission                         | 18 gift of dry land           |
| 9 nonagricultural                       | 19 founding of village        |
| 10 commercial agreement                 | 20 land below a canal         |
| 00 unknown.                             |                               |

(Source: Kathleen D. Morrison, *Fields of Victory*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. , New Delhi, 2000, pp.119- 22.)

Thus the religious processes around the temple of Virupaksha and the processes of endowments-giving to diverse religious institutions invariably were linked with economic processes of the times, with bearing either on agricultural operations or on

trade and money economy.

The Vijayanagara rulers placed themselves under the protection of Virupaksha and adopted the motto 'Shri Virupaksha' as their sign-manual. With the shift in court patronage during the first half of the sixteenth century, Vaishnavism surpassed Shaivism in importance at the site.<sup>76</sup> Vijayanagara kings were Hindu and donated generously to the large temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. The countless small shrines and large temples found throughout the Vijayanagara metropolitan region,<sup>77</sup> provide evidence for the diversity of South Indian religious practices and institutions, which varied widely in scale and in sponsorship<sup>78</sup> and the state of Vijayanagara was built upon the richness of this multi-culturalism.

Donors included royalty, local elites, nayaks, military leaders and merchants among others. The ruler and the royal household were among the main sponsors of building activity at the capital. Yet they were not the exclusive patrons of the arts; other benefactors were also involved in giving financial support to the establishment of religious institutions. This has been confirmed by the sculptures found in the temples.<sup>79</sup>

The above discussion shows the nature of Vijayanagara empire on the eve of Portuguese arrival. Materially the empire had a solid basis, as the wealth from intensified agriculture and commerce sustained many of its value-intensive activities. The Vijayanagara period witnessed an expansion of agriculture from the older zones of riverine cultivation to drier, upland tracts. During the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries, many large settlements grew up around the temples, which thus became the centres of commerce and production thus augmenting urban proportions. Donations of land and wealth contributed to agricultural expansion thus resulted into

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<sup>76</sup> Anna I. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and Style*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998, p. 30.

<sup>77</sup> Carla Sinopoli, *Pots and Palaces: The Earthenware Ceramics of the Noblemen's Quarter of Vijayanagara*, Vijayanagra Research Project Series, vol 1, Manohar, New Delhi, 1993, p. a.

<sup>78</sup> Carla M. Sinopoli, *The political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 93.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98-101.

large scale demographic shifts. Many temple centres became centres of population growth as small cities grew around the temple nucleus which consists of priests, musicians, poets, accountants, dancers, sweepers, carpenters, masons, potters, smiths and weavers. The rulers and co-sharers of power patronized the various cultural processes of the empire, conveniently converting them as devices for augmenting their power and influence. During the pre- Vijayanagara times the site was a significant Saivite Kshetra. The cult of the local goddess Pampa is an ancient one, which in course of time was absorbed into Saivism. It dominated in the city till the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Vaishnavism gained ground in the city under the Saluvas, and more particularly, the Tuluvas. The multiple versions of Hinduism that existed within the Vijayanagara empire in the form of Vaishnavism, Saivism, Virasaivism, Viravaishnavism and Jainism though appeared to be having mutually conflicting ideologies and divergent practices, turned out to be different cultural and religious strands and layers that wove the empire around the Vijayanagara ruler, whose success actually depended on maintaining a balancing of all by keeping himself closer to the deities of all religious segments of Hinduism and by liberal donations to the shrines dedicated to them. It was through these religious processes that the power-exercise over the empire was effectively implemented by the Vijayanagara rulers. The result was the generation of an accommodative religious atmosphere to respect the religious ideology of the other. It was this accommodative cultural character of Vijayanagara that paved way for a commercial and political rapport with the religiously and culturally different Portuguese. However, the anti-Islamic perceptions and agenda of the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers brought their relationship to much thicker terms in the sixteenth century. However, it was the economic conflicts to control the fertile Raichur doab that intensified animosity between Vijayanagara and Bahamani kingdom. The Bahmanis and their five successor Muslim kingdoms carried on the struggle for a long period of time, drawing and re-drawing the political and economic map of Deccan until the battle-field of Rakshasa-Tangadi or Talikota in 1565. The Vijayanagara rulers, despite the differences of religious ideologies that the various Hindu factions maintained, managed to keep the various segments under a common umbrella making them forget their conflicting ideologies and tried to project themselves as the champions of everything each segment religiously upheld and then to divert their resources and personnel for the wars against the Bahmanis. For this purpose the Vijayanagara rulers heavily banked upon the system of religious



patronage, whereby they projected themselves as the patron of each group. The material, political and religious activities of the Vijayanagara empire witnessed a considerable alteration with the entry of the Portuguese as their collaborators and allies.

## Chapter 2

### Entry of the Portuguese and their Power Structures in India

The Portuguese, who tried to control the trade of Indian Ocean through different devices, had to depend on a variety of Asian partners, including rulers, power-brokers, merchants, bankers, commercial intermediaries, distributors, for carrying out their politico-commercial programmes. With the help of these partners the Portuguese established themselves as conquerors, traders, settlers, adventurers and missionaries in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. For many centuries the Egyptians had held the monopoly of the Indian trade, and the Venetians were closely connected with this circulatory process as the chief carriers of Indian goods from Alexandria to Europe. But the Portuguese immediately after the discovery of the Cape route and their first visit to Calicut in 1498, resolved to become the commercial masters of the East, and for that purpose they not only claimed the monopoly right of trade in certain commodities and through the Cape route, but also undertook the wonderful enterprise of conquering the major maritime trading centres of Asia, from the Red Sea round the Persian Gulf, along all the shores of India, and away to the Straits China and Japan.<sup>1</sup>

The Portuguese discoveries were 'followed by conquests, with an incredible increase as well of souls brought to the faith, as of glory and dominions added to the crown of Portugal. With repeated voyages in the process of finding resourceful ports for procuring cargo needed for Europe, the Portuguese began to either attack or negotiate with the kingdoms of Deccan, Cambay and Gujarat, taking the forts of Diu, Cambay, Surat, Daman, Tarapor, Mahim, Bassein, Thana, Chaul, Dabul and other places almost two hundred miles along the coast, besides the Islands of Goa, Salcete, Bardez,

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Kyd Narine, '*History of Konkan*', Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 2001, p. 43.

Anjediv and others, the small city of S. Thomas in Coromandel, and the enclaves of Cochin, Calicut and Island of Ceylon.’<sup>2</sup>

The west coast of India was the major area of concern for the Portuguese king because of its being the source of spices and other commodities dear in Europe, and its closeness to the Red Sea- Venice routes, through which spices and other cargo were diverted to Europe undermining the monopoly claims of the Portuguese. This made the Portuguese focus on the west coast of India with several devices and mechanisms for controlling the movement of commodities in the Arabian Sea. A network of fortresses, reinforced by a regular patrolling fleet, was introduced to prevent the diversion of spices and other commodities reserved for the crown under the category of royal monopoly, from the diverse production centres of Asia to the eastern Mediterranean through the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.<sup>3</sup>

The capture of the land-locked island of Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur by Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1510 laid the foundation of the Portuguese eastern empire; Albuquerque fortified Goa and in the new scheme of developments, Goa was made to be the focal point of Portuguese circuits, where the seat of *Estado da India* was finally shifted in 1530.<sup>4</sup> Goa provided the Portuguese with a deep water port, refueling facilities, steady access to the pepper and horse trade and hopefully a lucrative outlet for European luxury goods<sup>5</sup>. As Pius Malekandathil has pointed out, “The Portuguese, who developed Goa as their seat in Asia, transferred a large set of meanings of power into its urban space by resorting to architectural process as a language of domination.”<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Surendranath Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of the Thevenot and Careri*, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2010, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Pius Malekandathil, “The Portuguese Casados and the Intra- Asian Trade, 1500-1663”, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Millenium 61<sup>st</sup> Session, Kolkata 2000-1, Part I, Kolkata, 2001, pp. 385-96.

<sup>5</sup> Ifeka Caroline, “The Image of Goa” in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions*, edited by Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Pius Malekandathil, “City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-city of Goa- 1700” in *Studies in History*, 25, 1, n.s. 2009, p. 13.

## I. Pattern of Portuguese Expansion in India

The politico-commercial expansion of the Portuguese in India had an underlying rhythm: The Portuguese crown wanted to control both economically and politically the major maritime trading centres along the west coast of India for the purpose of depriving the traditional Indian merchants of cargo needed for their trade with eastern Mediterranean via Red-Sea Venice route. This was achieved by crown –sponsored expansion along the west coast by establishing fortified settlements in key strategic centres and by regular patrolling along the coast. The official expansion carried out by the Portuguese officials; with the help of instruments and devices of the state in areas lying on the west coast of India was sponsored by the Portuguese crown and limited principally to the coastal regions between Gujarat in the north and Quilon in the south. T. On the other hand, there was the expansion realized in the space lying to the east of Cape Comorin (Coromandel, Bengal and the South- East Asian regions) by the Portuguese private traders and renegades in the process of extending their individual commercial and entrepreneurial activities to a free space reasonably away from the power centres on the west coast of India. As the east coast of India was relatively free from Portuguese state control and official interference, any enterprising Portuguese individuals on reaching Goa or Cochin moved over to Coromandel, Bengal and to South-East Asia for establishing their private initiatives. The network mercantile enclaves that the Portuguese private traders established on the east coast of India initially existed independent of the official enclaves on the west coast of India; however later they were incorporated into the official format as components of Portuguese system of trade as these private traders eventually turned out to be suppliers for Lisbon-bound vessels. The third level of Portuguese expansion was carried out through the medium of ecclesiastical institutions and personnel, particularly through the missionaries and evangelizing devices of *Padroado*, which also acted as links connecting the privately expanded Portuguese settlements with the official segment. The Portuguese missionaries, who carried out expansion in far off places through their cultural institutions and devices, often acted as a bridge between these two types of settlements <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2010, p. 68.

When Vasco da Gama reached Calicut via Cape of Hope it opened altogether new chapter in the history of India's trading links with Europe. The voyage from Lisbon to Calicut took ten months and fourteen days. After coming to anchor on May 25 at Calicut, he prudently sent a man on shore to investigate. When two Moors from Tunis, who understood Portuguese, were brought to him, they shouted in anger: "The devil take you! What brought you here?" To this he courageously replied: "We have come in quest of Christians and spices."<sup>8</sup> The clarity in Portuguese purpose is indicated by the statement made to Tunisian merchants in Calicut that they had 'come to seek Christians and spices.

The arrival of the Portuguese into the Asian waters at the beginning of the sixteenth century introduced certain new elements into the mechanics of Asian trade. The introduction of the system of *cartaz* for Asian shipping compromised for the first time the basic principle of freedom of navigation on the high seas, though it must clearly be recognized that except on certain specific routes, and in relation to trade in particular commodities, it is not at all certain that the effect of the *cartaz* system in distorting the composition and/ or the direction of the Asian trade was more than marginal. Two such routes affected were those between the Malabar coast and the Red sea ports through which a considerable amount of trade in pepper was carried on by the so- called *pardesi* merchants<sup>9</sup> and there clearly was a great deal of hostility between the *Estado da India* and these merchants because of the trade in pepper, which was earmarked as an item under crown monopoly.<sup>10</sup>

Initially the Portuguese focused their commercial activities on coastal Kerala, from where they obtained pepper, ginger and other spices, which were then in high demand in Europe. However soon they realized that spice trade of Malabar could be much more profitably conducted if control over the trade in gold from east Africa could be achieved. This made the Portuguese to get interested in the trade of Gujarati textiles, which could be used for procuring gold from Mozambique and other ports of east

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<sup>8</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier His Life, His Times*, Vol. II, India 1541-1545 Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977, p. 139.

<sup>9</sup> Merchants of West Asian origin settled down on the Malabar coast and maintained commercial and cultural links with their homelands.

<sup>10</sup> Capt. D. Jena , "Portuguese- Gujarat trade" in *Mare Liberum, Revista de História dos Mares* N<sup>o</sup> 9," VII Seminario Internacional de História Indo- Portuguesa, Goa 1994", Lisbon Portugal, 1995, p. 149.

Africa. The desire for interfering in the trade of Gujarat to obtain gold and other cargo needed for obtaining spices of Malabar made the Portuguese move out of the boundaries of maritime Malabar and localize their base in Goa , which was of equidistance between Malabar and Gujarat. The frequent attacks that the Portuguese faced along the coast of Malabar from the Zamorin of Calicut formed another reason that prompted them to opt for Goa, where the local merchants, who were linked with the trading centres of the Vijayanagara empire, offered co-operation in their fights against the Bijapuri forces.<sup>11</sup>

Since trade in the Arabian Sea, particularly along the west coast of India, was traditionally in the hands of the Muslim merchants of different categories, the Portuguese attempts to establish monopoly right over the trade of west coast of India was not that easy.<sup>12</sup> Much more difficult was to establish political bases and enclaves adjacent to the maritime trading centres controlled by the Muslim merchant groups. It was at this juncture that Timmayya and other merchants linked with Vijayanagara empire came forward offering the Portuguese every possible support.

Prior to the close of the fifteenth century the Venetians had enjoyed a monopoly of the whole trade of Europe with the East, receiving the produce of the Eastern countries through Syria and Alexandria. But the discovery of a new route to India via the Cape of Good Hope, and the conquest by Albuquerque of Ormuz and Malacca, the two chief ports to which the Arab traders flocked for supplying the Venetians with merchandize, ushered in a re-orientation in the commercial world and contributed to enhance the importance of Goa by rendering it the principal emporium of trade between the East and West. From this time on, goods were conveyed to Europe by new hands and by a new track. The Venetians were supplanted by the Portuguese, while the goods, instead of being transmitted through the ports of the Levant and the Mediterranean Sea, were exported, on a considerably larger scale, from Goa to Lisbon, which had at this time become the greatest mart of Europe. Claiming the sole right of using the new route, and the absolute command of the Eastern seas, the

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<sup>11</sup> K.S.Mathew , *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth century*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1983; pp. 42-52, Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor", pp. 15-8.

<sup>12</sup> There were different categories of Muslim merchants like the al-Karimis, the Marakkars, the Mappilas, the Navayats, the Vohras , the Hadraumatis, etc., who appropriated a major share of the trade of west coast of India during this period.

Portuguese prevented, by means of their powerful navy, the vessels of every other nation from navigating therein, unless they possessed duly authenticated *cartazes* or passports.<sup>13</sup>

The Portuguese in the process of their expansion into the Indian Ocean set up different urban units; their presence was felt everywhere from Goa to Bengal, Coromandel Coast to Japan<sup>14</sup>, which were erected for meeting their needs, for mobilization of resources and for the promotion of trade.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his work, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650* gives three defining features of coastal trade which includes coast of southern India : in the east from Srikakulam to Cape Comorin, in the west, from Karwar to the same Cape. First, coastal trade was slow to change, since its basic patterns were determined by factors that were themselves sluggish, namely the distribution of population and the broad location of productive activities. These two determined on the one hand the need to import commodities such as food grains into some areas, while in other areas determining the exportable surplus of such goods. This serves to differentiate coastal trade from the far more volatile and fragile overseas trade carried on from the large ports and mercantile centres. Secondly, coastal trade was seasonal, on two accounts. In the case of overseas trade, shipping seasons were at least broadly demarcated, and there existed a season on each of the coasts when shipping almost came to a standstill. In the case of Coromandel, this comprised late October to early January, while in Malabar, it extended from early May to late July or early August. The third feature of coastal trade was that it was carried on in a relatively large number of small craft, in marked contrast to overseas trade which was carried out in a relatively limited number of sizeable vessels. For example : in south west coastal strips one finds vessels like *parangues*, *sambuqs* and *machuas*.<sup>15</sup>

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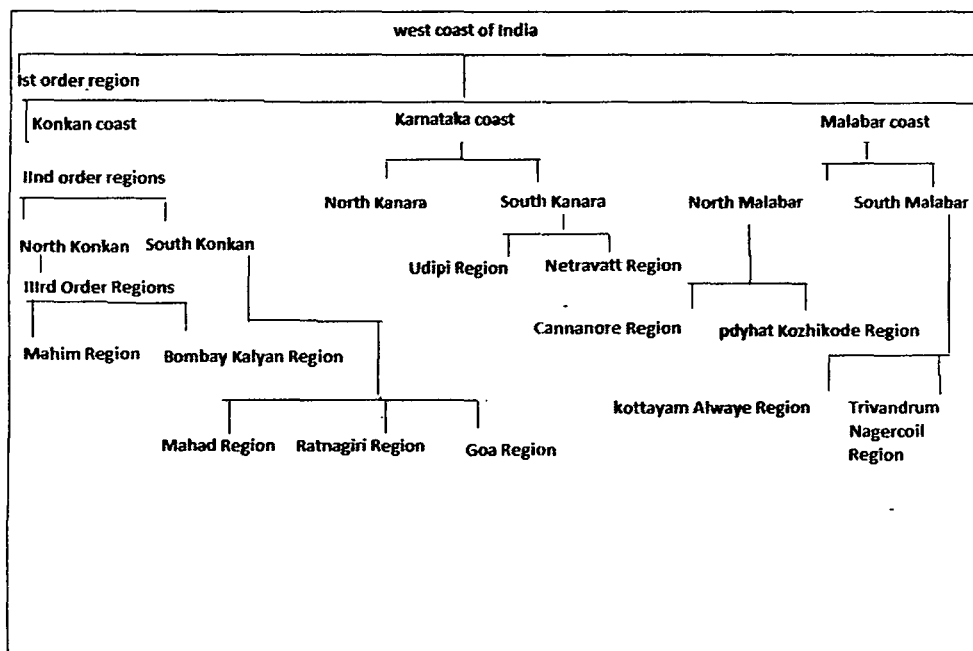
<sup>13</sup> Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Paula Jorge Sousa Pinto, "Purse and sword: D. Henrique Bendahara and Portuguese Melaka in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century", in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Sinners and Saints The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, p. 75.

<sup>15</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 48-9.

The West Coast from north to south can be divided into three first order regions- the Konkan coast joined with Maharashtra, the Karnataka coast joined with Mysore and the Malabar coast with Kerala. Goa was included in Konkan while Kanyakumari coast of Tamilnadu was included in the Malabar coast. On the basis of physical and cultural characteristics the three first order regions have been further divided into six second order and eleven third order regions.<sup>16</sup>

**Figure 4: West Coast of India**



Thus the coastal terrains of India where the Portuguese concentrated in different degrees were quite varied and geo-physically differently named. A.R. Disney says that their coastal lowlands vary in width from about twenty to fifty miles, being narrowest in the Konkan and north Kanara, and broadest in south Kanara and Malabar.<sup>17</sup>

John Linschoten noted: "The coast from Goa to Daman or the turning into Cambaia is called by those of Goa, the Northern Coast and from Goa to the Cape de Comorin is

<sup>16</sup> S. Kapoor, *History of Konkan from 600 AD to 1300 AD*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India, 1993, pp. 4-5.

<sup>17</sup> A. R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire Portuguese trade in Southwest India in the Early seventeenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1978, p. 1.



called the southern coast.<sup>18</sup> This geographical differentiation is made by the travelers on the basis of specific socio-economic processes happening in these places and on the basis of the impact on the society, culture, and economy in one way or the other. The sea fetched more population compared to hinterland, which was more prone to famine and thus sea played an important role upon the lives of the ordinary inhabitants in the coastal regions which was generally considered as the blessed one. Yogesh Sharma views that, “The coastal regions frequently had a higher concentration of population than the interior, as they provided livelihood to several socio- vocational groups - fishermen and seamen, agriculturists, those engaged in horticulture, manufacturers, weavers and merchandisers.<sup>19</sup>”

The Portuguese occupation of coastal territories along Konkan was realized initially with the help of Vijayanagara chiefs and mercantile groups. In 1510 Goa was captured from the Adil Shahis by the Portuguese with the help of a Vijayanagara feudatory called Timmayya, who besides passing on various strategic pieces of information about the city to the Portuguese, extended military and logistic support to the latter. On the one hand, military chieftains like Timmaya extended support to Portuguese to capture Goa, while the Vijayanagara merchants like Krishna Chatim, Loquoe Chatim and Senayis, acting as economic intermediaries between Vijayanagara terrain and the emerging Portuguese settlements along the Konkan coast, were the principal supporters for the Portuguese in Goa. What was followed was a long chain of diplomatic and political negotiations and interactions between the two followed by economic reinforcement for the purpose of initiating a chain of socio, economic and political processes in Deccan and Konkan almost parallel to those initiated by Adil Shahis and Qutub Shahis in Deccan and its coasts.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> A. C. Burnell (ed.), *The voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol. I, Printed for Hakluyt Society, London, 1885, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> Yogesh Sharma (ed.), *Coastal Histories, Society, and Ecology in pre modern India*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2010, p. XIX.

<sup>20</sup> The relationship which initially began as a political relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese eventually developed into a type of alliance that stimulated the economic process of the region, making Goa captured from the Bijapuris to be the main maritime outlet for the commodity – distribution of Vijayanagara. Goa, Cochin and Cannanore ensured regular supply of war horses from

In fact, Afonso de Albuquerque took Goa from the Bijapuris without blood-shed in 1508. However Adil Shah afterwards retook the city, but in 1510, Albuquerque recovered it again, with the slaughter of about 7000 of Bijapuri soldiers. Albuquerque was ably helped by Timmayya and other merchants of Vijayanagara Empire, who actually wanted to see an end of Bijapuri rule in the region. In order to make it a power base, Albuquerque built a fortress in Goa. This was followed by the attempts of the Portuguese to win over the good will and support of the locals by moderating the tribute and taxes they used to pay to Adil Shah. This was a political move to show them that the new rulers were less exacting like the Vijayanagara rulers under whose regime they had been living for a long span of time prior to the occupation of this region by the Bahmanis in 1471. The non-Muslim local population of Goa, still retaining memories of their connectivities with the Vijayanagara Empire, wholeheartedly welcomed the Portuguese and were happy to accept them as their rulers. In order to 'breed up soldiers for the wars, Albuquerque contrived that the Indian maids should be baptized, and married to the Portuguese, that the Indians might be united to his nation by affinity, and there might be no need of bringing fresh supplies still out of Portugal, to the depopulating of kingdom. Goa, the centre of all the Portuguese conquests, grew in wealth and renown, being the king of all the trade of the east, and the chief mart of India'.<sup>21</sup>

The mercantile collaborators of the Portuguese like Timmayya from the Vijayanagara kingdom thought that the Portuguese after having occupied Goa from the Bijapuris would return it to the Vijayanagara ruler and that the early mercantile beneficiaries of Vijayanagara ruler like himself would be in an advantageous position in the changed situation. However Afonso Albuquerque, who had a larger plan in his mind, wanted to make it the heart of the centralized imperial power structure he envisaged in the Indian Ocean. The letter written by Afonso Albuquerque to the Portuguese crown is

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Persia and Hormuz to Vijayanagara territory for the purpose of meeting the war needs of the Vijayanagara rulers. The best quality horses made available in the city of Vijayanagara by the Portuguese *casado* traders through Hormuz-Goa-Hampi route put the Vijayanagara rulers on a relatively superior position. The Portuguese also benefited immensely out of this trade since they got a sum of 40 ducats as customs duty from every horse.

<sup>21</sup> Surendranath Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of the Thevenot and Careri*, National Archives Of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 186.

indicative of his conscious effort to spare Brahmins and other non-Muslims, who were once attached to Vijayanagara kingdom:

The letter I wrote to your Majesty about the capture of Goa was dispatched the same afternoon, as I determined to send a ship to Cananor to catch the ships that were loading there, and to instruct them to call here on their way in order to show the natives how great was the power of your Majesty's fleet. In the capture of Goa and its fortress we succeeded better than we expected to do. We killed 300 Turks in the place, besides whom number of enemies were drowned in their flight across the river. After this I destroyed the city and put everyone to the sword. For the space of four days we spared not a single Moor, and we fired their Mosques, but we spared the Brahmins. The total number of Moors slain, both men and women, amounted to over 6,000. Some of the principal natives from whom the Turks had taken their possessions came up to our help on hearing of the destruction of Goa, and, taking possession of the roads leading from the city, gave no quarter to the fugitives. My plans now are not to allow a single Moor to enter Goa, and leaving a few ships there, to proceed to the Red sea." <sup>22</sup>

In 1510 when Afonso Albuquerque took charge as the governor of *Estado da India*, the sea oriented policy of his predecessor Francisco da Almeida was abandoned for a land- oriented imperial policy. An aggressively expansionist programme was henceforth initiated to keep under Portuguese control various commercially and strategically important centres and resourceful places of the Indian Ocean, that could ably be utilized for the building up of the Lusitanian commercial empire.<sup>23</sup>

By the mid- sixteenth century the Portuguese had evolved several kinds of settlements, from the fortified to the unfortified. The fortified ports (*fortalezas*), principally old Goa on the Mandovi river constituted the commercial and political centre of the *Estado da India*; then there were trading factories (*feitorias*) all along the western coast which were generally un-walled and only lightly defensible; lastly there were small forts (*praças*) like Cabo da Rama in southern Goa which were built at the

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<sup>22</sup> F.C.Danvers, *Report to the Secretaary of sate for India on Portuguese records Relating to the East Indies*, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1991, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2010, p. 69.

head of a promontory overlooking the mouth of a major inland waterway. These forts, often equipped with only one or two cannons, were intended to secure access to inland waterways for ships sailing in and out to destinations east and west of Goa, as well as the Viceroy's customs officers and the militia. Goods produced locally were transported down river to coastal entrepôts while imported goods of European provenance as well as goods manufactured in India were carried upstream. Some writers have called these three kinds of coastal settlements a *talassocracia*, sites held together by Goa's economic role in the region as a sea-based power.<sup>24</sup>

Francisco Sousa Lobo in his work "Indo-Portuguese Fortification" explains that the fortifications built or rebuilt by the Portuguese in India were located on the sea-coast which provided them access to resourceful inland terrains and enabled them to control movement of its resources. Moreover the fortifications also served as maritime bases for their protection and control of commerce.<sup>25</sup>

One of the first steps that Afonso Albuquerque took after the conquest of Goa was to create a new social base of Luso-Indians in the city by making them evolve out of the exclusive white Portuguese soldiers and Indian women. For this, he gave permission to many Portuguese soldiers, the vital apparatus of a state, to forego their profession and to get married to Indian women, particularly widowed Muslim women, and made them settle down in the city of Goa. Albuquerque was the protagonist of mixed marriages between Portuguese men and Indian women and also encouraged the *casados* to start petty shops and businesses.<sup>26</sup> In 1512 there were 200 Portuguese *casados* in Goa who formed the major chunk of the civil population of *Estado da India*.<sup>27</sup> John Huyghen van Linschoten says that "The Portuguese dwell in the towne among [all sorts of nations], as Indians, Heathens, Moores, Jewes, Armenians, Gusarates, Benianes, Bramenes, and of all Indian nations and people, which doe all

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<sup>24</sup> Caroline Ifeka, "The Image of Goa", in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions* edited by Teotonio R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 183.

<sup>25</sup> Francisco Sousa Lobo, "Indo-Portuguese Fortification" in Lotika Varadarajan (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, Indian National Science Academy and Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2006, Vol II, pp. 766-7.

<sup>26</sup> Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese Casados And The Intra-Asian Trade: 1500-1663" in *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress*, Millennium (61st) Session, Kolkata, IHC, 2001, p. 385.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

dwell and traficke therein, everie man holding his own religion, without constrainging any man to doe against his conscience, only (touching) their ceremonies of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other superstitions and devilish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbishop to use them openly, or in the Island, but they may free lie use them upon the firme land, and secretly in their houses.’<sup>28</sup> These details show that the Portuguese allowed a certain degree of multiculturalism to continue in Goa, although the general trend was to impose Lusitanian practices and beliefs on the natives.

The Portuguese made their ways of living visibly impressive, often manifesting a consumption culture that stood on par with the wealth and power that they wielded. The Portuguese lived pompously in India, both in their tables and cloathing, with a number of cafres or slaves to serve them, having some of these people to carry them in Palanchines on their shoulders and others great umbrellas of palm-tree leaves.<sup>29</sup> This has later been supported by Careri who says that “the Portuguese of Goa were prouder in their gait and actions than any others of their nationality. Persons of quality never went on foot but were either carried by a palankeen by their slaves or rode or horseback or went in gilt and painted gondolas. They were always attended by a slave who carried a fan or a umbrella.”<sup>30</sup> The Portuguese in the power centre of Goa made conscious efforts to project themselves in an impressive way so that the weight of power might get reflected on their dress and mannerism.

Similarly Goa, the core power centre of the Portuguese was equally made impressive with magnificent churches, edifices and civil structures. Laval was astonished at the sight of “ the superb buildings, churches, monasteries, palaces, forts, and other edifices built in the European style, and the power they have acquired, everything being as well maintained and observed as at Lisbon itself.”<sup>31</sup> Tavernier notes that, “all

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<sup>28</sup> A. C. Burnell (ed.), *The voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol. I, Printed for Hakluyt Society, London, 1885, pp.181-2.

<sup>29</sup> Surendranath Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of the Thevenot and Careri*, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 159.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> Albert Gray and H.C.P Bell, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval To the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil* Vol.II, Part 1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 26.

who have seen both Europe and Asia thoroughly agree with me that the port of Goa, that of Constantinople, and that of Toulon, are the three finest ports in both the continents”<sup>32</sup>. Goa under the Portuguese reached its zenith of splendour. The aspect of the city at this time is described by travellers in such glowing terms as to justify the appellation of ‘Goa *dourada*’ (golden Goa) which was given to it, and the proverb “*Quem vio Goa excusa de vêr Lisboa*,” i.e., “whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisboa”<sup>33</sup>.

However it was the returns from the trade of Goa that sustained the luxury-intense consumption culture and the building processes of the Portuguese. Horses and various commodities that the Vijayanagara Empire needed formed sizeable share of cargo traded in Goa. Duarte Barbosa says that ‘In this port of Goa there is a great trade in many kinds of goods, from the whole of Malabar, Chaul, Dabul and the great kingdom of Cambaya, which are consumed on the mainlands, and from the kingdom of Ormus come every year many ships laden with horses, and a great number of dealers from the great kingdom of Narsyngua and from Daquem come hither to buy them’.<sup>34</sup> This has been supported by Laval who notes that, “In this market also are sold great numbers of horses, splendidly caparisoned for the most part of Deccan. They come from Persia and Arabia, and are like those of Barbary; they are worth 500 pardos in their skins.<sup>35</sup>” For every horse an amount of 40 ducats was to be given to the Portuguese in Hormuz; in the Vijayanagara Empire they were sold for a value varying between 300 to 1000 ducats.<sup>36</sup> The Portuguese caravan of vessels used to carry 80 to 124 horses from Hormuz to Goa.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Tavernier's Travels In India* by Valentine Ball edited by William Crooke, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 150.

<sup>33</sup> José Nicolau Da Fonseca, *An Historical And Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 155-6.

<sup>34</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 178.

<sup>35</sup> Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval To the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas And Brazil* Vol.II, Part 1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> Karl H.Dannenfeldt (ed.), *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist & Traveller*, Massachussets, 1968, p. 121.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Thus along with Portuguese expansion, they developed a magnificent power edifice comprising various institutions and devices of domination into which can be included fortresses, patrolling armada, artillery and gunnery and *cartaz* devices. The visually impressive structures and edifices that they erected and the impressive way of moving about in palanquins and on horse back, besides the networking with various power holders of localities and neighbouring regions made their power edifice appear to be awe-evoking.

## **II. Portuguese Search for a Politico-Commercial Partner**

By the 11<sup>th</sup> century there arose a civilization which became truly global, western European civilization- one that was carried to the corners of the globe in the ships of Portugal and Spain in what is known as the 'Age of Discoveries', the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. This civilization, the creation of the Catholic Church, shared some of its creator's sense of Catholicity.<sup>38</sup> With the discovery of the sea- route and the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Kappat near Calicut in May 1498 the Portuguese had been looking for potential allies and resourceful partners for accomplishing their scheme of actions. Dearth of sufficient fund, paucity of personnel needed for the overseas enterprise and the inimical and hostile political and commercial world that they entered in India made the Portuguese look for partners, collaborators and supporters in India for carrying out their agenda.

The discovery of sea route to India opened what Sardar Pannikar called 'the Vasco da Gama epoch of Asian History.' Gama's feat of navigation with hostile crew and sailing at the mercy of winds and storms, was the climax of a century-long preparations in navigation and exploration master -minded by Prince Henry the navigator, one of the greatest sea- farers in history. It fired the imagination of poet Camões who in his immortal epic *Lusiadas* wove the tale of the exploits of the Lusitanian seafarers into a narration of historical voyage. Gama opened the gates of the 'mysterious East' and thus solved the riddles of centuries. He became the first discoverer of the means for utilizing sea- power as the foundation of colonial power.

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<sup>38</sup> Jose' Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal, *India and Portugal cultural interactions*, Marg Publications, Mumabai, 2001, p. 1.

The discovery made radical changes and Lisbon became the emporium of world trade with the East. Portugal became the mistress of the Eastern sea-route.<sup>39</sup>

The Portuguese with the Papal bulls obtained an exclusive right for their overseas trade in the east and also allowed themselves to discover and conquer the lands and the seas. The Portuguese under Prince Henry the navigator wrongly opined that nobody had visited the East from Europe and that Indians were all Christians, which were highly esteemed by the pope. The possibility that the Portuguese with the help of the Indian Christians would subjugate of the Muslims and would preach Christ to the non-Christians was highly recommended by the Pope. Consequently the Pope permitted the Portuguese to invade, conquer and appropriate territories and kingdoms all of those who were outside the Christian faith and reduce them to perpetual slavery.<sup>40</sup>

The anti-Muslim sentiments in Portugal resulting from centuries of Muslim domination prompted the Portuguese to move to the East in search of partner, probably in the legendary king Prester John, to fight against the Muslim Turks, in case the Ottomans who had captured Constantinople and Eastern Europe were to attack them. The search for the sources of gold and spices formed an added reason for them to seek a maritime route to the mysterious 'Indies'.<sup>41</sup>

Through the approval of the Pope, Portuguese trade and navigation was extended to different parts and regions of India, where others were not allowed to in their trade and discovery, they tried as much to keep the other foreign communities at arm's length. The Portuguese in the process of their expansion into the Indian ocean set up different urban units, their presence was felt everywhere from Goa to Bengal, Coromandel to Japan for meeting their needs, for mobilization of resources and for the promotion of trade. For the first time in 1502, Vasco da Gama introduced a device whereby the ships plying in the Indian Ocean had to take a pass from the Portuguese

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<sup>39</sup> K.M.Mathew, *History of Portuguese Navigation in India (1497-1600)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1988, p. X.

<sup>40</sup> K.S. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany: Sixteenth century*. Manohar, New Delhi, 1997, p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean-A History of people and the Sea*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 158.



authorities; else they would be captured and charged. Therefore with the introduction of *Cartaz* system the Portuguese asserted their supremacy over the Indian Ocean, which of course was humiliating for the all the merchants, nobles and rulers concerned.<sup>42</sup>

The sixteenth century is at times called the Portuguese century in Asia. It began with the Vasco da Gama's historic voyage of 1498 to Calicut in Malabar and ended when the Dutch and British successfully subverted the Portuguese control of the Indian Ocean waterway in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. The Portuguese came to trade but stayed on to make minor land conquests and set up a chain of fortresses/ factories in Mozambique, Ormuz<sup>43</sup>, Diu<sup>44</sup>, Goa<sup>45</sup> and Malacca<sup>46</sup> with the objective of regulating the maritime trade of the Indian ocean and exercising monopoly over the spice trade. These fortresses/ factories provided with strong garrison and adequate number of ships, served as naval bases and commercial interports as well<sup>47</sup>. In fact the Portuguese tried to retain their naval superiority over Asia by establishing trading posts on land called *feitorias*.<sup>48</sup>

The Portuguese who lacked enough material resources and personnel to conduct trade in the East had to depend on the Indian resources, personnel, traders and rulers, for mobilizing enough resources locally and for sustaining their regular commercial voyages and political enterprise. The need for depending on local non-Muslim rulers increased significantly because of the fact the major share of commerce in the Indian Ocean was then in the hands of Muslim traders and the elimination this mercantile group was not possible, as most of them had political backing from the various Muslim rulers of the Indian Ocean region or from Hindu rulers like the Zamorin, who

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<sup>42</sup> Luis Filipe Thomaz, "Precedents and parallels of the Portuguese Cartaz System", in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (ed.), *Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads*, Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew, Tellicherry, 2001, pp.67-85

<sup>43</sup> Factory in 1515

<sup>44</sup> Factory in 1535.

<sup>45</sup> Factory in 1510.

<sup>46</sup> Factory in 1511.

<sup>47</sup> K. M. Mathew "The Portuguese Naval Establishments," in *Mare Liberum, Revista de História dos Mares* N<sup>o</sup> 9," VII Seminario Internacional de História Indo-Portuguese, Goa 1994", Lisbon Portugal, 1995, p. 181.

<sup>48</sup> *Feitorias* were unfortified trading outposts which also served as strategic bases for their naval fleet.

wanted to generate wealth for their political expansion by attracting more traders linked with west Asia. The only non-Muslim ruler, whose territories coincided with the boundaries of Portuguese enclaves in south India and who appeared to be the best potential partner with enormous amount of power and wealth to sustain that power in the region was the head of Vijayanagara empire. Their strong anti-Muslim political agenda provided an additional reason both the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers to come together and operate in an atmosphere of co-operation and partnership.

In fact the kingdom of Vijayanagara was the largest political unit the Portuguese found in South India, and one of its central features was its non-Muslim character – a very significant detail from the Portuguese perspective. In common with other medieval Christian nations, the Portuguese had a long tradition of contacts with Muslims in North Africa and the Mediterranean. Moreover, the ideology of crusade, common to all western Christianity, had a very special importance in the Iberian Peninsula, as a result of the process of *reconquista*, and this influence was still felt in the fifteenth century. The whole of society could be directly implicated in a providential plan and conceive itself as having recovered a lost country from the infidel rather than having just taken it, a vision sustained by the myth of a Gothic Hispanic kingdom which preceded the Arab invasions. Obviously, it is only in a limited sense that the Portuguese expansion along the western coast of Africa in the fifteenth century can be interpreted, as it often has been, as some sort of extension of *reconquista* values and aims (and of course similar arguments can be made about the Spanish in the Canary Islands and in America). Among the significant differences to consider there is the fact that in this second phase of 'feudal' expansion, trading activities, in particular the search for gold, were much more significant than territorial conquests, although violent plundering never lost its prominent place.<sup>49</sup>

### **III. The Beginnings of Vijayanagara – Portuguese Relationship;**

In fact the first references to Vijayanagara recorded by the Portuguese seem to have been derived from hearsay. It is clear that, before crossing the mountains towards the interior or even reaching the cities of Coromandel, the Europeans formed their first

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<sup>49</sup> Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, p. 164.

impressions through local intermediaries. For instance, the author of the journal of Vasco da Gama's first expedition appended a geographical description of the kingdoms 'south of Calicut' from the oral reports of 'a man who spoke our language and came from Alexandria to this parts some thirty years ago' (that is, probably Gaspar da Gama). He seems to describe Cranganor, Quilon, Kayal and Coromandel, and then he goes on with Ceylon, Sumatra, Sarnau [Siam], and Tenasserim, Bengal, Malacca, Pegu and some other places.<sup>50</sup> Since all Hindus are still identified as Christians (apparently at this stage Gaspar did not press the distinction) the king of 'Chomandarla' (Coromandel) is also Christian.<sup>51</sup> The fact that he can command 100,000 soldiers - more than any other ruler - suggests that the informer was attempting to describe the king of Vijayanagara, but the descriptions were too notional and schematic to convey a sense of historical specificity (they simply include name, religion, distance from Calicut, military power in number of men, and a few important products and prices).<sup>52</sup> The real descriptions of Vijayanagara began with the expedition of Pedro Alvares Cabral, who left Lisbon in 1500, and although still done

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<sup>50</sup> [Velho], *Diário*, pp. 81-5 Quoted by Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, p. 183.

<sup>51</sup> Speaking with Amerigo Vespucci two years later Gaspar gave a similar, but equally confused, list. Gaspar spoke to Vespucci in May 1501, when the returning ships of Cabral's expedition met the ship sent by the king of Portugal to explore the coast of Brazil off the Cape Verde Islands. In his letter to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco di Medici (collected by Piero Vaglianti) Vespucci summarized his conversation concerning what must be Vijayanagara: 'Disse ch'era stato drento in terra de l'India in uno regno che si chiama e' regno de Parlicat [Pulicat], el quale e uno grandissimo regno e ricco d'oro e di perle e di gioie e di pietre preziose; e conto esser stato dentro in terra a Mailepur [Mylapore], e a Giapatan [Jaffna? Negapattam?], e a Melata [Malacca], e a Tanaser [Tenasserim], e a Pegu, e a Scarnai [Siam], e a Bengola [Bengal], a Otezan [Orissa] e a Marchin [Narsinga?]. E questo Marghin dice sta presso de' rio grande detto Emparlicat; e questo Emparlicat e citta dove e il corpo di San Tomaso apostolo, e vi sono molti Cristiani' (Vespucci, *Mondo nuovo*, p. 80). Despite the lack of geographical clarity it seems obvious that 'Parlicat' and 'Marghin' both stand for Vijayanagara. The big river called 'Emparlicat' is a mystery (if it was near Pulicat it cannot have been so big), although there are a number of large rivers going from Coromandel towards the interior, Quoted by Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, p. 183.

<sup>52</sup> Joan Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, p. 183.

through intermediaries, it was remarkable how similar they were to the later reports of the Portuguese who actually visited the capital. The author of the anonymous narrative of this expedition wrote extensively about the people of Calicut and its king, now clearly an idolater 'although others have believed that they are Christians'. He then added a few ideas about another king who lived beyond the mountains: 'in the mountains of this kingdom [the land of Calicut] there is a very great and powerful king who is called Naramega [Narasimha], and they are idolaters. The king has two or three hundred wives. The day he dies they burn him and all of his wives with him. And this custom prevails for nearly all the others who are married when they die . . . In this kingdom there are many horses and elephants because they wage war, and they have them so taught and trained that the only thing which they lack is speech, and they understand everything like human beings'.<sup>53</sup> Thus the author briefly remarked on some of the themes common to all foreign descriptions of Vijayanagara: the power of the king, his idolatry, the custom of sati, the significance of elephants and horses. The account by Fr. Joseph, the St. Thomas Christian priest from Cranganor in Malabar who went to Europe with Cabral's fleet, insists on similar (if more obviously militaristic) points: 'Towards the mountains and about three hundred miles distant from the sea is to be found a very powerful king, who is named king Narsindo, and he has a great city with three circuits of walls. It is called Besenegal'. 'This king', as priest Joseph told, 'he has seen with his own eyes. When he goes with an army against his enemies, he takes with him eight hundred elephants, four thousand horses, and innumerable foot soldiers, and he says that his camp from north to south is thirty miles long, and from west to east, of equal breadth'. Consequently it may be supposed that his kingdom is very extensive . . . is three thousand miles around. Its faith is idolatrous.<sup>54</sup>

Though the Portuguese relations with Vijayanagara started from the time of their first appearance on the shores of India, the direct relations began as early as 1505, when the first Portuguese governor, Dom Francisco da Almeida received in Anjediva an

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<sup>53</sup> Greenlee, *The voyage*, p. 82. Ramusio published the document too (*Navigazioni*, vol. I, p. 646) Quoted by Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, pp. 183-4.

<sup>54</sup> Greenlee, *The voyage*, p. 113, Quoted by Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, p. 184.

embassy of the chief of Honavar, a tributary chieftain of Vijayanagara. The chief of Honavar, Merlao (Male Rao), visited Almeida at a time when the latter erected a fort at Anjediva on the instruction of the Portuguese crown for the purpose of checking piracy and controlling the trade of Karnataka coast. Male Rao's chief source of income was trade as well as piracy of his subjects and the trader Timmayya, who was often referred to in Portuguese sources as Timoja and was the commander of the Vijayanagara fleet, besides the one he maintained, alone used to pay an annual tribute of 4000 *cruzados* to Male Rao annually.<sup>55</sup> The ambassador was sent by Male Rao and Timmayya as the new fort of the Portuguese appeared to be a threat to the commerce of Honavar. Almeida received the embassy of Male Rao cordially and the Portuguese assured him of peaceful relationship.<sup>56</sup>

However soon a conflict broke out between the two on the question of nine horses that the Portuguese brought to Honavar being stolen and Almeida burnt the town of Honavar and the mercantile ships anchoring in the bay for not getting the stolen horses or the compensation money; Male Rao fled to the neighbouring hill. Seeing the calamities that the attack of the Portuguese inflicted on the town, Male Rao sought peace paying annual tribute to the Portuguese.<sup>57</sup>

Soon the news of the Portuguese power and might reached the court of Hampi. In 1505 the Vijayanagara ruler himself sent to Almeida, who was then in Cannanore, an embassy requesting the friendship of king of Portugal, whom he agreed to help with several fleet. The Vijayanagara ruler promised to allow the Portuguese to erect fortresses in all of his ports, except Bhatkal, which had already been rented. He even extended all necessary assistance for the erection of these forts. Moreover, the ruler of Vijayanagara wanted to strengthen the friendship with king of Portugal by a matrimonial relationship proposing the marriage of his only sister with the son of king Manuel, the Portuguese ruler.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Henry Heras, "Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal", in Bernard Anderson and John Correia-Afonso(ed.), *Henry Heras: Indological Studies*, New Delhi, 1990, pp.2-3; F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 119-21.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Before the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque had sent a Franciscan Friar named Frey Luiz to the court of Krishna Deva Raya to get the Emperor's assistance in attacking the city of Calicut by land whilst the Portuguese operated by sea, with a view to avenging the death of Marshal Fernando Coutinho and several *fidalgos*, who were killed in 1510 in Calicut.<sup>59</sup> As Zamorin used to take refuge in the mountains of Calicut, whenever he was attacked from the sea, the Vijayanagara ruler was invited to enter the passes of mountains and attack Zamorin from the mountain side so that the Portuguese might capture. The Portuguese messenger informed Krishna Deva Raya of the Portuguese crown's offer of banishing Muslim traders from Calicut on defeat of Zamorin. The ruler of Vijayanagara was in turn offered Portuguese help to attack the Muslim rulers of Deccan and to put an end to trade in horses, causing them incapable of fighting against Vijayanagara. Frey Luiz made a tempting offer to Krishna Deva Raya that all horses from Hormuz would be transported only to Bhatkal or to any other port of Vijayanagara from where they could be acquired by Krishna Deva Raya and that no horse would be allowed to go to the Muslim rulers of Deccan. Another proposal made was to erect factories in any of Vijayanagara's ports from Bhatkal to Mangalore and site for fortification for the purpose of storage of merchandise and defense of people against eventual popular risings. This proposal was made seeing the distance of these coastal regions from the capital of the empire and as the officers of justice were then incapacitated to go there in time to calm the turbulent multitude.<sup>60</sup> However none of these proposals were implemented. The combined attack on Calicut never took place nor did the Portuguese help Vijayanagara ruler to re-conquer Goa. On the contrary Afonso Albuquerque conquered it and made it a part of Portuguese possession in the East.

Frey Luiz remained at Vijayanagara, and was finally murdered there in 1511 by a Turk, it seems, by order of the Sultan of Bijapur. Albuquerque gives this piece of news to king of Portugal in a letter of April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1512, as follows: "At Bisnagar

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<sup>59</sup> Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty* Vol I, pp. 57-8.

<sup>60</sup> Henry Heras, "Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal", in Bernard Anderson and John Correia-Afonso(ed.), *Henry Heras: Indological Studies*, pp. 6-7.

(Vijayanagara) one Rome (Turk) murdered Frey Luiz, there is nothing extraordinary in this event.<sup>61</sup>”

The murder of Frey Luiz resulted in the sending of an embassy from Vijayanagara to Goa, which Father Heras has pointed out as the origin of the official friendship between the two powers. In the anonymous letter it is stated that, “The king of Narsinga (Vijyanagara) has sent ambassadors in order to establish a perpetual friendship with the king of Portugal; on the other hand, this king has done the same, for he also wished to establish this alliance.”<sup>62</sup> Moreover Krishna Deva Raya proposed, no doubt, through his ambassador to the Viceroy, his desire of getting horses from Arabia and Ormuz, of which he was in much need for his campaigns against the Muslim rulers of Deccan. As a matter of fact the second ambassador sent by Albuquerque to Vijayanagara, Gaspar Chanoca by name, was charged to inform Krishna Deva Raya that the Viceroy would willingly send him all the horses available at Goa, rather than to the Sultan of Bijapur. The horses that arrived the port of Goa were soon absorbed into the army of Bijapur and Krishna Deva Raya wanted a change to happen in this and get these horses for Vijayanagara<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, Timmayya, who was the commander of the Vijayanagara fleet, was entrusted with the task of waging perpetual war with Goa, which had been captured some years before from the Vijayanagara rulers by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. When the Bijapur Sultan died in 1510, Timmmayya persuaded Afonso de Albuquerque, the then governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, to attack Goa, in the hope of ousting the Bijapuris from it and attaching it again with the Vijayanagara Empire. In doing this, Timmayya took advantage of the tender age of the new Sultan Ismail Adil Shah. Near the fortress of Karwar, Afonso Albuquerque met Timmayya, who had gone there from Honavar. Timmayya had by this time gathered information about the developments in Goa through Hindu residents, who were earlier linked with Vijayanagara Empire. He informed Afonso Albuquerque of the support of these Hindus to conquer Goa. As the Bijapuri governor of Goa, Malik Yusuf Gurgij, was on

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7; Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty Vol I*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 57.

<sup>62</sup> Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty Vol I*, , Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 58.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-9.

the verge of being abandoned by the soldiers because of his stingy treatment, Timmayya advised Afonso Albuquerque to move promptly. Timmayya himself offered a 'strong contingent of his army to attack by land'. Timmayya captured the fortress of Karwar and then proceeded to Goa.<sup>64</sup> This enterprise was completely successful; and Timmayya's help to Albuquerque in capturing Goa by land was so much so that the Sultan of Bijapur despatched a messenger to Vijayanagara complaining that Timmayya had given his aid to the Portuguese fleet in the capture of Goa.<sup>65</sup>

On conquering Goa on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1510, Albuquerque moved to Bhatkal and made a peace treaty with this local principality chieftain under Vijayanagara. It was one of the major maritime doors through which horses imported from West Asia were taken to the capital of Vijayanagara. Seeing the importance of this port in trade in horses, Albuquerque laid initial foundations of a Portuguese factory and the governor was supposed to give an annual tribute of 2000 bales of rice. Afonso Albuquerque also made a peace treaty with the king of Gerusoppa, another coastal chieftain of Karnataka, ensuring support for re-conquest of Goa. The conquest of Goa was followed by the establishment of a position of relative domination of the Portuguese over the coastal principalities of Vijayanagara in Karnataka. Besides, Bhatkal that was made to pay an annual tribute of 2000 bales of rice, Honavar was made to pay a tribute of 1000 pardaos annually<sup>66</sup>

The success of the embassy of Gaspar Chanoca encouraged Krishna Deva Raya to send in 1514 another legation, at the head of which, was one Retelim Cherim (Radalingam Chetti), governor of Bracelor (Basrur) who offered the Afonso Albuquerque an amount of £ 20,000 for the exclusive right of buying 1,000 horses. The ambassador was surrounded by many horsemen and a detachment of foot soldiers under a captain and accompanied by four big elephants. He was kindly received by

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<sup>64</sup> Henry Heras, "Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal", in Bernard Anderson and John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Henry Heras: Indological Studies*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>65</sup> Walter De Gray Birch, *The Commentaries of The Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, Vol.II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 100-11 Cf. F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p.193; Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> Henry Heras, "Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal", in Bernard Anderson and John Correia-Afonso(ed.), *Henry Heras: Indological Studies*, pp. 9-10.



Pero Mascarenhas, captain of the fortress, and an escort went specially to meet him. The embassy of the Vijayanagara and the reception ceremony arranged by the Portuguese were indicative of the wealth and power both the groups wielded. The ambassador's purpose was to ensure supply of horses and a concerted action of the Portuguese and Vijayanagara against Bijapur; however Albuquerque just gave an evasive answer probably thinking that such a move would destroy trade of Goa.<sup>67</sup> However Krishna Deva Raya wanted Afonso Albuquerque to get involved in Deccan politics and for that reason he informed through Radalingam Chetti that he already marching his army against the forces of Bijapur and wanted that Albuquerque should also dispatch a contingent against Bijapur. Finally Albuquerque sent Antonio de Souza and Joao Teixeira with a small contingent of Portuguese soldiers to fight against Bijapur; but they were to be paid fully by Krishna Deva Raya.<sup>68</sup>

The relations that developed between the Portuguese in India and the southern Indian state of Vijayanagara in the first decade of the sixteenth century, whether at the level of diplomatic, military or economic dealings, or even at the personal level of contacts between individuals were, on the whole, generally peaceful. To a certain extent, this contrasted with the state of quasi- permanent warfare or armed tension that defined Portuguese relations with other South Asian kingdoms bordering the territory of the Portuguese *Estado da India*. The explanation for this unique relationship can be based on a framework of mutual interests, which, in a general way, were not competitive and, at times, were even complementary. This unique relationship was also founded on a Portuguese ordering of the universe- a framework which profoundly affected their relations with non- Christian peoples. This was a cultural tradition with medieval roots that had re-defined itself through the Portuguese experiences of coexistence and confrontation, gained during a century of Atlantic voyages.<sup>69</sup>

#### **IV. Ties of Political and Commercial Partnership**

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<sup>67</sup> Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire the Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 59.

<sup>68</sup> Henry Heras, "Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal", in Bernard Anderson and John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Henry Heras: Indological Studies*, p. 12.

<sup>69</sup> Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1500-1565" in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Sinners and Saints, The Successors of Vasco Da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 13.

Eventually the ties of co-operation between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara Empire got strengthened. Krishna Deva Raya made use of the service of the Portuguese soldiers in expanding his political frontiers. In 1515, when Krishna Deva Raya captured the fortress of Rachol, among his soldiers there was also a detachment of Portuguese soldiers under Christovão de Figueredo, who rendered great assistance in the storming of the fort. The Vijayanagara ruler was so grateful to the Portuguese on account of these events that subsequently, perhaps in the following year, he presented the Portuguese governor with the whole territory of Salsette as a free gift, which became an integral part of Goa.<sup>70</sup> This friendship between both powers still subsisted in the year 1526, and Faria y Sousa affirms that Lope Vaz de Sampayo in that year forgave a rebel city because it belonged to the territory of Vijayanagara.<sup>71</sup>

As we had seen, the Portuguese first captured Goa from the Bijapuris with the help of Vijayanagara's feudatory chief Timmaya and from there they started intervening in the affairs of the neighbouring states. Vijayanagara was the dominant political force on the west coast though the Bahamanis gave them stiff competition.<sup>72</sup> In fact Vijayanagara was oriented more towards the western ports due to its demand for horses for its military. Taking advantage of this situation, the Portuguese started selling horses to the Vijayanagara rulers in considerable number and less frequently also to the Muslim rulers of Deccan because of the profit factor. As long as the Vijayanagara dynasty survived, the Portuguese were able to make a huge profit on the sale of horses (alive or dead). The profit from trade in horses was channelized by the Portuguese also for the urbanization of Goa, which soon became a major trade centre linked to all the trading ports of south coastal Karnataka under Vijayanagara.<sup>73</sup>

The relationship which initially began as a political relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese eventually developed into a type of alliance that stimulated the economic process of the region, making Goa captured from the

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<sup>70</sup> Gaspar Correa quoted by Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty* Vol I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 59-60.

<sup>71</sup> Faria y Sousa quoted by Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty* Vol I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 60.

<sup>72</sup> Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763" in *Indica : Journal of the Heras Institute Of Indian History and Culture*, March 2002, vol 39, No. 1, , p. 145.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6.

Bijapuris to be the main maritime outlet for the commodity –distribution of Vijayanagara. The best quality horses made available in the city of Vijayanagara by the Portuguese *casado* traders through Hormuz-Goa-Hampi route put the Vijayanagara rulers on a relatively superior position. The Portuguese also benefited immensely out of this trade since they got a sum of 40 ducats as customs duty from every horse. In Vijayanagara capital each horse was sold at a value of 1000 ducats and each Portuguese vessel used to bring an average of 110-125 horses to Goa for further distribution in Vijayanagara terrains.<sup>74</sup> In order to ensure regular supply of horses, despite the high risk of mortality seen among the horses, the Vijayanagara rulers even used to pay the price of a horse, provided the Portuguese private traders were capable of producing the tail of the dead horse. The larger rapport that developed between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers helped the latter to ensure better quality war animals for military mobilization and to assert their relatively superior political position despite the regional assertion of power by the Bijapuris and the Qutb Shahis following the fragmentation of Bahamani sultanate by the last decades of the fifteenth century.

The various maritime trading centres on the eastern and western coast of India, which the author of the *Periplus* (AD 45) and the geographer Ptolemy (A.D. 130) mention in the antiquity, were by 1520s brought within the boundaries of Vijayanagara Empire; however the Portuguese wanted to establish their commercial bases in many of these trading centres. *Periplus* and Ptolemy refer to the articles of trade brought from south India in their days: beryls, spices, muslins, precious stones, cottons, etc. They also tell us of the Godavari and Bhima rivers: of Masulipatnam (*Masolia, Mesolus*); of Gudur near Masulipatnam and Kanchikacharla on the Krishna river (*koddura, Kontakossyla Emporium*); of the port of Korkai (Kolchoi); of the Vindhya mountain range (Vindirs); of Travancore, known by its ancient name Purali (Paralia); of Karuvur on the Kaveri river; of the beryl mines at Padiyur in the Chera Kingdom, which were called by the name of the old tract in which they were situated, viz, the Padinadu (Pounnata); of Palur in Ganjam (Palura); and of many other places.<sup>75</sup> By 1520s the

<sup>74</sup> Karl H. Dannenfeldt (ed.), *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist & Traveller*, Massachusetts, 1968, pp. 121-2.

<sup>75</sup> Quoted by Robert Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (collected till 1923) And Outlines of Political History* by, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1983, p. 9.

Portuguese had expanded to many of these old sites of trade and established new types of commercial arrangements to conduct their business with the support of the partners and power-sharers of Vijayanagara.

The German merchant Jorge Pock from Nurnberg, who conducted trade in Hampi and Golkonda

in 1520s gives an account of about 20-30 Portuguese traders taking horses regularly to Hampi. They used to sell about 1200 horses annually to Krishna Deva Raya. They purchased these horses for an amount of 20, 000 ducats, while Krishna Deva Raya bought them at a price of 1000 ducats for 2 ¼ horses, paying 533, 333 ducats for 12,000 horses. The profit that the Portuguese traders of Goa accrued from this deal was 513, 333 ducats.<sup>76</sup> By 1520s Krishna Deva Raya had thus acquired about 32, 000 horses in his cavalry.<sup>77</sup>

The Portuguese who used to carry horses to the capital of Vijayanagara took back diamonds and textiles to Goa, Chaul and Bhatkal, from where they were further transshipped to Lisbon or to East Africa. During the period between 1515 and 1545 a large number of diamond merchants from Europe including the traders from Portugal, Germany and Antwerp began to conduct trade on precious stones in Hampi. Lazarus Nurenberger, George Pock, George Imhoff were the major trade agents of the German business houses of the Imhoffs and Hirschvogels in Vijayanagara procuring diamonds and precious stones between 1515 and 1545.<sup>78</sup>

Lazarus Nurnberger visiting Vijayanagara in 1518/9 speaks of the good rapport it had with the Portuguese and says that Bhatkal was the main gateway for the Portuguese for conducting trade with Vijayanagara.<sup>79</sup> The account of Jorge Pock, who went from Bhatkal to Hampi in the company of Portuguese horse-traders in 1521, gives details about the trade in diamonds and precious stones happening at Hampi. The precious stones that Jorge Pock purchased from Vijayanagara were sent to the trading house of the German merchant magnate the Herwarts, who in turn sold some to the Pope and

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<sup>76</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, Münster, 1999, p. 66.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-74.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p.61.

the Holy Roman emperor, while a few were dispatched to Venice.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile Markus Hartmann, a trader of Lazarus Nürnberger, used to procure precious stones from Hampi and sent them to the various trading centres of Europe and Seville in particular.<sup>81</sup> Jorge Imhoff, another trading agent of the Herwarts spent about 14 years in the markets of Deccan, out of which a greater part was in Hampi, procuring diamonds and precious stones for Europe. One of such diamonds was priced around 160,000 ducats in Spain.<sup>82</sup> Pius Malekandathil refers to several other German merchants like Mathias Meyr, Hans Schwerczer who also got permission from Goa to go to Vijayanagara in the company of Portuguese traders in horses from Bhatkal to Hampi and conduct trade in precious stones, which were sold in Europe at exorbitant prices.<sup>83</sup>

Along with diamonds, there was a great flow of textiles to the Portuguese ports of Goa, Chaul and Thana, from where they were carried further to Europe by Portuguese vessels. The rice ports of Karnataka regularly supplied food materials for feeding the Portuguese settlers scattered along the Konkan coast. Hundreds of tons of rice were taken from these ports of Vijayanagara to Goa, Thana, Chaul and Malabar. A great chunk of it was further taken to Maldives for further trade in return for cowries and coir.<sup>84</sup>

This process of circulation of wares and political collaboration between the two virtually converted Vijayanagara kingdom and the Portuguese enclaves into two dimensions of one and the same economic unit. Since both were mutually interdependent politically and economically the meanings of relationship got much more intense, as is testified both by the Portuguese sources as well as by the Vijayanagara sources including *Amuktamalyada*, which was written by the

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p.66.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p.66.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p.69.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>84</sup> The details are discussed in the next chapter.

Vijayanagar ruler Krishna Deva Raya (1509-29). It epitomizes the nature of relationship that had evolved by this time between the two powers.<sup>85</sup>

As B.S. Shastry has pointed out

‘The commercial policy of the Portuguese along the coastal parts of Vijayanagara, particularly coastal Karnataka in the sixteenth century was a part of their general commercial policy in the East. The essential features of the general policy were (1) control of the sea trade of the Indian Ocean littoral by means of a system of cartazes (sailing permits); (2) imposition of monopolistic practices in certain commodities like pepper, horses and tobacco on the eastern rulers and merchants; (3) exploitation of local conditions of demand and supply, war and peace, lack of unity among local rulers to reap commercial advantages, among other things; (4) waging wars or entering into peace treaties or trade contacts; (5) organisation of trade through their fortress- factory system, brokers, agents, linguists, etc; and (6) exploitation of missionaries for the development of commerce in the region.<sup>86</sup>

Thus the above discussion shows that the Portuguese who expanded along coastal India for furthering their commercial activities and political control were necessitated to carve out collaborators and partners out of Vijayanagara, whose political boundaries coincided with theirs, not only for reasons of furthering their power domains but also for obtaining cargo needed for their European trade and for augmenting share of profit through their trade in horses. The ruler and his various power-sharers had to depend on the Portuguese for obtaining horses regularly for their war needs in the Deccan. Though both the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara Empire developed their co-operation initially out of the commonality of their anti- Muslim perceptions, had eventually realized that they needed one another in the changed scenario for sustaining their commercial and political ventures in the region. Through the Portuguese, several non-Portuguese Europeans including the German traders linked with the major business houses of Europe flowed to Vijayanagara to conduct

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<sup>85</sup> The two powers signify Portuguese and the Vijayanagara Empire. The Text has been written by Krisnadevaraya, ruler of Vijayanagara Empire in Telegu.

<sup>86</sup> HV Sreenivasa Murthy, B Surendra Rao, Kesavan Veluthat and S.A.Bari (ed.) *Essays on Indian History and Culture: Felicitation volume in Honour of Prof. B. Sheikh Ali*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p. 109.

trade in diamonds and precious stones, which fetched for them exorbitant profit in Europe. The cargo of Vijayanagara entered the circuits of global commercial process through the networks linked with the Portuguese and the German merchants who traded under the umbrella of the Portuguese.

## Chapter 3

### Arteries of Trade, Markets and Political Economy

The Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers realized that the vitality of their power edifices depended very much upon their ability in pumping wealth from various regions to the core heart of their power through a circulatory process. The arteries of trade happened to be the blood vessels of their economies and the nodal centres of such circulation process evolved as supportive markets emitting forces to sustain their political activities in differing degrees. This chapter looks mainly into the network of trade routes with the help of which the Vijayanagara markets were linked with the Portuguese ports. On the one hand there was the land route stretching from Goa to Hampi and then moving to Masulipattanam. This route was criss-crossed by the routes flowing to Golkonda and Bijapur, which were also the major arteries for diamond trade. On the other hand there were routes emanating from the ports of Bhatkal, Honavar and Barcelor, which later intersected at different convenient points in the inland for commodity flow between Hampi and Arabian Sea. The various markets and merchant groups involved in the exchange process would also be discussed in this chapter. With the help of these merchants the Portuguese private traders expanded their commercial links to Hampi and to its different mining and weaving villages to obtain diamonds and textiles, respectively

Seeing the importance of water-routes and land route in the promotion of trade Krishna Deva Raya lays down in his *Amuktamalyada*<sup>1</sup> the following: "A king should improve the harbours in his country and so encourage its trade so that horses, elephants, precious gems, sandalwood, pearls and other articles are freely imported into his country! He should arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country due to storms, illness and exhaustion, and are looked after in a way suitable to their

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<sup>1</sup> It is a work on statecraft written by the Vijayanagara ruler Krishna Deva Raya.



nationalities!<sup>2</sup> and the king should make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses, attached to yourself by providing them with villages, decent dwellings in the city, daily audience, presents and decent profits! Then those articles will never go to the domain of your enemies.”<sup>3</sup>

The policy introduced by Krishna Deva Raya continued and was followed by all his successors. The richness of the empire could be well understood by the account left by foreign travellers. Domingo Paes, and Nuniz who visited the Vijayanagar Empire in the first half and the latter part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century respectively, describe in glowing terms, the abundance and cheapness of provisions. The records of foreign travellers are full of remarks on the briskness of trade and the consequent prosperity of the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire, which happened with the criss-crossing of trade routes through which provisions and cargo of different variety flowed. These travellers observe the commercial life in various cities, some of which like those in the south, could lay good pretensions to antiquity. <sup>4</sup> Paes writes about the capital, ‘This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as wheat, rice, grains, Indian corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses and horse gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country, and which are the food of the people, and there is a large store of these and very cheap.’<sup>5</sup> Then he continues: ”To see the many loads of limes that come each day, such that those of *povos* are of no account, and also loads of sweet and sour oranges, and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff, in such abundance as to stupefy one.”<sup>6</sup>

Paes is supported by Nuniz, who says ”The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, and oranges, limes, pomegranates, jackfruit and mangoes and all very cheap.”<sup>7</sup> Various literary works also support this view. Paes speaks of

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<sup>2</sup> Krishna Deva Raya *Amuktamalyada* translated by Srinivas Sistla, Drusya Kala Deepika, Visakhapatnam, 2010, pp. 323-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> K.R. Basava Raja, “The Cities of the Vijayanagara Empire”, in *The Vijayanagra Urbanity*, K.R. Basava Raja editor, National Society of Urban Development, Hospet, 1978, p: 51.

<sup>5</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narrative of Domingo Paes” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, “Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz”, p. 225.

the big meat market in Vijayanagar and the variety and cleanliness of meat which was “so white and clean that you could never see better in any country.”<sup>8</sup>

### **I. Circulatory Processes and Arteries of Trade**

The circulatory process emanating from Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century had two types of player from two different worlds: The inland production centres and markets of Vijayanagara manifested one type of circulatory process, which necessitated the evolution of different trade routes across the length and breadth of the empire. The maritime outlets along its coast, where the Portuguese absorbed the cargo flowing from the inland of Vijayanagara had caused another type of trade route to evolve almost as continuation of the inland network of trade-routes. In this process the Vijayanagara empire evolved either as the feeding economic units of the Portuguese as the destination for the cargo supplied by the latter.

Corresponding to these circulatory processes, the state patronized both internal as well as foreign trade. It opened up new market streets and also encouraged formation of *sandais* (local fairs). Sometimes the rulers used to levy taxes on some of the commodities at the junctional points of trade; however as flourishing trade contributed to the prosperity of the empire, the Vijayanagara rulers were reluctant to impose burdensome taxation, which hampered trade. Production of commodities for sale on the world market, such as diamond mining took place in south India under the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers and diamonds were exported to Europe.<sup>9</sup> In the process of taking horses from coastal trading centres to Hampi and diamonds as well as textiles in return led to the evolution of a network of trade routes cutting across the major markets of Vijayanagara. Inscriptions recording the grant of taxes on the commodities sold in *pettais* (markets) or *sandais* (fairs) to temples by the

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, “Narrative of Domingo Paes”, p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> S. Jeyaseela Stephen, “Diamond Mining Industry, Vijayanagara State Policy and the Regional Economy of Late Medieval South India,” *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. LXXXVI (2), April- June 1995, pp. 81-112; S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire And the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p. 65.

Vijayanagara kings or nayakas as their charities also reveal the brisk trade taking place<sup>10</sup> and the connectivities established between them with the help of trade routes.

All evidence points to the favourable trade balances of international trade for India and the settlement of these balances by bullion payments by foreign merchants. The importation of war-horses, known from the time of Marco Polo in the late thirteenth century, increased in volume and value during the Vijayanagara period, and so did imported cannon and hand guns.<sup>11</sup> Marco Polo who touched the Persian Gulf at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century observed that the area was endowed with "excellent breed of horses." He also observed that the main market of these horses was India where high prices were offered. Each horse was sold at a price of 200 *livres* tournois.<sup>12</sup>

The intensified international trade brought in enormous wealth to Vijayanagara, which helped to sustain a variety of intellectual and cultural projects of the empire.<sup>13</sup> It is said that there were about three hundred ports, big and small, along the coast of the empire. Although this figure seems to have been an exaggeration, it indicates the vast proliferation of maritime trading centres along its coast. Paes writes: "The said kingdom (Vijayanagara) has many places on the coast of India; they are seaports with which we (the Portuguese) are at peace, and in some of them we have factories, namely, Amcola, Mirgeo, Honor, Batecalla, Mangalor, Bracalor, and Bacanor."

Among the important and "good sized" towns on the west coast were Ankola, Mergan (Mirjan), Honar (Honavar), Bhaticala (Bhatkal), Majundar (Baindur), Bacanor (Barakur), Barcelore, Basrur, Mangalor (Mangalore) and Cumbola (Kumbla).<sup>14</sup> These maritime trading centres were networked by the coastal circuits. Duarte Barbosa, notes that there were in the empire many cities, towns and villages wherein

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<sup>10</sup> Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India The Cholas to Vijayanagara*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 171.

<sup>11</sup> Burton Stein, *Vijayanagar The New Cambridge History of India*, Orient Longman, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 73-4.

<sup>12</sup> Adrian De Friston, *The Travels of Marco Polo The Venetian*, Book I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, p.53.

<sup>13</sup> K.R. Basava Raja, "The Cities of the Vijayanagara Empire", in *The Vijayanagra Urbanity*, K.R. Basava Raja editor, National Society of Urban Development, Hospet, 1978, p. 51.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted by T V Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 5.

dwell great numbers of Heathen folk.<sup>15</sup> They were connected by land routes that criss-crossed the production centres of the empire. Articles of trade were of diverse nature. All types of jewellery, gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls, horses, elephants, silks, spices, drugs, iron, silver, cotton cloth of all textures, rice, honey, jaggery etc. Benevolent treatment by the rulers attracted merchants from different parts of the world. The major trading centres of South India like Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur, Gangoli, Baindur, Mulki, Kumbbla etc., were under the control of the Vijayanagara rulers. Through these ports rice and textiles flowed from the interior of the kingdom to the major trading centres of the Indian Ocean, and particularly to the exchange centres of West Asia and to the various Portuguese enclaves.

There was great demand by the government for elephants and horses which played an important part both in the wars of the period and in the royal paraphernalia. Abdur Razzak says that Deva Raya II had more than thousand elephants, “lofty as hills and gigantic as demons.”<sup>16</sup> According to Paes, Krishna Deva Raya had eight hundred elephants attached to his person,<sup>17</sup> which information was further corroborated in 1521 by the German trader Jorge Pock, who says that the ruler had 8000 elephants with value varying between 4000 and 12000 ducats.<sup>18</sup>

The countries, which supplied elephants, were Ceylon and Pegu. The king of Ceylon who appears to have had a monopoly of the elephant trade, sold them to the merchants of the Coromandel coast, Vijayanagar, Malabar, Deccan and Cambaya, who went there to buy the best among the trained elephants which were then worth a thousand or a thousand five hundred *cruzados* while the price of some others were four or five hundred according to their training.<sup>19</sup> Another important animal that was in demand

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<sup>15</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans), *The book of Duarte Barbosa, , An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants.*, Vol.II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 125.

<sup>16</sup> Sir H.M.Elliot and Prof. John Dowson, *The History Of India As told by its historians The Muhammadan Period* , Vol. IV, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1990, p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narrative of Domingo Paes” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, The Portuguese and India*, LIT, London, 1999, p. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted by T V Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 110.

in Vijayanagara Empire was the horses which were used for the purposes of military as well as State paraphernalia. Nuniz notices that the horses were so important for the empire that Saluva Narashima “took them dead or alive at three for a thousand pardaos , and of those that died at sea, they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive.”<sup>20</sup> The same chronicler says that Krishna Deva Raya purchased every year thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz and country breeds of which he chose the best for his own stables, and gave the rest to his captains.<sup>21</sup> The price of horses appears to have varied from time to time and depended on their breed. According to Ludovico di Varthema the price of horses ranged from three hundred to eight hundred *pardaos* <sup>22</sup>, while according to Barbosa it was between four to six hundred *cruzados*<sup>23</sup> and the horses specially chosen for the king’s use cost nine hundred to thousand *cruzados*.<sup>24</sup>

The evidence available regarding the price of horses may be stated in tabular form.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz” in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 294.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

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*The travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508* translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a preface, by John Winter Jones and edited, with notes and an introduction, by George Percy Badger, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1863, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans), *The book of Duarte Barbosa, , An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants.*, Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p. 210.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, vol.I, p. 210.

<sup>25</sup> *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Translated and Edited, with Notes, by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, R. E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Corr. Inst. France. Third Edition Revised throughout in the Light of Recent Discoveries by Henri Cordier (of Paris), London, 1903, op. cit., vol. I, p. 83, vol. II, pp. 340, 438, Jami’u-t Tawārīkh of Rashīdu-d Dīn, Elliot, *History*, vol. I, p. 69. Tazjiyatu- l Amsār Wa Tajriyatu- l Āsār of Abdu-llah, Wassāf, Elliot, *History*, III, pp. 33-34, *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508 As Translated from the original Italian Edition of 1510*, by John Winter Jones, F.S.A. in 1863 for the Hakluyt Society with a Discourse on Varthema and His Travels in Southern Asia by Sir Richard Carnac Temple,

**Table 3: Price of Horses from 1293 to 1537.**

No	Date AD	Description.	Price
1	1293	Persian horses	200 <i>livres tournots</i>
2	1293	Persian and Arabian	500 <i>saggi</i> = 100 marks of silver
3	1293	Arabian	100 marks
4	1310	Arabian	220 dinars of gold
5	1330	Arabian	220 red dinars of gold
6	1349	.....	100 to 1000 pieces of gold
7	1504	Arabian	300, 400, 500, 800, <i>pardaos</i> .
8	1516	Arabian	500 <i>cruzados</i>
9	1516	Arabian	600 <i>cruzados</i>
10	1516	Arabian	400 <i>cruzados</i>
11	1516	Arabian	300 <i>cruzados</i>
12	1537	Arabian	333 <sup>1/3</sup> <i>pardaos</i>

The above information shows that the period after 1336 witnessed increase in the price of horses, which in turn is a reflection of the increasing demand for this war animal in Deccan following the intensification of political processes with the establishment of Vijayanagra and Bhamani kingdoms. Obviously the variation of prices in the same year is indicative of the quality differences of the horses.

T.V. Mahalingam argues that though the 'country' was fairly self-supporting during the period it was in need of certain kinds of foreign goods to meet the demands of

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BT.C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., F.A.S.B. [London, 1928.], p. 126, *The book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D. Translated from the Portuguese Text by Mansel Longworth Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, op. cit., Vol.I, pp. 61-65, 94, Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz (Written, Probably, A.D. 1535-37), Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, op. cit., p. 307, Quoted by A.Appadorai, *Economic conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A.D.)*, Vol. II, University of Madras, 1990, p. 558.

particular classes of people.<sup>26</sup> This has been supported by H P Ray who states that "agricultural production was geared towards feeding the city and much of the irrigated land was given to the production of rice, orchard crops and vegetables. Cotton was grown on dry fields and much of the livestock for the city was grazed outside its walls. Thus the city consumed not only what was locally produced, but also imports and craft goods from across the subcontinent."<sup>27</sup>

Broadly speaking, the imports of the Vijayanagara Empire consisted of necessities as gold and silver for minting, horses and elephants for fighting and royal paraphernalia, spices, brassware and textiles of attractive varieties for the common people. The articles of luxury catering to the members of the royal family and nobility included precious stones and pearls of special varieties. From the quantitative point of view exports exceeded imports and included food and food-products, spices and drugs, metals and manufactured goods. Rice figured prominently in the exports; sugar in powdered variety, wheat, millet, cocoanuts, dyestuffs, pepper, cloves, ginger, cinnamon, iron, precious stones, cotton manufactures, porcelain ware, special varieties of calico etc., were in the list of exports.<sup>28</sup> About the export of rice Barbosa observes: "Many ships from abroad, and many as well of Malabar take in cargoes thereof, and (after it has been husked and cleaned, and packed in bales of its own straw, all of the same measure to wit, each bale containing four *alqueires* and a half and worth a hundred and fifty to two hundred *reis*) take it away." Ormus had a supply of white rice.<sup>29</sup>

Among the articles of merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger, were Arabian horses, Velvets, Damaskes and Sathens, Armesine of Portugall, and

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<sup>26</sup> T.V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life In The Vijayanagra Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 109.

<sup>27</sup> Himanshu Prabha Ray "Vijayanagara: The City of Victory An Archaeological Perspective" paper presented in International Seminar on *Cities in Medieval India*, JNU, 6<sup>th</sup>- 7<sup>th</sup> March 2008, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. G.R. Kuppaswamy, "Some aspects of the Commercial Policy Under the Vijayanagara Empire," *Quarterly Journal of Mythical Society*, Vol. LXIX, Jan-June 1978, Nos. 1- 2, p. 109.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted by T.V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life In The Vijayanagra Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 115.

pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets.<sup>30</sup> Of all these goods, the horses from Arabia and Persia were the merchandise most profitable to Goa, as they were absolutely necessary to the imperial army. Gold and silver were imported from outside for purposes of coinage and display among the royalty. Gold was imported from Magadoxo, Berborá, Adem, in Africa. Silver was imported from the east also.<sup>31</sup>

Tome Pires in his account gives a tentative nature of the circulatory processes: 'Ormuz trades with Aden and Cambay and with the kingdom of the Deccan and Goa and with the ports of the kingdom of Narsinga and Malabar. The chief things the Ormuz merchants take are Arabian and Persian horses, seed pearls, saltpetre, sulphur, silk, tutty, alum- which is called *alexandrina* in our part of the world- copperas, vitriol, quantities of salt, white silk, many *tangas*- which are silver coins worth about (?) sixty- five *reis*-and musk, sometimes amber, and a great deal of dried fruit, wheat, barley and foodstuffs of that kind. In return they used to carry back to Persian Gulf pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger and all sorts of other spices and drugs, which are greatly in demand in the land of Persia and Arabia. Horses are worth a high price in the kingdoms of Goa, of the Deccan and of Narsinga, so the Ormuz (merchants) go to these kingdoms with them every year. A horse may be worth as much as seven hundred xerafins- coins worth 320 reis each- when it is good. The best are the Arabians, next are the Persians and third are those from Cambay.<sup>32</sup>

For the purpose of promotion of trade Vijayanagara rulers maintained good relationship with neighbouring countries prompting them to co-operate with them commercially. Ferishta, the Muslim chronicler, relates the way the Vijayanagara kings impressed the ruler of Sri Lanka, who was impelled to send his envoy to the Vijayanagara court in 1378. Rich presents came from the court of Sri Lanka to the

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<sup>30</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes contayning a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others*, vol.X, J. Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1905, p. 99.

<sup>31</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans), *The book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 31, 34, 56, 203.

<sup>32</sup> Armando Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol.I, Asian Education Services, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 20-1



Vijayanagara emperor annually.<sup>33</sup> It seems that the commercial tie-up with Sri Lanka was necessitated by the increasing demand for elephants from Sri Lanka. Bukka I extended the boundary of the Vijayanagara Empire in the Tamil country by annexing the territory of the Sambuvarayas in AD 1361-2. The Alampundi plates of Virupaksha, the son of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara Empire, mention that he invaded Sri Lanka in AD 1385 and brought in large booty to his father in the shape of precious stones, crystal, semi- precious stones and jewels.<sup>34</sup> Narayani Vilasam, a contemporary literary work, mentions that Harihara II erected a pillar of victory in the island of Sri Lanka.<sup>35</sup>

There were mainly three or four major trade routes, through which the commodity flow from the production centres of the empire to its maritime trading centres and back happened. These trade routes invariably merged into the channels of trade of the Portuguese. On the one hand was the route from Goa via Ponda and Londa across the ghat and running to Vijayanagara either directly or through Bijapur terrains. Since some parts of this route stood in the vicinity of Bijapuri kingdom it was not used for movement of high-value commodities. Earlier the Bijapuris used to take horses from Goa through this route.<sup>36</sup> On the other was the route from Bhatkal to Vijayanagara, which was frequently used for taking horses to the core of the empire and precious stones from interior to the maritime trading centres of the Portuguese. Since this route ran through Vijayanagara territories only, this was the most frequently route for carrying horses to Hampi. The traders in horses used to take permission from the Portuguese authorities of Goa and pay customs duties to them and then take them to Bhatkal to be taken further to Hampi.<sup>37</sup> Only the Portuguese were allowed by the

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<sup>33</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Delhi, 1962, p. 46 quoted by S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar 2009, pp. 55-6.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted by S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar 2009, p. 55.

<sup>35</sup> S. Krishnaswamy Ayyengar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Delhi, 1986, p. 53 quoted by Stephen S. Jeyaseela *Expanding Portuguese Empire And the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar 2009, p. 55.

<sup>36</sup> Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port- City of Goa, 1510-1700" in *Studies in History*, Jan June 2009, VolXX2, No.1, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, pp.66; 68-9;

Goan authorities to take horses from Bhatkal to Hampi, so that the Portuguese private traders might benefit out of this trade without competition.<sup>38</sup> Another major route to Vijayanagara ran from Cannanore, from where horses destined for Hampi were taken through the ghat route. Towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century it was through Cannanore that a considerable share of horses were taken to Hampi. It was consequently known as “horse-port”<sup>39</sup> Occasionally in literature we get references about the other routes that connected various parts of the empire. One route that connected the capital with Goa ran through Bankapur. The route that ran from Bhatkal, through Honavar, Bankapur, Banavasi and Rani Bennur was very active during this period.<sup>40</sup>

Inscriptions and literary sources supply information about some of the quarters, suburbs, canals, markets, gates etc., in such settlements and in Hampi in particular. There were roads some of which were fit for carts. As we have seen earlier, there was a road from Bhatkal to Bankapur via Honavar.<sup>41</sup> Goa was linked up with Vijayanagara via Bankapur.<sup>42</sup> The capital city of Vijayanagara to which all traders flocked was connected by road to all important places. At least 4 such roads linking Vijayanagar with the far-flung centres of the empire are referred to by scholars: (1) Śivasamudra and Śrirangapatna, (2) Ādvāni and Raīchūr, (3) Udayagiri, Konḍavīdu, Konḍapalli, Simhāchalam and Śrikūramam and (4) Kālahasti, Tirupati, Kānci, Tiruvaṅṅamalai, Chidambaram, Ramēśvaram and Dhanushkōṭi. A road connected Vijayanagara and Mylapore through Tirupati, Chandragiri and Pulicat. Goa was linked with through

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>39</sup> *The travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508* translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a preface, by John Winter Jones and edited, with notes and an introduction, by George Percy Badger, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1863, p. 124, Binu M John, “The VOC and the Prospects of Trade between Cannanore and Mysore in The Late Seventeenth Century” in K.S.Mathew and Joy Varkey”(9ed.), *Winds of Spices*, Telicherry, 2006, pp. 205-9.

<sup>40</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagar*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 122; and *fn.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>42</sup> T.V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life In The Vijayanagra Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 151.

Bankapur on the direct road from Vijayanagara to Honavar, the latter inter-connected with other places in the interior of the kingdom.<sup>43</sup>

Porters and pack animals like horses, bullocks, and asses were the usual means of transport on land. Boats and ships were, no doubt, the most important means of water transport.<sup>44</sup> It is evident that Vijayanagara itself was more oriented to the ports of the west coast for its trade networks, which was perhaps partly due to the great demand for horses for its military. The eastern ports were thus not of primary importance as far as the imperial centre was concerned and came under the autonomous control of the local nayaks and rulers.<sup>45</sup>

These varieties of trade routes facilitated the circulation process from interior to the coast and vice versa and easy linking between the economies of the Portuguese and Vijayanaagra. Through these arteries of trade various production centres of Vijayanagara were integrated with the exchange centres of the Portuguese. Against the background of intensified trade and political rapport between the two, the Portuguese king Manuel (1495-1521) even put forward a project of marriage between one of his children and one of the princes of Vijayanagara.<sup>46</sup>

## II. Bazaars and Markets

Bazaars and various categories of markets, ranging from daily markets to weekly markets, operated as economic devices for the exchange of various commodities in different hubs. In literature, there appear references to various kinds of markets, denoted by words like 'hat' or 'hatvati' (bazaar), 'sandai' or 'peth' (big market place),

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<sup>43</sup> Dr. G.R Kuppuswamy, "Some aspects of the Commercial Policy Under the Vijayanagara Empire," *QJMS*, Vol. LXIX, Jan –June 1978, Nos. 1-2, p. 112.

<sup>44</sup> Shastry B.S., *Studies in Indo- Portuguese History*, Ibh Prakashana, Bangalore, 1981, p. 208.

<sup>45</sup> Mukund Kanakalatha, *The trading world of the Tamil Merchant Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 1999, p. 46.

<sup>46</sup> Luis Felipe Thomaz, "Key Note Address" in *Indo-Portuguese History: Global Trends, Proceedings of International seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, edited by Fatima Gracias, Celsa Pinto and Charles Borges, Goa, 2004, pp. 14-7.

'pasara' (shop) 'hat-vechu' or 'hat-keva' (commodities that are purchased from the market), 'chavhata' (square in bazaar) etc..<sup>47</sup>

Paes in his account gives a vivid description of the different types markets of Vijayanagara:

"Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets of the sort I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants, and there you will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls, and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags (*rocis e semdeiros*), and also many citrons, and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street. At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken, in such sort that this city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen, and they sell many things; and in this street there are two small temples (pagodas). There are temples (pagodas) in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants; but the principal and greatest pagodas are outside the city. On every Friday you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things they produce in the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard.<sup>48</sup> "

According to Fernão Nuniz, "The Vijayanagara markets were always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates, jackfruit and mangoes

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<sup>47</sup> Vaidehi Vasant Pujari , "Some Aspects of Bazaar in Early Medieval Deccan: Glimpses From Contemporary Marathi Literature" in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 62<sup>nd</sup> Session Bhopal 2001*, IHC, Kolkata, 2002 pp. 218-19

<sup>48</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat, "Narratives of Domingo Paes", in *Vijayanagara as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz*, NBT, India, 1977, pp. 79-80.

and all very cheap.”<sup>49</sup> Vijayanagara was also noted for its market dealing in spices, textiles, and precious stones. The revenue from trade in turn contributed significantly to the prosperity of the state. Nuniz in his account states that “All the camp was divided into regular streets. Each captain’s division has its markets, where you find all kinds of meat, such as sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, hares, partridges and other birds, and this in great abundance so much so that it would seem as if you were in the city of Bisnaga. And you found many endless kinds of rice, grains, Indian-corn, vetches (minguo), and other seeds that they eat. Besides these things, which are necessities, they had another (market) where you could find in great abundance everything that you want; for in these markets they sell things that in our parts are sold by professional hucksters. There were craftsmen, also, working in their streets, who made there golden jewels and gewgaws, and you will find all kinds of rubies and diamonds and pearls, with every other kind of precious stone for sale. There also were to be seen sellers of cloths, and these were without number as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton. There were also to be seen grass and straw in infinite abundance.”<sup>50</sup>

Abdur Razzak the Persian Ambassador to the Vijayanagara empire observed in the mid-fifteenth century that, “In the space from the third to the seventh one meets a numberless crowd of people, many shops and a bazaar. At the gate of the king’s palace are four bazaars, placed outside each other. On the north is the portico of the palace of the rai. Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery, but the audience hall of the king’s palace is elevated above all the rest. The bazaars are extremely long and broad. The rose merchants place before their shops high *estrades*, on each side of which they expose their flowers for sale. In this place one sees a constant succession of sweet smelling and fresh looking roses. These people could not live without roses, and they look upon them as quite necessary as food.

Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops adjacent to one another; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazaar pearls, rubies, and diamonds.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, “Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz”, p. 225.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 170-71.

<sup>51</sup> R.H.Major (ed.), “Journey of Abd-er-Razzak’ in *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1858, p. 24.

Though the foreign accounts speak of a variety of markets, they do not specify the names of places where markets were distributed in the interior. The names of coastal trading centres figure very much in their accounts. The King of Bijanagar has three hundred seaports.<sup>52</sup> On the west coast important ports were Chaul, Dabhol and Goa. In the Kanara country there were a large number of ports among which may be mentioned Honavar, Bhatkal, Bakanur, Mangalore, Manjesvar, Cumbola and Nilesvar.<sup>53</sup>

Though there was such an extensive volume of foreign trade carried via south India during the Vijayanagar days, the people were largely an inland-oriented people and participating in the internal trade. Obviously the junctional points of inland trade, where the agrarian surplus converged from different places, happened to experience intensification of market mechanisms.

### **III. Merchants and Guilds<sup>54</sup>:**

The trade of the Vijayanagara Empire was carried out by both the native as well as the foreign merchants. Though the foreign trade of south India in the Vijayanagar was largely in the hands of foreigners, there were also a good number of native merchants who took an important part in it. Among them were the Chettis of Kannada, Telugu and Tamil regions and the articles in which they dealt were basically pepper, which they bought from the farmers when it was ripe and sold to foreign ships.<sup>55</sup>

The Malayalis were another important enterprising community that carried on a part of the trade of the country. They supplied spices, coconut -products, palm sugar and palm wine to the Canara people and in return took coarse rice and iron. We also have references to the Brahmans of the region who were engaged in trade and settled down as merchants. Foreign Muslims like the Persians and Arabs formed another important merchant group of this period. Another category, which formed an important class were the Portuguese. Paes states that, "In this city you will find men belonging to

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<sup>52</sup> Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India As told by its Historians The Muhammadan Period*, Vol. IV, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1990, p. 103.

<sup>53</sup> T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life In The Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, pp. 142-3.

<sup>54</sup> These guilds refer to the corporate trading communities in medieval south India.

<sup>55</sup> T V Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 136.

every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.<sup>56</sup>” He also states that, “There live in this many merchants, and is filled with a large population because the king induces many honourable merchants to go there from his cities and there is much water in it.<sup>57</sup>” During the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries the Muslims enjoyed a very high position and dealt in foreign trade and had trade links with the countries lying to the east and west of India. This arrangement got changed with the coming of the Portuguese who discovered a new sea route to India via Cape of Good Hope and controlled the trade traffic in the Indian Ocean with certain control devices like the patrolling fleet and *cartaz* system.

A very important feature of the economic organization of Vijayangara- towns was the constitution of a guild. It was usually a community of interest that brought into existence the guild; and its members were anxious to promote their common interests.<sup>58</sup> Every town appears to have had a mercantile association or guild. They were local associations only and hence the constitution and working of a guild must have differed from place to place and from time to time. Several epigraphical sources highlight the characters and the nature of the merchants and their guilds otherwise known as *sreni* or corporations to carryout various trade-related functions starting from efforts to promote trade, to guard against any coercion or force, to carryout religious and philanthropic activities etc, such as maintenance and construction of tanks, temples, etc, organization of fairs to exchange goods in important commercial centres.<sup>59</sup> Every guild had a leader who had some control over the working of the organization and acted as its accredited representative in its dealing with the government. But the guilds were not like modern trusts, for in the first place their membership was very broad, and in the second they were association of men, not of

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<sup>56</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), “Narratives of Domingo Paes”, in *Vijayanagara*, NBT, New Delhi, 1977, p. 80.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>58</sup> T V Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Nuri Press Ltd, Madras, 1951, p. 27.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted by R.Muniswamy, “The Role of Merchant Guilds and Their Impact on the Socio-Economic Life of the People in Medieval Karnataka” in *Studies in Karnataka History and Culture*, editor, Dr. K. Veerathapa, Proceedings, Vol I, Karnataka History Congress, 1985, p. 92.

capital and there was no division of profits among the members.<sup>60</sup> Many of these trading centres had trade guilds like *hañjamāna*, *nakhara* and *settikars*, which were largely involved in trade. It is significant that during Vijayanagara period, when the empire had to import, of necessity, war horses from Arabia and such other lands, the inscriptions of South Kanara make frequent references to the *hañjamāna* and *nakhara-hañjamāna* guilds.<sup>61</sup> It is believed that *hañjamāna* was the guild of Arabic and Persian merchants settled along the west coast. The *nakhara* guilds generally owed allegiance to Saivism, built a number of temples dedicated to *Nakharēśvara* and made numerous grants for their maintenance, the *settikāra* guilds generally belonged to the Jaina faith, built or renovated many of the Jaina *bastis* and made grants for their maintenance. These guilds figure, even in the earlier periods, as donors, donees, administrators and protectors of grants and as arbitrators in disputes between the state and the people and between themselves.<sup>62</sup>

The trade centres like Barkur and Basrur had their own governors to administer daily affairs and the city of Barkur was divided into 10 *Keris*, where different traders had their commercial establishments. Each Keri had its own trade- guilds called *settikāra*, *nakhara* and *nakhara-hañjamāna*. Barkur was a major rice port in coastal Karnataka and the Portuguese forced the king of Barkur to supply 1000 loads of rice annually to them as tribute.<sup>63</sup>

#### IV. Trade and Political Economy

Since the power structures of the Portuguese in special and the Vijayanagara Empire partially were sustained by the wealth generated from trade, both the power holders looked at trade to be integral to their political processes. Right from the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the Muslims had monopolized the eastern trade controlling the Egyptian and Syrian ports through which goods from the east had to pass on to Europe. Spices particularly pepper, were in universal demand in Europe but the price

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<sup>60</sup> Mahalingam T.V, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara*, University of Madras, Madras, 1940, p. 234.

<sup>61</sup> Ramesh, K.V., *A History of South Kanara*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970, p. 253.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>63</sup> Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Some Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara", in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, Mar Mathews Press, Kerala, 2001, p. 316.



was steep and made exorbitant by the Muslim rulers of Cairo and Persia.<sup>64</sup> The Portuguese of the fifteenth century were aware that any European nation which would discover the sea route to the East, and to India, and would use that route for bringing spices direct to Europe, would become economically prosperous. This aim of the Portuguese was fulfilled with amazing speed within a decade or two after the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India.<sup>65</sup>

Being emboldened by the discovery of the sea route to India, the main aim of the Portuguese was to obstruct as much they could the trade between India and the Red Sea as well as Persian Gulf. Besides, they cherished an ambition to canalize the trade of the East with Europe through Portugal. To attain this end, they strived hard to build up Goa as a commercial entrepot and port by reassuring Indian traders to run their business there. On the Indian soil, they had realized that they had to be in good books with the Indian potentates such as those of Vijayanagara, Cannanore, Calicut and Cochin to expel the Arab traders.<sup>66</sup>

The new route<sup>67</sup> enhanced the importance of Goa as well as of Lisbon which completely overshadowed the ports of Levant and the Mediterranean Sea. This obviously boosted the morale of the Portuguese to such an extent that apart from laying claim on the use of the new track as a sole right, besides unchallengeable command of the Eastern Seas they monitored the navigation of other traders under the system of issuing authenticated permits i.e. *cartazes*. The trade and commercial activity of the Portuguese at the source either depended upon the buying in retail at different coastal ports frequented by their ships or on the contractual arrangements made with the native potentates or rich merchants at Honavar, Barcelor, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cochin, Crangamore, Quilon etc. The collected merchandise was

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<sup>64</sup> R.S Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 7-8 ; B.S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, edited by Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> B.S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, edited by Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup> H.H. Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.V, Cambridge University Press, 1929, pp. 6, 11-12 ; P.P. Shirodkar , *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, India, 1998, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> The new route was the route through Cape of Good Hope discovered by the Vasco Da Gama in 1498.

dispatched from Goa annually to Lisbon in their fleet. The trade in spices to the tune of 30,000.00 kgs per year fetching the profit of £ 45,000 was exclusively monopolized by the king of Portugal himself. The other commercial goods accrued annual profit of at least £ 150,000.<sup>68</sup>

The next year we come across a letter of Afonso de Albuquerque to the king of Portugal recommending him to send annually 2000 horses from Arabia and Persia to satisfy the needs of the kings of Narsynga and Daquem (Deccan). He felt that this business was more profitable than that of mining. Within the next decade, it is observed that the Portuguese consolidated their position on trade front even in Hormuz. In the contractual agreement that was signed on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1523 by governor Dom Duarte de Menezes with king of Hormuz, Muhammad Shah, it was stipulated that the horses should be given to the Portuguese factor at a secured and advantageous place for the merchandise. Secondly, the Portuguese goods- laden ships would not pay the duties at the port. In turn, the Portuguese offered security and defence to ships and merchants from Hormuz.<sup>69</sup> Eventually these developments were furthered to evolve a system of commercial circuits between Hormuz, Goa and Hampi, in which horses routed through Hormuz became the major value-intense cargo of trade.

Though the Portuguese maritime explorers turned towards India primarily in search of spices, which were in great demand in the entire Europe, eventually they were also fascinated by its several other items of trade such as silk, musk, furs, resins, gum, embroidered woolen fabrics, cotton textiles varying from coarse canvas to calicos and muslins of exquisite texture. Equally, attracted they were towards the oils, salt drugs, assafoetida, indigo, dyes, aromatics, saltpeter, sugar in liquid form and the precious stones such as onyx and chalcedony, lapis- lazuli and jasper.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Jose Nicolau de Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 23-4 ; P.P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, India, 1998, pp 1-2.

<sup>69</sup> P.P. Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Radhakumud Mukerji, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, Longman's Green and Co., Bombay, 1992, p. 83, P.P. Shirodkar, "The Concept of Trade and Commerce during Portuguese Regime" in *Purabhilekh – Puratatva* (Journal of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Musuem Panaji- Goa) vol II, No.1, Jan, June, 1984, p. 25.

As we have seen, Vijayanagara Empire gained its prominence mainly because of its ability to convert profit from internal as well as external trade, along with the profit from secondary production, for political processes. It was the convergence of Vijayanagara trade in the various ports of southern India that made the Portuguese intervene in their trading activities of these ports either directly by erecting their own urban units and arrangements of trade in the vicinity of existing towns or indirectly by entering into commercial partnerships. This event marked the beginning of direct European involvement in the social, economic and political order of South Asia.

The growth of trade during the period between 1336 and 1565 involved two distinct developments: Firstly, the expansion of intra- local trade networks linked various established productive core zones with mobile groups outside these areas. Mobile groups, particularly those from forest tracts, supplied rare goods in small quantities for internal consumption and export. Secondly, there is plentiful evidence to indicate that complex patterns of extra- local and foreign trade emerged in this period. The lucrative practice of taxing high value trade goods in transit is assumed to have provided a major revenue source for all kingdoms in South India, particularly Vijayanagara.<sup>71</sup>

The extensive temple construction programmes of the Vijayanagara rulers ushered in the process of convergence of local trade around temples, which were also the core areas of crafts-production. Temples had a central place in the dominantly agrarian economy of Vijayanagara. In fact Vijayanagara was a regal- ritual centre and an administrative centre, besides being a commercial centre. The goddess Pampa, consort of Siva continued to be protector of the city and its kings even under the post Sangama rulers who were devoted to Vishnu deities. All the great shrines of Vijayanagara ritually focused upon powerful royal benefactors and thus the city was greatly enlarged. In the process of its expansion, its market potential also got enlarged. The Vijayanagara monarchs used to encourage different forms of Hinduism, which included promotion of Vedic and other studies, support of Brahmans, generous patronage extended to *mathas*, and temples, pilgrimages to religious places and celebration of public rituals, along the expansion of which the wheels of commerce

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<sup>71</sup> Jenkins Dominic J. Davison, *The Irrigation and Water Supply Systems of Vijayanagara*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997, p. 14.

also moved in the process of meeting the needs of these cultural developments. The various emperors and their co-sharers of power built hundreds of new temples, repaired or made extensive additions to several old ones, settled disputes among temple servants and endowed the temples richly with lands, money, taxes due to the state and jewels for the daily worship or for new festivals that were instituted. These processes emitted forces so as to convert temple-centered settlements as the grass root level units of their trading activities.

The import of war horses into southern India is said to have begun in the early centuries of the Christian era. But this trade assumed importance during the Chola period when the cavalry started to play a more important role.<sup>72</sup> The continuous conflict between the Vijayanagara and the Bahmani kingdoms generated a considerable demand for Arabian and Persian horses from Aden and Hormuz, particularly as the climate of southern India was not suitable for the rearing of good quality horses. Horses remained among the most important items traded in the city during the time of Sangama (1346-1485), Saluva (1485-1505) and Tuluva (1505-1565) dynasties.<sup>73</sup>

As warfare during these times depended upon effective cavalry, the import of horses from Arabia and Central Asia was very important for rival kingdoms. This trade was initially controlled by Arab traders. From 1498 onwards, other actors, particularly the Portuguese appeared on the scene who arrived on the west coast of the subcontinent and attempted to establish the military stations. The Portuguese found a world which was not totally unknown but which was distinct. This was a world explored and controlled by Arab, Persian, Tamil and Gujarati merchants among others.<sup>74</sup> The Portuguese policy was essentially a maritime one and two strategies were used as argued by Subrahmanyam; one was the Christianization of the local people and other was the establishment of good relations with local rulers to counter- balance the

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<sup>72</sup> Anila Verghese, "Foreigners With Horses at Vijayanagara", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, edited by V.M. Kulkarni and Devangana Desai, Vol. 74, 1999, Published by Asiatic Society of Bombay, Mumbai, 2000, p. 203.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>74</sup> Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1505-1565" in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Sinners and saints The successors of Vasco Da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 16.

military disadvantages of the *Estado da India*. Subrahmanyam links the second strategy in order to understand Portuguese relations with Vijayanagara. According to the Portuguese, the Vijayanagara society was formed in opposition to expanding Islamic influence in South Asia. They both have mutual respect for each other which led to a natural development of lines of communication.<sup>75</sup> These lines of communication were eventually developed as a mechanism to make their politico-commercial activities mutually dependent and supplementary.

Till the beginning of the sixteenth century the horse trade was largely a monopoly of the Muslim merchants of Ormuz. But early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Portuguese, who entered the commercial world of Indian Ocean practically drove out the Arabs and the Muslims from the markets and snatched different strands of Indian trade. The return of Vasco da Gama to Portugal made the king D. Manuel to send the good news to the neighboring monarch of Spain, in which he included information regarding Vijayanagara, the riches and splendor of its imperial court, and the enormity of its army, with special attention to the number of horses and elephants used. This was the kingdom which the contemporary notices designated as the kingdom of Narsinga or Bisnaga.<sup>76</sup>

In 1514, Krishna Deva Raya proposed to Albuquerque to send him ten thousand horses annually for twenty thousand pounds which was however rejected by the Portuguese governor on the ground that such an agreement would adversely affect their trading interests in the country. But some time later he offered to the Raya that he would refuse the supply of horses to the Adil Shah if he would pay him thirty thousand *cruzados* per annum for the supply and send his own servants to Goa to take the animals.<sup>77</sup> In course of time due to the high demand of horses in Hampi, this animal became the bridge through which the ties of interdependence and mutual linkages got emerged, cemented, periodically adapted and reinforced.

Burton Stein is of the view that the importation of war-horses, which was known from the time of Marco Polo in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, increased in volume and value

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-7.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-8.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagar*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p. 127; Henry Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, vol.I, p. 59.

during the Vijayanagara period. These war animals were paid for by the Indian exports and bullion according to the information given by trade accounts of the times.<sup>78</sup> The trade in horses provided Portuguese with the good economic base as well as many factories and forts along the Indian coast.<sup>79</sup> They used to bring horses to Goa<sup>80</sup> from all the kingdoms in Arabia Petrea, from Ormuz, from Persia and from the kingdom of Cambay; and from Goa they were sent to the kingdoms of the Deccan and of Narsinga. After Goa was taken from the Moors Narsinga got its horses through Bhatkal<sup>81</sup>, the supply lines changed with the coming of the Portuguese. The latter controlled the traffic in horses in such a way that the political processes of the Vijayanagara rulers were to a great extent made to get depended on the commercial and political policies of the Portuguese. From the early sixteenth century onwards the Vijayanagara rayas and the Portuguese entertained mutually cordial relations. This obviously served their own respective interests, which ensured horses for the Vijayanagara rulers and expansion of maritime trade for the latter. Besides, both had a common enemy in the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, containing whose forces became the core aspect of their political endeavours.<sup>82</sup>

Shaykh Zaynud- Din, a Muslim writer has given a good description in his book about how the Portuguese drove out the Muslims from active commercial activities of the west coast. Immediately after the entry of the Portuguese in India, they established relationship with the coast of Karnataka<sup>83</sup>, ruled by Vijayanagara kings.<sup>84</sup> The

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<sup>78</sup> Burton Stein, *Vijayangara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 74.

<sup>79</sup> As a matter of fact, the need of the horses was the main cause which brought the king of Vijaynagara close to the Portugeses.

<sup>80</sup> It had many merchants of all nationalities as it traded lavishly.

<sup>81</sup> Amando Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, p. 57.

<sup>82</sup> Anila Verghese, "Foreigners with Horses at Vijayanagara", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, edited by V.M. Kulkarni and Devangana Desai, Vol. 74 for 1999, Published by Asiatic Society of Bombay, Mumbai, 2000, p. 204.

<sup>83</sup> The advent of the Portuguese marked a new phase in the history of South coastal Karnataka since the Portuguese introduced new trading methods, a new urban culture, new urban communities and contributed to the construction of new kind of structures like ports, forts, factories and churches. For these, they had to spend heavily but this was compensated by the prosperous trade on the western coast. The Portuguese had firmly entrenched themselves in Goa which became the centre of their political and economic activities. From Goa they started intervening in the political affairs of the neighbouring states

Vijayanagara rulers managed to divert the Portuguese trade in horses successfully to their kingdom to the exclusion of the Adil Shahis by way of their diplomatic skills and trade agreements. In return for the horses, the Vijayanagara rulers agreed to exclusive supply of such items as iron, salt- petre and textiles only through the Portuguese merchants who were required to proceed to the Vijayanagara ports to purchase them. From Goa, the Portuguese started intervening in the political affairs of the neighbouring states aggressively; but they maintained a relationship with Vijayanagara maintaining its integrity and political pre-eminence in the region. In fact Vijayanagara was the dominant political force on the west coast though the Bahamanis gave them stiff competition. Taking advantage of this situation, the Portuguese started selling horses to both the Vijayanagara; however they supplied horses to the successor kingdoms of the Bahamanis, as well. The Vijayanagara kings wanted the Portuguese sale of horses to be stopped and this war animal to be supplied exclusively to themselves, for which diplomatic negotiations were initiated with the Portuguese. As long as the Vijayanagara dynasty survived, the Portuguese were able to make a huge profit on the sale of horses (alive or dead). The Portuguese private traders transferred proceeds from this trade in horses for erecting magnificent edifices and mansions in Goa, augmenting the process of urbanization of Goa, for feeding which a lot of food materials, particularly rice, was carried regularly from the ports of Canara.<sup>85</sup>

The Portuguese developed a chain of trading bases along the western coast of Vijayanagara kingdom for the purpose of facilitating their trade, particularly for procuring rice and food materials that their settlements were in dire need of. On the other hand the Vijayanagara rulers and their power-sharers happily conceded these commercial bases, as the Portuguese supplied horses to them through these trade bases. The Portuguese had identified Mangalore, Basrur, Barkur and Honavar as the

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in Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Urbanization in South Coastal Karnataka 1500-1763" in *Indica*, March 2002, Vol. 39, No. 1, Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, p. 145.

<sup>84</sup> This king of Narsynga is oftentimes at war with the king of Daquem and the king of Otisa (who is another Heathen king.) Mansel Longworth Dames (trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 223-4.

<sup>85</sup> Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Urbanization In South Coastal Karnataka -1500-1763" in *Indica; Journal of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture*, March 2002, Vol.39, No.1, pp. 145-6.

major rice supplying centres in the Vijayanagara Empire and they established trading bases in these rice ports for ensuring regular supply of food materials to their various enclaves in the Indian Ocean. Though the Portuguese tried to keep Mangalore as their main rice base in coastal Karnataka from the time of Albuquerque, this port, which had absorbed many of the Muslim traders earlier ousted by the Portuguese from Calicut and northern Malabar, continued to supply a large volume of pepper and rice to Calicut regularly through these mercantile intermediaries. The Chautas of Ullal, the local principality chieftain near Mangalore, resisted the Portuguese making their trading activities tougher in Mangalore. In 1530 Nuno de Cunha crossed the river of Mangalore that flowed through Ullal territory and having devastated Ullal's barricade, he fortified Portuguese positions in the attempt to capture Muslim merchants who maintained commercial activities with Calicut.<sup>86</sup> The ruler of Ullal was required to pay tribute of rice annually to the Portuguese and in 1556, when its queen refused to pay this tribute, Dom Alvaro de Silveyra pillaged the city of Mangalore and ensured that the rice-tribute was paid annually.<sup>87</sup>

In Basrur (Barcelor), eventually the Portuguese managed to bring under their control the local chiefs and the merchants. They had to pay a tribute of 500 loads of rice to the Portuguese. Some of the Portuguese *casados* had their own rice-fields outside their settlement in Basrur in later period. The *settis* of Basrur, supplying rice to the Portuguese figured very much in their documents. The settlements of these merchants were often known as *Keris*. The *pattanaswamikal*, who were merchants appointed as the heads of port-town looked into matters of the trade in the native quarter of the city.<sup>88</sup>

Right from the days of Afonso Albuquerque, the Portuguese made frequent efforts to dissociate Barkur from the commercial orbit of Calicut. As Barkur used to supply lot of rice, the Portuguese wanted it to be under their influence and control. Though in the initial phase the Vijayanagara governor Ratnappa Odeya resisted the Portuguese

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<sup>86</sup> Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara", in *The Portuguese, Indian ocean And European Bridgeheads 1500-1800* edited by Pius Malekandathil, Jamal Mohammed, Fundação, Oriente, Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities of Meshar, Kerala, 2001, pp. 305-9.

<sup>87</sup> Henry Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, vol.I, p. 189.

<sup>88</sup> Nagendra Rao, "The Portuguese and Aspects of Trade in Ports of South Kanara", pp. 311, 314.



interventions, later during the time of his successors, particularly Vitharasa Odeya the Portuguese managed to cement their base in Barkur and procure rice for their settlements.<sup>89</sup> Another major centre for Portuguese trade in rice was Gangolli located on the mouth of Pancha Gangavali River and referred to in their source as Cambolim. Bhatkal, Baindur, Mulki and Kumbala were other rice ports from the Vijayanagara Empire that the Portuguese banked upon for fetching food-materials.<sup>90</sup>

Textiles formed another important cargo that the Portuguese procured from Vijayanagara. In the earlier agreement signed between Afonso Albuquerque and Krishna Deva Raya's envoy it was agreed upon that "all the cloths of the kingdom of Vijayanagara will not be brought over to the ports of Adil Shah, but either to Ankola or to Onar (Honavar); and in the same way the governors will bind the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them, and to exchange them for copper, coral, vermilion, mercury, China silks and all other kinds of goods which come from the kingdom; and he, the king of Vijayanagara, will order his merchants to purchase them.

.....Both parties agree to wage war with Adil Shah; and all the territories taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagara, except lands to the West of the Ghats from Banda to the Chintakora River, which lands did long ago belong to the ownership and jurisdiction of Goa and will remain attached for ever to the crown of Portugal.”<sup>91</sup>

As the Portuguese were depending on the Vijayanagara ports for food materials, whereas the latter depended on the former for ensuring regular supply of war horses, the evolution of a politico-commercial rapport between them was something that emerged out of their existential exigency. Later with a view to preventing the attacks from Adil Shah in Salcete and Bardez, the Portuguese governor in 1547 signed treaties with the king of Bisnaga (Vijayanagar) and Iniza Moxa (Nizam Shah) with stipulations of commercial tie-ups. In the treaty of 19<sup>th</sup> September 1547 with the king of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), it was specified that he could take all the horses that came

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 316-7.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 317-8.

<sup>91</sup> Henry Heras, *South India under The Vijayanagra Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol I, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 63.

to him from Persia and Arabia; but he should not pass on anyone of them to Adil Shah. He was also disallowed to permit any provisions or supplies to Adil Shah through his areas. In the treaty of 6<sup>th</sup> October 1547 with the Iniza Moxá ( Nizam Shah ), it was agreed upon that they should help each other in items of need against all the rulers of India except that of Bisnagá (Vijayanagara). The Portuguese were neither to make peace with Adil Shah without prior intimidation to the Iniza Moxa.<sup>92</sup>

The above discussion shows that due to the military exigencies of the Vijayanagara rulers to depend on the Portuguese to get war- horses regularly and the economic necessity of the Portuguese to depend on the agrarian pockets of Vijayanagara for getting food materials for feeding their enclaves the rapport between these two power holders, that initially began as an alliance against Muslim rulers of Deccan and coastal India, got intensified in a unique way. The forces emitted by trade cemented the linkage between the two and produced dynamics for sustaining the political processes, which were at times carried out as two aspects of the same core phenomenon. Though there was a certain amount of commonality seen in the political processes of the two, their meanings, purposes, character and formats of expression had been entirely different.

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<sup>92</sup> F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, Vol. I, p. 478. See also Biker, *op. cit*; pp. 118-9 ; P.P.Shirodkar, *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. I, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, 1998, pp. 4-5.

## Chapter 4

### Changing Meanings of Luso-Vijayanagara Relations

The Luso-Vijayanagara relationship was neither monolithic nor static in nature; it had different layers and strands with lot of ups and downs, particularly during the period after 1530s. An attempt to study the changing nature of the relationship between the Vijayanagara and the Portuguese is done in this chapter. Though the Portuguese from the early period on used to periodically bombard cities and ports, and cause damage to ships on the Kanara coast for setting up commercial bases to procure food materials for their enclaves, the Vijayanagara emperors had no desire to incur the hostility of the Portuguese by fighting against them or by helping the local chiefs to fight against the former. For both the Vijayanagara rulers and the Portuguese, they had in Muslims a common enemy to fight. Vijayanagara frequently fought with the various Muslim rulers of the Deccan. Their friendship with the Portuguese was carefully maintained to procure military equipments and war horses from abroad, particularly the horses from Hormuz, which otherwise went to her enemy through the port of Goa, in spite of Timmayya's effort to prevent it. It was against this background that Krishna Deva Raya offered his friendship to the Portuguese when the latter took Goa from the Bijapuris.<sup>1</sup> In their attempts to establish a base in Goa in Konkan, from where they could easily control the trade of Malabar, Gujarat and Red Sea. The Portuguese sought the help of the mercantile and political elites of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The emergence of Qutb Shahis in Golkonda (1518) and the Adil Shahis in Bijapur (1490) and Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1490) as successor states to Bahmani kingdom and their efforts to enlarge their political boundaries put enormous pressure on the Vijayanagara rulers. Many of the major trading centres of the Vijayanagara kingdom including Goa had already fallen into the hands of the Adil Shahis in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The Tuluva ruler Krishna Deva Raya looked at the Portuguese as a potential ally and collaborator in his political and commercial

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<sup>1</sup> B.S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, edited by Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 22.

ventures. The Portuguese, who had been relentlessly trying to shatter the trading networks of the *paradesi* Muslims in the ports of Kerala through their repeated attacks for the purpose of conducting their monopoly trade through their Cape route and the Vijayanagara ruler, who had been trying to assert his position and authority in the South against the background of fast expanding Muslim principalities had already found a common meeting ground to come together and collaborate in political and commercial endeavours. However the nature of the relationship between the two changed considerably after 1530s

### **I. From the Phase of Partnership to Conflicts**

The first three decades after the entry of the Portuguese witnessed a phase of intense partnership between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese. Ever since the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom in A.D. 1347, the area between the Krishna and Tungabhadra, the Raichur Doab became the battle ground between the kingdoms of Vijayanagar and its northern neighbour. Interspersed with long intervals, the battle for the possession of the Doab continued unabated for over two centuries. The kingdom of Bijapur, one of the successor states of the Bahmani kingdom, put up a vigorous fight for the retention of the Doab under its control. Vijayanagara's anxiety to retain the Doab in its possession was dictated by a desire to protect itself effectively against its Muslim neighbours. So long as Raichur and Mudgal were garrisoned by Hindu troops, the Muslims would have to cross two rivers and fight their way past Raichur or Mudgal. Once the fords of the rivers were guarded, it was easy to prevent the Muslims from crossing the Doab and approaching Vijayanagara. It was for this reason that Ramaraya chose to station his advance guard on the plain between Rakkasige and Tangadige in 1564 A.D., while he himself stood guard with the rest of his army on the southern bank of the Krishna.<sup>2</sup>

It was against the background of frequent clashes of Vijayanagara with the Shia kingdoms of Deccan that the embassy from Vira Narasimha, the founder of the third dynasty of the Vijayanagara Empire visited Francisco da Almeida in Cannanore in

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<sup>2</sup> P. Sree Rama Sarma, "Rama Raya's Policy", *The Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 36<sup>th</sup> Session, Aligarh, 1975, p. 143.

1505 for Portuguese support.<sup>3</sup> As we had seen, the embassy was well received, but the Viceroy did not send a reply, as he thought that it was not a proper time to do so.<sup>4</sup> However the situation changed after 1508. When the Portuguese fort in Anjediv (erected in 1505) was demolished in 1506 and the need to construct an alternative fort in Bhatkal emerged the Portuguese proceeded for the conclusion of a treaty of friendship as required by the emperor in his embassy of 1505, in return for permission to erect a Portuguese fortress in Bhatkal. But by this time Vira Narasimha had strengthened his position in Vijayanagara by driving out Adil Shah and putting down many a rebellion within his empire. He therefore, did not need the Portuguese assistance in 1508 as badly as he did in 1505. He virtually ignored the Portuguese embassy, as he was not prepared to forego so valuable a port as Bhatkal.<sup>5</sup>

Krishna Deva Raya<sup>6</sup>, who maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese, allowed Albuquerque to construct of a fort at Bhatkal, besides taking Portuguese soldiers for fighting against Ismail Adil Khan of Bijapur.<sup>7</sup> The author of the *Life of St. Xavier*, who was a contemporary of these events, says that “this king (of Vijayanagara) is on friendly terms with the state of His Highness (the king of Portugal) on account of horses. For all the horses that are sent to his country from Hormuz pass through Goa, and as both cities belong to His Highness, he cannot get them if the viceroy of India is not pleased; and this is the reason why all the Portuguese do safely go from Sao Thome to Goa, that is, they cross one hundred and fifty leagues, almost all of which belonging to him.”<sup>8</sup>

However the atmosphere changed radically with the death of Krishna Deva Raya, which generated internal strifes and attracted external invasions. Taking advantage of the internal situation, Ismail Adil Khan of Bijapur seized Raichur and Mudgal. The

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<sup>3</sup> B.S. Shastry., *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763* , p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> B.S. Shastry, *Goa- Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, edited by Charles J. Borges, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2000, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> He succeeded Vira Narasimha in 1509 AD.

<sup>7</sup> B.S. Shastry, *op.cit.* pp. 60-1.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, p. 72.

Gajapati and Golkonda kings also, though unsuccessfully attempted to occupy Kondavidu. During this turbulence, Krishna Deva Raya's brother Achyuta Raya (1529-42) succeeded in usurping the throne of Vijayanagara. But the latter's death once again led to the war of succession between Achyuta Raya's son and Sadasiva, the nephew of Achyuta Raya. Sadasiva was crowned in 1542AD but was only a nominal king. The whole power of the state was in the hands of Ramaraya the regent and his two brothers.<sup>9</sup> Though later, Sadasiva Raya was temporarily placed on the throne (1542), he was eventually made a puppet ruler and later imprisoned appropriating actual power by Rama Raya, the son in-law of Krishna Deva Raya and the founder of Aravidu dynasty. He followed the policy of revival of orthodox Hindu traditions.<sup>10</sup> In fact Rama Raya's role got all the more augmented with his attempts to drive away Salakam Timma, the usurper of the throne of Vijayanagara and crowned Sadasiva at Tirupati, from where lot of resources were mobilized in the form of money (about a hundred bulls loaded with gold pieces) from the nobles and the temple to wage war against Salakam.<sup>11</sup> The linkage of the new ruler and the evolving political process with the religious heartland of Tirupati seems to have played a significant role in reviving Hindu orthodoxy that it turns altered to a certain extent the nature of Luso-Vijayanagara relationship.

During this period, in order to legitimize the power process, we find Rama Raya resorting increasingly to religious grants and lavish bestowing of temples of Mallikarjuna, Krishnapuram, and Kosanepalle with grants of villages and lands. This was followed by increasing processes of constructing temples and the revival of orthodox Hindu traditions in the kingdom. The result was the erasure of the rich liberal religious traditions initiated by the rulers of Tuluva family, particularly Krishna Deva Raya and Achyuta Raya.<sup>12</sup> During this period we find frequent clashes happening between the Vijayanagara forces and the Portuguese.

In fact Rama Raya's relationship with the Portuguese was not very cordial. Martin Alfonso de Souza, who became the governor of Goa in 1542, plundered Bhatkal. In

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<sup>9</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire, Vijayanagar*, Publication Division, Delhi, 1962, pp. 182-4.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty* Vol. I, pp.1-7.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, 14-5.

<sup>12</sup> Cf Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty* Vol. I.

1544 he sent a fleet of 45 ships under 27 captains to plunder the temple of Tirupati, though they could not do it as many soldiers of Vijayanagara assembled at Tirupati to resist the Portuguese move.<sup>13</sup>

The change in the character of Luso-Vijayanagara relationship and aspects of conflict between the two emerged principally out of difference in the cultural processes that both resorted to by 1540s. On the Portuguese side aspects of accommodativeness and cultural tolerance that prevailed till 1540s were superseded by cultural homogenization and standardization intensified by heightened focus on Christianization following the new missionary zeal. The Trent Council (1545-1565) convened to contain Protestantism in Europe and the Jesuit Order founded (in 1539) to fight against Protestant heresy in the West emitted immense militant missionary zeal and along with some of the missionaries coming to India after 1540s there got evolved an atmosphere of conflicts in India, particularly in the Portuguese enclaves of Goa as well as Pearl Fishery Coast and their neighbourhood including Vijayanagara terrain among the residents shifting allegiances. On the other side the Sadasiva and Rama Raya, who owed their political position very much to the resources of the nobility and temple of Tirupati, were very keen on reviving the orthodox Hindu traditions unlike Krishna Deva Raya, who used to maintain a liberal approach to Christianity and the Portuguese.

## **II. Religious Assertion of the Portuguese**

The period after 1550 witnessed religious assertion in both Portuguese enclaves and Vijayanagara kingdom. The intensification of religious processes in Portuguese enclaves in 1550s followed by mass conversion of the former subjects of Vijayanagara kingdom to Christianity in Goa and Pearl Fishery coast corresponded with intensified religious processes and temple constructions in Vijayanagara. These processes of cultural and religious assertions augmented the attempts of political assertions that both the groups resorted to during this period.

After the liberal and accommodative phase that the Portuguese maintained in India, Goa was erected into an archbishopric, with several suffragan dioceses under it; but

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1.

the progress of Christianity was very slow till the arrival of the great apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, one of the first associates of Saint Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus. He landed at Goa, May 6, 1542, and at once devoted himself to the reformation of the nominal Christians whom he found there. They were so addicted to the acquisition of worldly riches that they wholly neglected the duties imposed by their faith; while if any poor idolaters were convinced of the truth by the efforts of the few missionaries then in the country; they dared not embrace it for fear of the oppression of the Pagans. St. Francis and his companions quickly changed the face of Goa; and having wonderfully revived religion there, they went to preach along the coast of the Fisheries on the south-west extremity of the peninsula, where the inhabitants were so oppressed by their Muslim masters that they sought the help of the Portuguese, who came to their assistance; in gratitude for this aid they willingly listened to Christian preachers.<sup>14</sup>

The history of conversion, it is claimed was essentially a history of conflicts and accommodation between *Cristandade* (Christianity) and *Gentilidade* (Gentilism). Goa was regarded by the Portuguese as a 'holy city'. It was believed by the early occupants of Goa that 'the ideal of unity and political allegiance would not be possible without proselytism' and that the Lusitanian sea-borne empire could be expanded and sustained only with conversions as its basis.<sup>15</sup>

The Portuguese came to India in search of spices and Christians. But in the course of time they realized that both these aims could be achieved if they could wield some power and so they unhesitatingly accepted the invitation of Goa. They believed that they were 'sent by God to set terror into Muslim hearts and win for the faith vast new regions of the earth...'

"Goa will be taken from the infidel, and will come in time to be the queen of the entire east, raised to a pinnacle by the triumphs of the conquerors, from which proud eminence they will keep the idolatrous heathen, and all such as may be tempted to wage a war against your beloved people, severely in check." (*Luis de Camoes, Os*

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<sup>14</sup> W. Strickland, *The Jesuit In India*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 40-1.

<sup>15</sup> A.R. Kulkarni. "The Portuguese Contribution To Marathi in the Medieval Period" in *The Portuguese And The Socio- Cultural Changes In India, 1500-1800* edited by K.S.Mathew, Teotonia R. de Souza, Pius Malekandathil ,Fundação Oriente, 2001, p. 313.



*Lusiados*). They often looked at conversion as a 'strategy for political and social control.'<sup>16</sup>

At the time of his first conquest of Goa, Albuquerque had guaranteed full religious freedom to its inhabitants. The request of Shaikh Ismail, that the Moors living there should be forced to accept his Shiite sect, was refused.<sup>17</sup> But after this same sect treacherously played into the hands of their fellow worshipers and thus forced Albuquerque to withdraw, he showed no forbearance towards the Muslims after his second capture of the city; and every remembrance of them was destroyed.<sup>18</sup>

When the Portuguese captured Goa in 1510, they had found considerable number of both local and migrant Muslims there, aristocrats and prebend holders of the grants known as *iqta*, petty warriors, traders, and artisans.<sup>19</sup> A number of them were immediately put to the sword in late 1510 at the moment of conquest, and their widows taken into the households of the Portuguese conquerors, who were notoriously short of female companions from Iberia. Between 1510 and 1540, a certain laxity with regard to religious difference seems to have characterized Goa, and it is probable that no one looked too closely into the religious beliefs or practices of these women.<sup>20</sup> The Portuguese were initially seen as a welcome relief to the 'Hindus' long suffering and persecution' by the Muslims who were viewed as tyrannical. But eventually the Portuguese themselves became quite intolerant. This intolerance was most evident after 1540s, particularly after 1550s.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>17</sup> Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier His Life, His Times*, Vol II, India 1541-1545 translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977, p. 230.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>19</sup> For the fiscal structure of the Bijapur Sultanate, see Hiroshi Fukazawa, "The Local Administration of the Adilshahi Sultanate (1489-1686)" in Fukazawa, *The Medieval Deccan: Peasants, Social Systems and States (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)* (Delhi, 1991), pp. 1-48. Less helpful is the older study by Iftikhar Ahmed Ghauri, "Central Structure of the Kingdom of Bijapur," *Islamic Culture* 44, no.1, 1970: 19-33, which tends to read backward from the seventeenth century. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be Alien Travails and Encounters in early Modern World*, Permanent Black, Brandeis University Press, 2011, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three ways to be Alien Travails and Encounters in early Modern World*, Permanent Black, Brandeis University Press, 2011, p. 27.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, Albuquerque, having wrested a second time the town and the island from the Bijapuris, and that day being consecrated in the Church to the memory of St. Catherine, a virgin and martyr at Alexandria, that virgin was chosen solemnly as the patroness of Goa, and the protectress of the Portuguese possessions in the East; and the first Christian church or chapel was erected in Goa in her name, towards the centre of the city, and not far from the landing place.<sup>21</sup>

The propagation of the Christian religion was one of the main objects, which the Portuguese had constantly in view in carrying their successful arms into the distant countries of Asia. Hence when Goa passed into their hands, they soon turned their attention to the conversion of the natives, inviting for this purpose from time to time several pious missionaries; and such was their success that the settlement became in course of time the centre of all their religious institutions in the East, as it was of their power and commerce.<sup>22</sup> Most of such converts were once upon a time linked with Vijayanagara and the conversion process helped the Portuguese to integrate them into the Lusitanian system and got them transformed as citizens for their evolving empire. The arrival of the Portuguese with their padroado privileges (or rights of patronage, received from the Pope himself), however marked the first large scale appearance of Christian missionaries in India.<sup>23</sup> Pyrard de Laval states that, it is now about 110 years since the Portuguese made themselves masters of this island of Goa, and I have been often astonished how in so few years the Portuguese have managed to construct so many superb buildings, churches, monasteries, palaces, forts, and other edifices built in the European style; also at the good order, regulation, and police they have established, and the power they have acquired, everything being as well maintained and observed as at Lisbon itself.<sup>24</sup> Pyrard gives a very detailed description of their

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<sup>21</sup> Denis L. Cottineau De Kloguen , *An Historical Sketch of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Joy. L. Pachau, "Responses to the Portuguese Missionary Methods in India in the 17<sup>th</sup> century" in Yogesh Sharma and Jose Leal Ferreira(ed.), *Portuguese Presence in India during the 16th and 17th centuries* , Viva Books, New Delhi, 2008, p. 58.

<sup>24</sup> *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil* translated by Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, vol. II, Part I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 26.

manner of attending church. He states that rich and noble women seldom go to church except on the principal festivals, and when they do they appear richly dressed after the fashion of Portugal, the dress mostly of gold and silver brocade adorned with pearls, precious stones, and with jewels on the head, arms, hands, and round the waist, and they put on a veil of the finest crape in the world, which extends from head to foot.<sup>25</sup>

Studded with numerous Churches, Christianity has deep roots in Goan history and such was their success that the settlement became in course of time the centre of all their religious institutions in the East, as it was of their power and commerce.<sup>26</sup> When the Portuguese could bring under control, the three provinces of Goa, they strongly felt the need of local support, which could be secured only by converting the Goans on a large scale to Christianity.<sup>27</sup>

Pyrard de Laval notes that, "The Bishop of Goa has jurisdiction as far as *Mozambique*.<sup>28</sup>" As a result of intensified religious processes a large number of churches came up in Portuguese enclaves, particularly in Goa. The best are the churches of which many were held by several religious orders as Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Discalced Carmelites and Jesuits etc<sup>29</sup> with double and very numerous convents, and indeed half the religious that were there would have sufficed for a city bigger than Goa.

The celebrated St. Francis Xavier arrived in India in 1542 with the new Governor Martin de Souza. Meanwhile the Portuguese in Goa tried to convert the newly obtained territories from Vijayanagara, principally Salcete and Bardez, into culturally homogeneous space with the help of religious institutions and devices. During the 16<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol II, part I, p. 102.

<sup>26</sup> Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical And Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 63.

<sup>27</sup> A.R Kulkarni. "The Portuguese Contribution To Marathi in the Medieval Period" in *The Portuguese And The Socio- Cultural Changes In India, 1500-1800* edited by K.S.Mathew, Teotonia R. de Souza, Pius Malekandathil, Fundação Oriente, 2001, p. 315.

<sup>28</sup> *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, The Moluccas and Brazil* translated by Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell, vol. II, Part I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 26-7.

<sup>29</sup> *Tavernier's Travels in India* by Valentine Ball edited by William Crooke, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 159.

century, the Portuguese did their best (or worst) to convert the Hindus of Goa to Christianity. Hindu temples were destroyed; their properties were transferred to Churches and other Christian institutions; Hindu religious ceremonies and processions were banned; possession of icons, holy books, etc., was prohibited; Hindu orphans were entrusted to the care of Christian priests who saw to it that the orphans became Christians; attendance at masses was made compulsory for Hindus under the plea that they would become Christians realizing the superiority of the Christian doctrines and modes of worship. All these discriminatory laws made it impossible for Hindus to live in Goa with honour. Thousands of them migrated. Many of them stayed away though some returned when the Portuguese realized the folly of the policy of persecution and asked the emigrants to come back. Migration of people in large numbers had slowed down the economic wheel of Goa. Agriculture and trade had suffered. There was an acute fall in the revenue, which had a telling effect on the Portuguese government.<sup>30</sup> The Portuguese, who developed Goa as their seat in Asia, transferred a large set of meanings of power into its urban space by resorting to architectural process as a language of domination. Wealth accumulated by *casado* traders and urban elites was made to get diverted to the erection of elegant and magnificent edifices and structures in the city that would evoke awe and impression among the onlookers in a way that would supplement and reinforce their claims of monopoly and domination in Indian Ocean trade.<sup>31</sup> The Gaoncars<sup>32</sup> and the village elites of the newly acquired territories of Salcete and Bardez, but till then linked with the Vijayanagara kingdom, were converted to Christianity or made to flee away to border areas like Ponda.

The Jesuits who came to Goa in 1542 under the leadership of St. Francis Xavier occupied the northern part of the city where they erected São Paulo College. However, the Franciscans (1517) and the Dominicans (1548) occupied the prime areas of the city, while the Augustinians who came to Goa only in 1572 constructed

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<sup>30</sup> C.R.Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*, Hutchinson of London, 1969, pp. 59-60.

<sup>31</sup> Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port- city of Goa, 1510-1700" *Studies in History*, 25, Vol XX2, No.1, Jan June 2009, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> They were the original owners of land and holders of shares in the system of communitarian ownership of land still continuing in Goa.

their monastic structures on the slopes of the mount farther away from the port area.<sup>33</sup> In the changed scenario Salcete<sup>34</sup> was handed over to the Jesuits in Goa and Bardez<sup>35</sup> was given over to the Franciscans for Christianization with immediate effect. Conflicts happened in many of these places between the Portuguese and the adherents of old belief system which was till then linked with the Vijayanagara cultural

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<sup>33</sup> Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port- city of Goa, 1510-1700" *Studies in History*, 25, Vol XX2, No.1, Jan June 2009, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> "This province, or peninsula, is situated on the South and South - East end of the island of Goa. It is about twenty miles from east to west, and six miles from north to south; its north- western point is called Murmugao, and gives name to the southern harbour of Goa, which is the safest during the monsoon. The province of Salcette was converted to Christianity, and entirely subjected to the Portuguese, about fifty years after the conquest of Goa. It is now reckoned the best, the fertile, the most populous, and the most healthy part of Goa; its inhabitants are mostly Christians, with very few Hindus and Muslims. It is divided into twenty- eight parishes, but several of them have dependent churches, or chapels of ease, for the neighbouring villages that do not form a parish: the whole amounting to forty- six villages, besides the town of Margao, the capital of the province; their names are, Rachol, Ambora, Raia, Lotulim, Rassaim, Verna, Calata, QueOhicalim, Murmugao, Pole, Cola, Betalbatim, Velcao, Arossim, Cancaulim, Majorda, Carmona, Cavlossim, Spornabat, Verca, Benaulim, Seraulim, Danaulim, Chinchinim, Sarsora, Paroda, Navelim, Chandor, Guirdolim, and Courtorim" in Denis L. Cottineau de Kloguen, *An Historical Sketch of Goa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2005, p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> "Bardez extends from North to South along the sea coast, north-west of the island of Goa, and is joined to the mainland, by a narrow neck between two rivers, on the North-East It is not above ten miles from North to South and five from East to West. It however comprises six villages, with their territories beyond the said isthmus, contiguous to the new province of Bicholim . It is not so fertile, nor so healthy, as Salcette, but much more so, than the island of Goa; the South-West point, forming the northern entrance of the harbour of Goa, is called Aguada, and has a fort and village of that name, with the Parochial church of St. Laurence, very conspicuous over the hill, whence, you have a very fine view of the fort of Cabo, of the neighbouring monastery, on the island of Goa, of Marmugao, and part of Salcette, and of the desert islands of St. George, out at sea. Bardez was converted to Christianity shortly after Salcette; It is divided into twenty-six parishes, and contains thirty- six villages, besides Mapuca, the chief town; their names are, Moura, Ucacaim, Aldona, Nachinola, Pomburpa, Socorro, Sirula, Penha de Franca, Reis, Nelur, Aguada, Pilerne, Candolim, Saligao, Sangolda, Calangute, Caneca, Nagao, Guirim, Parra, Verula, Baga, Assagaon, Cunchelim, Oxela, Chapora, Seolim, Vagalim, Comorlim, Caluale, Revorra, Nadora, Pirna, Asnora, Tivim, and Casua; these six last are beyond the isthmus, where was constructed, formerly, a wall, reaching North and South from river to river, but which is now almost all in ruins." Denis L. Cottineau de Kloguen, *An Historical Sketch of Goa*, pp. 100-1.

traditions and the Gaoncars and local religious leaders of these new territories vehemently opposed the Portuguese attempts for cultural mutations as it happened in Cuncolim in Salcete, where they killed five Jesuit priests.<sup>36</sup> Before the coming of the Portuguese, the village was run by the village communities or Commune or Gaumponn. As Teotonia R de Souza describes, 'the village comprised a *comunidade* of ranked co- parcenors living according to their allotted status in happy harmony, gaonkars (shareholders in the land and its product) and mundkars (non- shareholders) cultivating the rice fields, gaonkars distributing annually to families their portion of the village rice harvest and of fruits garnered from coconut and cashew trees.<sup>37</sup> The Portuguese who came to India with twin motives i.e., to get spices and Christians were busy with their aim of establishing themselves in Goa and thus needed the help of local people. But this mutual relationship did not last long and different mechanisms were imposed upon the village communities.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese initially established themselves at Cochin and Goa, the Vijayanagara state in peninsular south India had given them far less cause for anxiety, even if relations between Goa and Vijayanagara were not always amicable. From the era of Vasco da Gama and Afonso de Albuquerque, when the Portuguese king Dom Manuel had even dreamt of a marriage alliance between the royal houses of Portugal and Vijayanagara, things began to sour in later decades. The idea of using Vijayanagara as a counterweight to keep the "Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur in check, and thus protect Goa's internal frontier, was the principal focus of Albuquerque's own geo-political conception of the Deccan, but other considerations were later to modify this. First, between 1520 and 1560, there was no very serious attempt by the sultans of Bijapur to retake Goa; this limited the extent of their conflict. Second, official Portuguese policies brought them into conflict with the trading settlements of the Kanara coast, which were controlled (or at least protected) by Vijayanagara. The ports of Bhatkal, Basrur, and Honawar, as also Mangalore, were seen as allied to the Mappila opponents of the Portuguese, who used every opportunity to harass their shipping. Third, the relative tolerance shown under

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<sup>36</sup> Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far*, Institute Menezes Braganza, Panjim, 1999, pp. 54-6.

<sup>37</sup> Caroline Ifeka, "The Image of Goa" in *Indo-Portuguese History Old Issues, New Questions*, edited by Teotonia R de Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1985, p. 185.

Dom Manuel for Vijayanagara- which was after all a 'Gentile', that is, a Hindu, kingdom to them- did not survive into later decades, when the Counter-Reformation spirit at Dom Joao III's court prompted him, among other things, implicitly to permit the governor Martim Afonso de Sousa in the 1540s to schedule an attack on the Tirupati temple.<sup>38</sup>

The Portuguese reports speak about the presence of many temples in Goa where God was greatly offended as the devil received the worship of the Hindus. The Portuguese priests wanted to destroy all the temples there but that would have agitated the Hindus of the village. Hence, a gradual destruction of the temples was undertaken. One report spoke of the village of Cuncolim and how the peoples were rebels. They lived as they wished. They once attacked a person carrying letters of Viceroy Antonio de Noronha in 1567 and he ordered the destruction of two villages and about 200 temples. Thus grew in them a hatred for the Jesuits whom they considered the masters of the destruction.<sup>39</sup>

### III. Conflicts and Compromises

The new cultural developments that appeared in Vijayanagara and in its yesterly territories, but initiated by the Portuguese ushered in elements of conflicts at different levels. One of the chief areas of conflicts was Goa, to which were added Salcete and Bardez in 1543, which had earlier been part of Vijayanagara Empire. In fact Krishna Deva Raya had earlier granted Salcete to the Portuguese in return for their support for capturing Rachol from the Bijapuris. However it was in 1543 that both these regions were attached as integral parts of Goa. The Portuguese resorted to a systematic

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<sup>38</sup> 'Verdadeira enfformaçam das coisas da India (1544)', in António da Silva Rego (ed.), *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Vol. III, Lisbon, 1963, pp. 199-234. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Mughals and Franks*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 82.

<sup>39</sup> *DI*, vol. VII, p. 387; vol. I, pp.66-68; 233-234; 462; vol. II, pp.184-185; vol. VII, p. 388; vol. IV, p. 117; *Breve Notícia dos Cinco Martyres de Salsete ou Conculim e do P. António Balducci missionários todos da Companhia de Jesus recém beatificados*, Lisbon: Novo Mensageiro do Coração de Jesus, 1893, pp. 5-6. See also Teotonio R. De Souza, "Why Cuncolim Martyrs: - an historical reassessment" in *Jesuits in Historical Perspective*, op. cit., pp. 37-47. In *The Portuguese And The Socio- Cultural Changes In India, 1500-1800* edited by K.S.Mathew, Teotonia R. de Souza, Pius Malekandathil, Fundação, Oriente, 2001, p. 391.

process of Christianization in the provinces of Salcete and Bardez, by handing over the former to the Jesuits and the latter to the Franciscans. This meant not only conversion of these geographies into parts of Portuguese possession, but also the transformation of the religion of their inhabitants into that of the Portuguese. Consequently all the temples in the provinces of Salcete and Bardez were destroyed one by one and their residents were converted to Christianity. Those who resisted the move lost their landed property and had to migrate to the land of Vijayanagara. A large number of them, linked with the religious traditions of Vijayanagara, being reluctant to change their religion, fled from these provinces carrying the idols of their deities to Ponda, and other places lying outside Portuguese control but lying within Vijayanagara borders. The introduction of Christianity was resented by these residents and fleeing was the only alternative left before them. The new converts from the yesterly regions of Vijayanagara were made to look culturally closer to the Portuguese by imposing dress culture, food culture and etiquette of the Lusitanians among them. The Indian dress culture and food tradition which these people maintained were viewed by the Provincial Councils of Goa convened during the time span from 1565 to 1605 as heretical practices. Consequently the Inquisition was increasingly used to ensure that the cultural differences between the newly integrated people and the Portuguese were minimized and were made to look culturally the same as the Lusitanians. Even the former Hindu traders of Goa, but linked with the circulatory processes emanating from Vijayanagara were not spared from this act of cultural mutation<sup>40</sup>

Another main pocket where the elements of conflict got intensified was Pearl Fishery Coast. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the Paravas of Pearl Fishery Coast were divided up among three kings: the Great king of Cape Comorin in the south, the king of Kayattar (Vettumperumal) in the centre, and Tumbichchi Nayak in the north, the latter two being vassals of the king of Vijayanagara; and all were concerned about their share of the rich yield of the annual fishery.<sup>41</sup> Through the king of Kayattar and

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<sup>40</sup> Pius Malekandathil, "A City in Space and Metaphor", p. 26.; Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far*, Panjim, 1999, pp. 43-9.

<sup>41</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames (Trans.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 74-8.



Tumbichchi Nayak the Vijyanagara rulers controlled pearl fishing activities of the region and bagged a considerable share out of the pearl trade. However the Portuguese, with their entry in the Indian Ocean extended their activities to the Pearl Fishery as well.<sup>42</sup> António de Miranda de Azevedo, who happened to travel from Kochi to Sri Lanka via Kayal on the Pearl Fishery Coast in 1519, informed the king of Portugal of the trade prospects of the coast.<sup>43</sup> This timely information was immediately taken into consideration

and the Portuguese governor in India received instructions from Lisbon to send a captain every year with boats and soldiers to help the Chieftain of Kayal during the pearl fishing season.<sup>44</sup>

The fishery coast which is also known as the Pearl Fishery Coast, the Pescaria of the Portuguese, extends from Cape Comorin to the Island Promontory of Rameswaram and from there to Mannar off the coast of Sri Lanka. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century it comprised some twenty- two villages, chief among them being Kayalpatnam, Tuticorin, Vaipar and Vembar. The paravas<sup>45</sup> had lived in these villages, making their living by fishing and pearl- diving from very early times. From time immemorial the paravas had lived as fishers and pearl divers on the southeast tip of India, the fishery coast, opposite

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<sup>42</sup> Joao Garces wrote in 1529 that he had discovered the Pearl Fishery Coast; but Miranda de Azevedo had already given an account of it to the king in 1519 For details see Georg Schurhammer, S.J. *Francis Xavier His Life, His times* Vol II ,India 1541-1545, translated by M.Joseph Costelloe, The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977, p. 259.

<sup>43</sup> Antonio da Silva Rego, *As Gavetas do Torre do Tombo*, Lisboa, 1964, tomo IV, pp. 142-3. The translation of the original text runs as follows: 'As I came from Cochin, the chief of Cael let me know that if I helped him with two ships he would pay a certain amount to Your Highness. I did not make any agreement with him, as I could do nothing but say that I will communicate with your Highness.' See S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire and the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)* , Manohar 2009, p. 75.

<sup>44</sup> J.F.J.Biker, *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazos que o Estado da India Paluguesa fez com os reis e Senhores*, Lisbon, 1881, vol. 1, p. 22 quoted by Stephen S. Jeyaseela *Expanding Portuguese Empire And the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)* , Manohar 2009, p. 75.

<sup>45</sup> The people were known to the Portuguese as Paravas ( Paravars) probably originating from the word *bharatas* or *bharatars*. S. V. Fernando, "The Evangelization of the Pearl Fishery Coast under the Portuguese Padroado," *Indian Theological Studies*, 15, 1978, p. 134; Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1989, p. 393.

Ceylon.<sup>46</sup> About the pearl fishery, Marco Polo says that in the Pandya kingdom were found very large pearls, both good and beautiful, and precious stones. The king wore round his neck a fine silk thread, which hung down in front of him to the length of a pace; on this thread were strung most beautiful large pearls and most precious rubies, in all. He also wore bracelets studded with precious stones and pearls in three different places round his legs. He wore splendid pearls and other gems on his toes.<sup>47</sup>

Christianity was introduced among the Paravas of Pearl Fishery Coast in mid-1530s by a Christian trader by name João da Cruz and later by Portuguese missionaries. Since the embracing of religion of Christianity was viewed by the Paravas as a way to ensure the support of the Portuguese in their attempts to resist the attacks of the Marakkars of Kilakarai and Kunimedu, the Paravas en masse became Christians in 1536/7. João da Cruz, the trader in horses, supplied horses to the king of Cape Comorin and the Vijayanagara chiefs in the south on the condition that these rulers would persuade the people to embrace Christianity. His effort had produced tremendous impact on the conversion process and in 1536 about 50, 000 people were converted and by 1537 the number increased to 80, 000.<sup>48</sup>

Sanjay Subrahmanyam says that unlike in Japan and Goa, the Paravas had a collective identity even before the Mass Conversion. It was thus logical for them to preserve themselves as a Christian caste in a Hindu society.<sup>49</sup> According to him “the most important communities of converts that the Portuguese dealt with in Asia were the

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<sup>46</sup> On the origin of the Paravas, formerly called *Paradavar* or *Bharatas*, see S. C. Chitty, “Remarks on the Origin and History of the Parawas,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 4, 1837, pp. 130-134; *Ramnad District Manual*, Madras, 1889, pp. 39-40; J. Hornell, “The Chank Shell in Ancient Indian Life and Religion,” *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. 4, Bangalore, 1913, pp. 157-164; *idem. The sacred Chank of India*, Madras, 1914 and *The Chank Shell Cult of India*, Bombay, 1942; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom from the Earliest times to the sixteenth Century*, Swathi Publications, Madras, 1929, pp. 35, 52-53; Georg Schurhammer, S.J. *Francis Xavier His Life, His Times*, Vol II, India 1541-1545, translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977, p. 258.

<sup>47</sup> L.F. Benedelto, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 325-6.

<sup>48</sup> Pius Malekandathil, Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some Aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar” in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (ed.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, Lisbon/Tellicherry, 2001, pp. 253-4.

<sup>49</sup> Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Portuguese Empire*, pp. 266-7.

Paravas.<sup>50</sup> Because of their location and association with the Fishery Coast, northern Sri Lanka and southern Coromandel, the Paravas always maintained their separate identity.<sup>51</sup>

With the considerable presence of the Portuguese at Thoothukudi<sup>52</sup>, and with the arrival of João Flores as the first Portuguese captain of the Fishery Coast in 1523<sup>53</sup> Pearl Fishery Coast became a geography of considerable value to the Portuguese not only because of the valuable pearls obtained from there, but also because of its location as a bridge between the official Portuguese possessions on the west coast of India and the mercantile settlements of the Portuguese private traders on the east coast of India. A large number of Portuguese accounts of the times refer to the mass baptism of the Paravas in the Pearl Fishery Coast, which speak of the tension that prevailed between the Paravas and the Muslim Marakkar lease holder's.<sup>54</sup> João da Cruz, a horse dealer at this time is reported to have suggested the Paravas to approach the Portuguese in Kochi for support and help. The Portuguese requested them to become Christians and assured to provide them protection. Hence in the same year, three Franciscan priests went to the Pearl Fishery Coast and converted the Paravas en masse. That was how the Franciscans were drawn to evangelization work on the coastal Tamil terrain coming under Vijayanagara and started offering holy mass regularly thereafter.<sup>55</sup> In this conflict, the Portuguese were seen as saviours by the Paravas.

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>52</sup> Thoothukudi was the one of the Portuguese settlement and became the head quarters of the Portuguese in 1582.

<sup>53</sup> A. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. I, p. 393.

<sup>54</sup> According to contemporary accounts, the trouble is said to have started when a parava lady was insulted by a Muslim when she was buying a paniyaram (rice cake). The lady reported the matter to her husband who picked up a quarrel with the Muslim. The latter in his anger tore the earlobe of the parava. In the estimation of the paravas to have one's earlobe torn out was a great insult to the whole community and thus a serious dispute arose between the paravas and the Muslims. As a result, the paravas refused to undertake pearl fishing for the Muslims

<sup>55</sup> S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Caste, Catholic Christianity And the Language of Conversion Social Change and Cultural Translation in Tamil Country, 1519-1774*, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi, 2008, p. 46.

With the cessation of Vijayanagara control over territories south of Chandragiri, Rama Raya wanted to re-impose its authority over broken away terrains. The rulers of Travancore had actually drove out the chieftain of Kayattar, the Pandya feudatory of the empire. The Roman Catholic missionaries, headed by St Francis Xavier, were not only converting to their faith large numbers on the Pearl- Fishery coast of the Gulf of Mannar, but induced the fishermen to transfer their allegiance to the king of Portugal on the grounds that they could thereby escape from the rapacity of the Muslim traders and the oppression of the Hindu governors from which they had been suffering for many years. The Franciscan friars and Jesuits were busy demolishing temples and building churches in the coastal cities, and the Portuguese governor of Goa was reported to be organizing a plundering raid against the rich temples of Kanchipuram. The presence of many petty local rulers, their mutual jealousies and negotiations with the Portuguese further complicated a tangled situation.<sup>56</sup>

It was against the background of growing influence of the Portuguese in Pearl Fishery Coast and Travancore in extreme south that Ram Raya sent an imperial army under Rama Raya Vitthala in 1543 to re-impose the authority of Vijayanagara in extreme south. The southern expedition of Vitthala, cousin of Rama Raya, was joined by the Nayak of Madurai and Prince Chinna Timma and many others and the entry of the mammoth army of Vijayanagara in Travancore made people flee en masse.<sup>57</sup> St. Francis Xavier refers to 'a rising in the country because the Portuguese had captured a brother-in-law of Vitthala' and to the plan of the insurgents likewise to 'capture the Christians of the Cape of Comorin'.<sup>58</sup> Unlike under the Tuluva rulers, the forces of Sadasiva Raya in 1544 attacked the Christian Parava villages of Pearl Fishery coast and took many of them as prisoners, while a large number of them fled in *kattamarams* to save their life. The reason for this attack was non-payment of tribute from pearl fishing to the Vijayanagara ruler after their shifting allegiance to the Portuguese. The attack by Vijayanagara forces on a territory controlled by the Portuguese was uncommon till then; however with the increasing use of religion for seeking legitimacy the conservative strand got emboldened in Vijayanagara kingdom

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<sup>56</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, pp. 289-90.

<sup>57</sup> Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire*, vol.I, pp. 140-3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

and the liberal and accommodative phase of Luso-Vijayanagara relationship dwindled and it was against this background that Vijayanagara forces attacked the Portuguese controlled Pearl Fishery Coast.

Francis Xavier also speaks of the Parava Christians and the Portuguese, being persecuted and plundered by the Badagas (the forces of Vijayanagara). Many of them and the Portuguese being deprived of food for many days and had been wandering for saving their life were called together at Manappad in the Pearl Fishery coast by St. Francis Xavier <sup>59</sup> The Vijayanagara forces attacked Punnaikayal, the principal settlement of the Portuguese on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1544 and set on fire the house and boat of the Portuguese captain.

Tuticorin was also captured by Vitthala, who made it his temporary residence. Vitthala, after having captured Travancore and Fishery Coast, remained in south till 1558. <sup>60</sup> During his governorship , Vitthala made several attacks on the Portuguese and the Paravas of Pearl Fishery Coast during the span of twelve years, which indicates the nature of conflicts that emerged between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara. It was quite obvious that most of these conflicts stemmed out of the desire to control pearl fishing appropriate a share of profit out of it.

Meanwhile Unni Kerala Varma, the ruler of Travancore sought the help of St. Francis Xavier probably with the intention of ensuring the support of the Portuguese against the attack of Vijayanagara. However, Francis Xavier promised only spiritual support. The Vijayanagara forces that were moving towards Travancore under the leadership of Vitthala to subdue that kingdom, were stopped near Kottar by the intervention of Francis Xavier and were made to retreat. In the hagiographical literature it is mentioned as a miracle that St. Francis Xavier appeared in spiritual majesty and dignified countenance before the Vijayanagara army, which he is said to have ordered to retire. <sup>61</sup>The historical reality seems to have been that when St. Francis Xavier, who is said to have had miraculous powers, stood across the Vijayanagara forces single

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 152-3.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4.

handedly in his imposing spiritual figure, Vitthala and the Vijayanagara forces did not want to offend him and also the Portuguese authorities, who they feared would turn against Vijayanagara with much greater forces if they were to move against the wishes of St. Francis Xavier. It seems that, besides the fear and respect towards St. Francis Xavier, it was the fear of the Portuguese standing behind Francis Xavier that actually made the Vijayanagara forces to retreat, as hurting the sentiments of a missionary like St. Francis Xavier would have well been interpreted as an open war against the Portuguese. This Vijayanagara forces never wanted to have at that juncture of time.

Unni Kerala Varma, the king of Travancore viewed Francis Xavier to be the saviour of his kingdom from the attacks of the Vijayanagara forces and eventually there evolved an atmosphere of cordiality and partnership between the Portuguese and the kingdom of Travancore. Francis Xavier used to call Unni Kerala Varma as *Iniquitriberim* (*Enikothiripriyam*, a person who is—most beloved to me).<sup>62</sup> The stray conflicts happening between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara eventually led the Portuguese to the forging of new alliances and partnerships, particularly with Travancore.

Meanwhile St. Francis Xavier acted as a bridge for establishing peace between Travancore and Vijayanagara, according to which the former ceded the district of Tinnevely to Vijayanagara. This territorial surrendering was followed by a ritual submission, by which Unni Kerala Varma had to make arrangements for the celebration of the day of Rohini, the birthday star of Vithala in the Vishnu temple of Suchindram.<sup>63</sup> This was a way of making the people of the locality accept ritually the over-lordship of Vijayanagara ruler.

One of the core areas of conflicts between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara happened to be Pearl Fishery Coast, which Vitthala attacked on several occasions under different pretexts. However the ultimate reason seems to have been the desire of Vitthala to control pearl fishing of the coast. On the other hand the Portuguese also

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<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 147-9.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 150.

wanted to bag wealth because of the location of their enclaves situated on the way of the pilgrims to Rameshsaram. In fact the Portuguese possession of Vedalai, where they had erected a mud fort with a garrison under a captain, was located in the vicinity of Ramesharam. In 1549 about 40 Portuguese soldiers under the captaincy of Joao Fernandes Correa dug a trench close to Portuguese fort obstructing the path of pilgrims to Ramesharam, as a result of which the number of pilgrims to Ramesharam decreased and the wealth flow to the temple got dwindled. The 'Brahmans' complained to the Nayak of Madurai, about it, following the Vijayanagara forces made attacks on the Portuguese and Parava settlements of Pearl Fishery Coast and Coromandel.<sup>64</sup>

Vitthalaraya wanted to subjugate the Portuguese completely, since they were still the lords of the Pearl Fisheries. This time he formed an alliance with a Muslim pirate Irapali, a subject of the Zamorin, in order to attack the Fishery Coast by sea. Punnaikayal being the capital of the Portuguese settlements became the target of their attack.<sup>65</sup> Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, the Portuguese captain had a tough time and both the Vijayanagara Chieftain Vitthala and Calicut pirate Irapali took possession of the town together with the fort. Irapali then issued a proclamation to all the inhabitants of the coast announcing the end of the Portuguese rule. He invited all to become disciples of the Prophet unless they preferred to feel the edge of the Muslim sword.<sup>66</sup>

With the mass conversion of the Paravas of Kayal to Christianity, the commercial influence of the Portuguese got augmented in Pearl Fishery Coast and they continued to collect tithe from pearl divers for providing them protection with their armed vessels. Whenever the Vijayanagara rulers demanded tax from the Paravas they were persuaded by the Portuguese not to pay it because their contention was that since the open seas belonged only to them the revenue derived from the seas could not be shared with others. This posture of defiance by the Portuguese against Vijayanagara was prompted by the right conferred upon them by successive Popes through their

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<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155-6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

various Papal Bulls to conquer and occupy every sea and land they discover and encounter. The Vijayanagara rulers attacked the Portuguese collectors of tithe to extract the revenue by force. The kings of Vijayanagara, the local nayaks and the Pandyas attacked separately, at different times the settlements of Punnaikayal and Tuticorin when the levies on Pearl Fishery were not paid by the Paravas.<sup>67</sup>

However by 1546, were taken some attempts to patch up the differences and minimize the wounds of conflicts. A treaty of friendship was signed on 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1546, by which the ruler of Vijayanagara swore eternal friendship with the king of Portugal, confirmed the donation of the territories of Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese, and promised that he would never wage war against those provinces. And in the following year, Rama Raya on behalf of Sadasiva dispatched to Goa another ambassador, who was one of the most famous captains of his army, with a remarkable train of nobles and servants to confirm specifically this treaty of alliance. He went to Goa via Ancola (Ankola). The then governor of Goa, Dom João de Castro, gave a great reception to the ambassador. He was received by the governor in a big hall with great pomp; and after the usual salutations, the ambassador gave the governor the credentials of his king along with some precious jewels as royal presents. The ambassador told the governor that “the king, his Lord, was desirous of having perpetual peace and friendship with the governor; and that they were always ready to do everything for the Portuguese, provided it was just and honest, because the kings, his predecessors, had always fostered this mutual peace and friendship with the former governors.” The governor replied that “he greatly appreciated the king Sadasiva Raya’s desire to be a friend of the king of Portugal, his Lord.” However since the governor was just then about to leave for attending to the matters of the *Estado*, he deputed the *Veedor de Fazenda* (Finance Member) and the secretary, to handle the matters that the ambassador put forward and to come to a mutual agreement.<sup>68</sup>

The straining of relationship between the two happened to a certain extent because of the attitude of individual actors of the drama. In fact the conflict started with the accession of governorship of *Estado* by Martin Alfonso de Sousa in 1542, which

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<sup>67</sup> S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Expanding Portuguese Empire And the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, 2009, pp. 310-11.

<sup>68</sup> Henry Heras, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-2.



corresponded with the accession of Sadasiva as Vijayanagra ruler and Ram Raya as his deputy. It was during the time of Martin Afonso's successor, João de Castro, who lifted the Ottoman siege of Diu in 1546, that Rama Raya concluded the treaty in 1547. One of the main reasons for this treaty was to secure the monopoly of horse trade. There followed some years of friendship and peace until 1553, when Vitthala Nayak of Vijayanagara attacked the Pearl Fishery Coast to crush the Portuguese as well as the newly converted Paravas with the help of the forces of the Marakkars and the Ottomans. The churches of Punnaikayal were burnt down and about 52 Portuguese soldiers along with captain and priests were taken as prisoners by the Vijayanagara forces and their allies.<sup>69</sup> In 1558, Rama Raya made a sudden attack on the Portuguese settlement of San Thome (Mylapore). He had received complaints of the destruction of temples by Roman Catholic priests and thinking that the inhabitants were possessed of vast riches, he dispatched forces both to defend his religion and refill his treasury at one stroke. He demanded a tribute of 100,000 *pagodas*, half to be paid immediately the rest a year later, for which five hostages were taken from among the chief citizens. At about the same time, to prevent help reaching San Thome, Goa also was attacked by Vitthalaraya, Rama Raya's cousin, aided by the Ikkeri chieftain Sankanna Nāyaka.<sup>70</sup> After the death of Vitthala, Visvanatha who was the Nayak of Madurai began to attack Fishery Coast and the Portuguese enclaves occasionally demanding 'two days' fishing as the tribute due to him'.<sup>71</sup>

On the eve of the battle of Talikotta, the political, commercial and cultural interests of the Portuguese and Vijayanagara, which earlier used to get converged at different points for setting up strong power edifices beneficial to one another, now began to diverge and move in mutually opposing directions almost to the extent of undermining the foundations of both.

The relation, which developed between the Vijayanagara Empire and the Portuguese, was more of a collaboration initially but later conflicts occurred between the two.

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<sup>69</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 117; Henry Heras, *South India under the Vijayanagara Empire*, p. 160.

<sup>70</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, pp. 290-91.

<sup>71</sup> Henry Heras, *South India Under the Vijayanagara Empire The Aravidu Dynasty Vol I*, pp. 163-5.

When Vijayanagara Empire was confronted by the pan Islamic forces, the conflicts with the Portuguese put the former in a disadvantageous position depriving them of the possibility of getting the better breed of war horses and weaponry. It was in 1564-65 that for the first time after the downfall of the Bahmani kingdom, its succession states sheathed their swords, which they had been continuously sharpening against one another, and not merely entered into treaties but actually sealed them by matrimonial alliances between their ruling families. Even longstanding feuds, such as that concerning Shōlāpūr, were settled at least for the time being, and in spite of differing temperaments of the rulers and differing interests of the states it was resolved once for all to join hands in order to put an end to the pretensions of the southern empire.<sup>72</sup> Against this context of conflict the Portuguese did not go to the rescue of the Vijayanagara ruler when he was confronted by the Deccani Muslims forces in the battle field of Talikota in 1565 which finally led to the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire. Not only Goa suffered from these disasters but also was afflicted by the outbreak of the fever, which raged for several years.<sup>73</sup>

The Vijayanagara defeat at Talikotta known locally as Raksas Tangdi struck a rude blow to the prosperity of the Portuguese trade. The economic effects of the battle had far reaching effect on the Portuguese commerce, about which Couto writes :”By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga, India and our state were much shaken, for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandize by which they made great profits, and the custom House at Goa suffered much in the revenues so that from that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for baizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and Portugal and it then languished and the gold pagodas of which every year more than five hundred thousand were laden in the ships of the kingdom, were then worth seven and a half *tangas*, and today are worth eleven and a half and similarly every kind of coin.<sup>74</sup> ” The Portuguese required a lot of rice supplies every year, not only for Goa, but also for other colonies, including Ormus, Mascat, etc., across the sea. They depended heavily upon the rice supplies from

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<sup>72</sup> H.K.Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 137.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123; Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, pp. 65-6.

Kanara and other rice bowls of Vijayanagara. They secured much of the commodity by way of tributes exacted from local chiefs.<sup>75</sup> The trade got hampered because of the turbulent phase of the Luso-Vijayanagara relationship, which also negatively impacted upon the flow of commodities and war animals.

The above discussion shows that the commercial and political linkages between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara had lot of ups and downs, despite the common enemy that they often encountered in Deccan and Deep South. The relatively smooth and cordial relationship that prevailed initially among them gave way to a phase of turbulent relationship after 1540s, following the intensification of religious and cultural processes associated with Christianization in the former terrains of Vijayanagara now occupied by the Portuguese. An equally intense religious assertion in Vijayanagara terrains in the vicinity of the Portuguese provinces accelerated the process of conflicts and widened the areas of such tensions. The intensity of conflicts was felt mainly in the provinces occupied by the Portuguese from Vijayanagara in 1540s, particularly in the provinces of Salcete and Bardez taken from Vijayanagara and attached to Goa in 1543 and also in Pearl Fishery Coast, where conflicts broke out between the Portuguese and Vijayanagara ruler on the question of controlling pearl fishing and pearl trade. In the midst of conflicts, Vijayanagara ruler could not mobilize the best resources, as his predecessor used to do earlier with the help of the Portuguese, to counter the joint forces of the Deccani Muslim rulers which inevitably led the crumbling of the larger political edifice of Vijayanagara in 1565.

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<sup>75</sup> B.S. Shastry "Commercial policy of the Portuguese in Coastal Karnataka: Sixteenth Century" edited by H V Sreenivasa Murthy, B Surendra Rao, Kesavan Veluthat, S ABari, *Essays on Indian History and Culture, Felicitation volume in Honour of Prof. B. Sheikh Ali*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1990, p. 118.

## Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to look into the meanings of relationship that evolved between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers at different time points of the sixteenth century. The relationship which initially began as a political relationship between Vijayanagara and the Portuguese eventually developed into a type of alliance that stimulated the economic process of the region, making Goa captured from the Bijapuris to be the main maritime outlet for the commodity –distribution of Vijayanagara. The Vijayanagara rulers initially found the partnership with the Portuguese quite vitally important as the Lusitanian trade centres of Goa, Cochin and Cannanore ensured regular supply of war horses from Persia and Hormuz to different parts of Vijayanagara kingdom for the purpose of meeting their war needs. The horizons of their co-operation were eventually widened from political to economic and both the power houses benefited out of the resultant commercial vibrancy that fetched for them enough returns to sustain the battles of expansion of the Portuguese and the wars of consolidation of the Vijayanagara.

1. The vast terrains of Vijayanagara Empire witnessed an expansion of agriculture from the older zones of riverine cultivation to drier, upland tracts. During the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries, many large settlements grew up around the temples, which thus became the centres of commerce and production thus augmenting urban proportions. Donations of land and wealth contributed to agricultural expansion thus resulted into large scale demographic shifts. Many temple centres became centres of population growth as small cities grew around the temple nuclei, which consist of priests, musicians, poets, accountants, dancers, sweepers, carpenters, masons, potters, smiths and weavers. The rulers and co-sharers of power patronized the various cultural processes of the empire, conveniently converting them as devices for augmenting their power and influence. The Portuguese entered not into an economic vacuum, but into a highly stimulated region, both commercially and politically, and it was the ability of the Portuguese to depend on the activated economy of Vijayanagara and to convert their linkages with the latter to their

commercial and political advantages in coastal Konkan and South India that enabled them to have commercial upper hand in the Indian Ocean in general and Arabian Sea in particular

2. The material, political and religious activities of the Vijayanagara Empire witnessed a considerable alteration with the entry of the Portuguese as their collaborators and allies. The larger rapport that developed between the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers helped the latter to ensure the supply of better quality war animals for military mobilization and to assert their relatively superior political position despite the regional assertion of power by the Bijapuris and the Qutb Shahis following the fragmentation of Bahamani sultanate by the last decades of the fifteenth century. The relationship between the two was reciprocal in the sense that the Vijayanagara rulers depended on the Portuguese for the regular supply of the war-horses while on the other hand Portuguese depended on the food materials from the rice ports of Vijayanagara for feeding the Lusitanian enclaves. The complex processes of circulation of wares and political collaboration between the two virtually converted Vijayanagara and the Portuguese enclaves into two different politico-geographical expressions of one and the same economic process. Since both were mutually interdependent politically and economically, the meanings of relationship got much more intense, as is testified both by the Portuguese sources as well as by the Vijayanagara sources including *Amuktamalyada*.

3. The initial Portuguese expansion along the west coast of Vijayanagara Empire was realized with the help of Timmaya, the merchant-cum-feudatory chief of Vijayanagara. The Vijayanagara merchants like Krishna Chatim, Loquoe Chatim and Senayis, acted as economic intermediaries between Vijayanagara terrain and the emerging Portuguese settlements along the Konkan coast, and supplied the cargo that the Lusitanians needed for their commerce. The establishment of Portuguese commercial enclaves in Vijayanagara trading centres of Bhatkal, Barcelor, Honavar and Mangalore cemented the economic ties between the two.

4. Expansion of the Portuguese along the west coast of India for carrying out their commercial ventures and political control gives a new twist to the Vijayanagara and Portuguese relationship which previously developed out of the commonality of their hatred towards the Muslims. Now the need of the hour was the support of each other

for sustaining their commercial and political ventures. Through the Portuguese, several non-Portuguese Europeans including the German traders linked with the major business houses of Europe flowed to Vijayanagara to conduct trade in diamonds and precious stones, which fetched for them exorbitant profit in Europe. During the period between 1515 and 1545 a large number of diamond merchants from Europe including the traders from Portugal, Germany and Antwerp began to conduct trade on precious stones in Hampi. Lazarus Nurenberger, George Pock, George Imhoff were the major trade agents of the German business houses of the Imhoffs and Hirschvogels in Vijayanagara procuring diamonds and precious stones during the period between 1515 and 1545. The cargo of Vijayanagara entered the circuits of global commercial process through the networks linked with the Portuguese and the German merchants who traded under the umbrella of the Portuguese.

5. The major commodities that helped in the establishment of relationship between the two powers were rice and other food materials that the Portuguese needed from Vijayanagara markets and horses that the Vijayanagara chiefs obtained through Portuguese commercial intermediaries. This circulatory process was intensified with the flow of diamonds and textiles from Vijayanagara markets to larger world of commerce in the Indian Ocean. Thus the Vijayanagara markets of diamond, textiles and rice were made to be integrally linked with the Portuguese trading system that developed in the first half of the sixteenth century in the way the Portuguese trade in horses was linked with the political processes of Vijayanagara.

6. Along with the commercial rapport, there evolved in the initial phase a political partnership between the two, whereby the Portuguese assistance was incorporated by Vijayanagara rulers to fight against the forces of Bijapur in general and in capturing Rachol and Salcete regions in particular. In gratitude Krishnadeva Raya even offered the newly captured region of Salcete to the Portuguese. The political and commercial partnership between the two was followed by proposal of marriage put forward by the Portuguese king Manuel between one of his children and one member of Vijayanagara ruling house.

7. The relations which developed between the two empires for sustaining their commercial and political ventures passed through the phases of ups and down. The cordial relationship enjoyed by both the powers took a turn after 1540's because of

the decisive policies followed by two. The Portuguese carried out religious processes leading to mass conversions on the coast particularly Pearl Fishery Coast, which radically changed the cultural character of the coastal terrains of Vijayanagara and also its former territories like Salcete and Bardez now attached to Goa. The different religious orders like the Jesuits and the Franciscans geographically partitioned Salcete and Bardez among themselves for effective Christianization and in Pearl Fishery Coast the Jesuits tried to standardize the cultural traditions of Paravas, who were earlier converted by João de Cruz, for the purpose of creating a supportive social base for the Lusitanians on the strategic line of navigation in the extreme south.

8. When this cultural modification was happening along the coastal terrains of Vijayanagara thanks to Portuguese interventions, the core areas of Vijayanagara Empire themselves were undergoing a radical cultural transformation of another order from within. In pre- Vijayanagara times the site was a significant Saivite Kshetra. The cult of the local goddess Pampa was an ancient one, which in course of time was absorbed into Saivism. It predominated in the city till the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Vaishnavism gained ground in the city under the Saluvas, and more particularly, the Tuluvas. The empire's founders Harihara I and Bukka Raya I, were strong Shaiva bhaktas, but they made grants to the Vaishnava order of Sringeri with Vidyaranya as their patron saint, and designated Varaha (the boar, an avatar of Vishnu) as their emblem. The later Saluva and Tuluva kings declared the Vaishnava faith, but worshipped at the feet of Lord Virupaksha (Shiva) at Hampi as well as Lord Venkateshwara (Vishnu) at Tirupati. Virupaksha, the lord of the Nagas (snakes) was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Meanwhile the idol of Pundalik, and linked with Warkari movement, was brought from Purdanpur and was kept in Hampi in the process of attracting devotees for creating a social base supportive of the Vijayanagara rulers at Hampi. Pundalik and Vithoba were projected as the chief deities protecting the Vijayanagara rulers. Seeing the cultural needs of the people the rulers of Vijayanagara were making periodical modifications in the religious and cultural space of the empire.

9. In the midst of increasing divide and conflicts between Saivism and Vaishnavism spreading among the co-sharers of power and polygars in the Vijayanagara kingdom, the political edifice of the kingdom was well maintained by the clever balancing of

cultural processes. The Vijayanagara rulers, despite the differences of religious ideologies that the various Hindu factions maintained, managed to keep the various segments under a common umbrella making them forget their conflicting ideologies and tried to project themselves as the champions of everything each segment religiously upheld and then to divert their resources and personnel for the wars against the Bahmani and its successor kingdoms. For this purpose the Vijayanagara rulers heavily banked upon the system of religious patronage, whereby they projected themselves as the patron of each group. Through this balancing of cultural processes there was a welding together of the vast resourceful terrains of the Vijayanagara kingdom and the entrepreneurial segments of its society. It was this accommodative cultural character of Vijayanagara that paved way for a commercial and political rapport with the religiously and culturally different Portuguese. However, the anti-Islamic perceptions and agenda of the Portuguese and the Vijayanagara rulers brought their relationship to much thicker terms in the sixteenth century, which was intensified by their growing interest in common commercial and political matters.

10. However from the time of king Sadasiva of Aravidu dynasty and Rama Raya, which chronologically coincided with the mass conversion moves of the Portuguese along the coastal terrains and yesterly enclaves of Vijayanagara, there was an intense move on the part of power-holders of Vijayanagara to bank upon religion and the religious elites of Tirupati and elsewhere in the process of ascertaining their power-position. Intensified process of temple construction was resorted to by Sadasiva and Rama Raya as a mechanism to bolster their position in the midst of political crisis that happened in the beginning of 1540s. On the other hand the Portuguese tried to integrate the geographical territories into an imperial format by integrating the inhabitants of their newly acquired territories into their religious and cultural format. Consequently the gaonkars of Salcete and Bardez who resisted the Portuguese attempts of conversion had to flee to Ponda, Londa and other terrains of Vijayanagara. Almost at the same time, the forces of Rama Raya intervened with military force in the newly converted villages of Pearl Fishery Coast under the pretext of collecting tax. These political clashes were reflective of the religious orthodoxy and conservatism that gained upper hand on both sides.

11. Against this context , the accommodativeness and liberalism which thrived in the



earlier phases of their relationship gave way to religious conservatism that undermined the basic spirit of collaboration upon which both the power houses were happily grounded for several decades. Most significantly, trade got hampered because of the turbulent phase of the Luso-Vijayanagara relationship and there was negative impact upon the flow of commodities, especially war animals. The Portuguese who needed rice in a large quantity every year not only for Goa but also for their other territories outside the subcontinent suffered severely. The end result was that the practice of Vijayanagara rulers getting the best kind and breed of horses from the Portuguese from Hormuz dwindled, whose adverse effect finally got reflected in the battle field of Talikotta in 1565. The reflection of clashes between the two was seen in the battlefield, as the Portuguese did not come to the assistance of Vijayanagara at Talikotta. However, the Portuguese soon felt the fall of Vijayanagara terribly, as the Portuguese enclaves in coastal India including Goa immediately fell into a deep economic crisis, out of which it could not emerge in the sixteenth century. With the fall of Vijayanagara, the Portuguese were politically overwhelmed by a considerable amount of fear-psychosis, which they did not experience till the Vijayanagara empire existed as a political partner, and this is suggested by the quickness and speed with which a massive city wall was constructed around the city of Goa following the battle of Talikotta.

Thus in short the Luso-Vijayanagara relationship that initially evolved out of an exigency that both felt to respond to pan-Islamic challenges in the subcontinent eventually grew into commercial and political partnerships, where religious elements slowly ceased to be important deciding factors. The liberal spirit and accommodativeness promoted by Afonso Albuquerque from the Portuguese side and Krishna Deva Raya from Vijayanagara side deepened their relationship and both proceeded in a mutually interdependent mood. The political frontiers of the Portuguese and Vijayanagara Empire were made open to both the sides for economic convergence, though the intensified cultural processes after 1540s and the consequent clashes deterred the flow of cargo for some time, causing crisis to both the sides. However with maritime exchange centres controlled by the Portuguese and the inland production centres controlled by Vijayanagara, the success of both these political regions depended upon their ability in making their economic and commercial interests converge at common points.

## Glossary

<b>Adhishthana</b>	Moulded basement, plinth
<b>Adikāri</b>	Officer. Often worked as tax collector under the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara or mahāpradhāni.
<b>Āḷvār</b>	Śrī- Vaiṣṇava saint. There are twelve āḷvārs who are venerated by Śrī- Vaiṣṇavas.
<b>Aldeia</b>	Village
<b>Ashvamedha</b>	Sacrifice of a horse. The greatest sacrificial festival in Vedic age
<b>Avatar/ incarnation</b>	Manifestation in form. Such manifestations of God are treated as avatars and these are required for the religious advancement of all human beings for the express purpose of getting over the conglomeration of worldly ideas
<b>Balakrishna</b>	Child Krishna. Krishna depicted as dancing, or as a chubby child crawling on all fours.
<b>Bali</b>	An asura king, who had gained dominion over all the worlds and the gods by his valour and asceticism.
<b>Brahmadēyam</b>	Villages granted to Brahmanas.
<b>Cafila</b>	Convoy of Ships
<b>Cartaz</b>	A safe conduct pass issued to a non- Portuguese ship
<b>Casa da India</b>	India house at Lisbon
<b>Dargah</b>	Muslim tomb complex
<b>Feitor</b>	Factor, a person in charge of a trading station or agency in an Asian port.
<b>Gopura</b>	A gateway to a temple compound, usually with a towering Superstructure capped by a shala
<b>Hanuman</b>	The monkey chief, son of Vayu and Anjana. He helped Rama to rescue Sita and recover his kingdom.

<b>Holi</b>	Spring festival that is celebrated in the month of Phalgun(February- March)
<b>Kalyana mandapa</b>	Wedding hall”. A special pavilion or hall in a temple in which the Ceremonial wedding of the god and goddess is celebrated annually.
<b>Kishkindha</b>	Name of an ancient monkey- kingdom in south India.
<b>Krsna</b>	The eighth and the most popular incarnation of Vishnu.
<b>Mandapa</b>	Open or closed pillared hall.
<b>Matha</b>	Monastery
<b>Mosque</b>	Place of worship for Muslims
<b>Narasimha</b>	Name of the fourth avatara of Vishnu.
<b>Nayaka</b>	Military commander. Chief assigned a territory by the king
<b>Pampa</b>	Local goddess of the Hampi area.
<b>Raya</b>	King
<b>Religion</b>	It is derived from the latin word “re” and “lingre”.”re” means back again,“ligare’ means to bind, to unite. Hence, etymologically religion means, ‘that which binds or unites one to the origin.
<b>Sadhu</b>	Ascetic, religious mendicant
<b>Sati</b>	The wife who immolates herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, thereby winning merit for her family as well as expiating all its sins.
<b>Sugriva</b>	King of the monkeys, who after having been dethroned by his brother Vali, was later reinstated by Rama at Kishkindha
<b>Varaha, boar</b>	The third avatara of Vishnu. The god assumed this form to rescue the earth which has been dragged to the bottom of the sea by a demon, Hiranyaksha. Vishnu defeated the demon and raised up the earth Bhudevi. Varaha can be depicted in animal form or as half-

human and half- animal.

**Virupaksha**

A form of Shiva. One of the important deities worshipped in the Vijayanagara period.

## APPENDIX I

Four dynasties which ruled over the Vijayanagar kingdom:

### **Sangama Dynasty**

Harihara raya I	1336-1356
Bukka raya	1356-1377
Harihara raya II	1377-1404
Virupaksha raya	1404-1405
Bukka raya II	1405-1406
Deva raya I	1406-1422
Ramachandra Raya	1422
Viru Vijaya Bukka Raya	1422-1424
Deva raya II	1424-1446
Mallikarjuna raya	1446-1465
Virupaksha raya II	1465-1485
Pradha raya	1485

### **Saluva Dynasty**

Saluva Narsimha Deva raya	1485-1491
Thimma Bhupala	1491
Narasimha raya II	1491-1505

### **Tuluva Dynasty**

Tuluva Narasa Nayaka	1491-1503
Viranarsimha raya	1503-1509
Krishna deva raya	1509-1529
Achyuta deva raya	1529-1542
Sadashiva raya	1542-1570

**Aravidu Dynasty**

Aliya Rama Raya	1542-1565
Tirumala Deva Raya	1565—1572
Sriranga I	1572-1586
Venkata II	1586-1614
srirangall	1614-1617
Ramadeva	1617-1632
Venkata III	1632-1642
Sriranga III	1642-1646

## APPENDIX II

Foreign travelers in fourteenth through sixteenth century South India.

Visitor	Origin	Dates
Nicolo di Conti	<i>Italian</i>	Early 15 <sup>th</sup> century
Abdur Razzaq	<i>Samarkand</i>	AD 1442
Athanasius Nikitin	<i>Russen (Twer)</i>	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> c.
Duarte Barbosa	<i>Portuguese</i>	AD 1506-1518
Domingo Paes	<i>Portuguese</i>	AD 1520-1522
Fernao Nuniz	<i>Portuguese</i>	AD 1535-1557
John Van Linschoten	<i>Dutch</i>	1580s- 1592

Source:

Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of craft production crafting empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p. 127.

### APPENDIX III

#### *List Of Viceroys, Governors and Captain in chief of Portuguese India till 1565*

1. Dom Francisco de Almeida ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1505-1509
2. Alfonso de Albuquerque ( <i>Governor</i> )	1509-1515
3. Lopo Soares de Albergaria ( <i>Governor</i> )	1515-1518
4. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira ( <i>Governor</i> )	1518-1521
5. Dom Duarte de Menezes ( <i>Governor</i> )	1521-1524
6. Dom Vasco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1524
7. Dom Henrique de Menezes ( <i>Governor</i> )	1525-1526
8. Lopo Vaz de Sampaio ( <i>Governor</i> )	1526-1529
9. Nuno da Cunha ( <i>Governor</i> )	1529-1538
10. Dom Garcia de Noronho ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1538-1540
11. Dom Estevão da Gama ( <i>Governor</i> )	1540-1542
12. Martim Affonso de Sousa ( <i>Governor</i> )	1542-1545
13. Dom João de Castro ( <i>Governor and Captain-in-chief</i> )	1545-1547
14. ....do.....( <i>Viceroy</i> ).....	1547-1548
15. Garcia de Sá ( <i>Governor</i> )	1548-1549
16. Dom Affonso de Noronha ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1550-1554
17. Dom Pedro Mascarenhas ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1554-1555
18. Francisco Barreto ( <i>Governor</i> )	1555-1558
19. Dom Constantino de Braganza ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1558-1561
20. Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1561-1564



21. João de Madonça ( <i>Governor</i> )	1564
21. João de Madonça ( <i>Governor</i> )	1564
22. Dom Antonio de Noronho ( <i>Viceroy</i> )	1564-1568

#### APPENDIX IV

Revenue earned by the Portuguese from the Pearl Fishery Coast, AD 1525-1605

Year	Amount (in pardoas of 300 reis)
1525	7,500
1552	3,200
1574	5,000
1581	5,000
1585	9,000
1605	25,000

Courtesy S. Jeyaseela Stephen *Expanding Portuguese Empire And The Tamil Economy*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2009, p.90.

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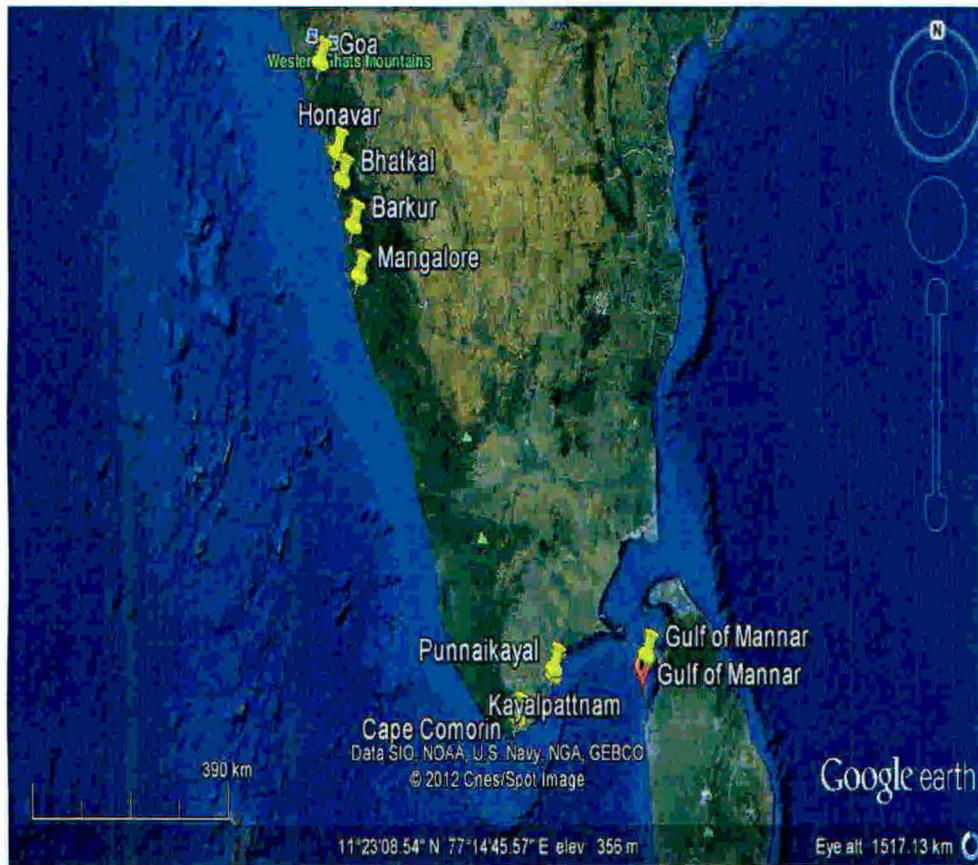


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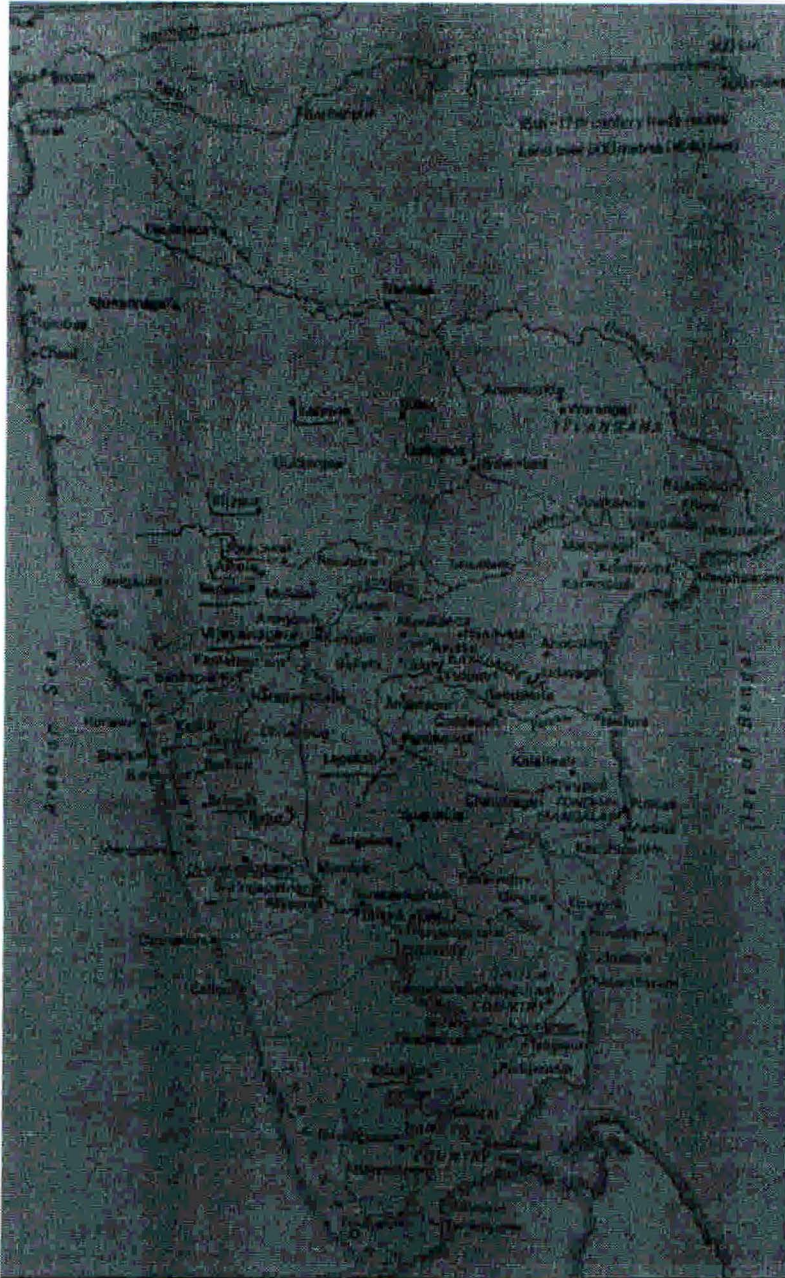
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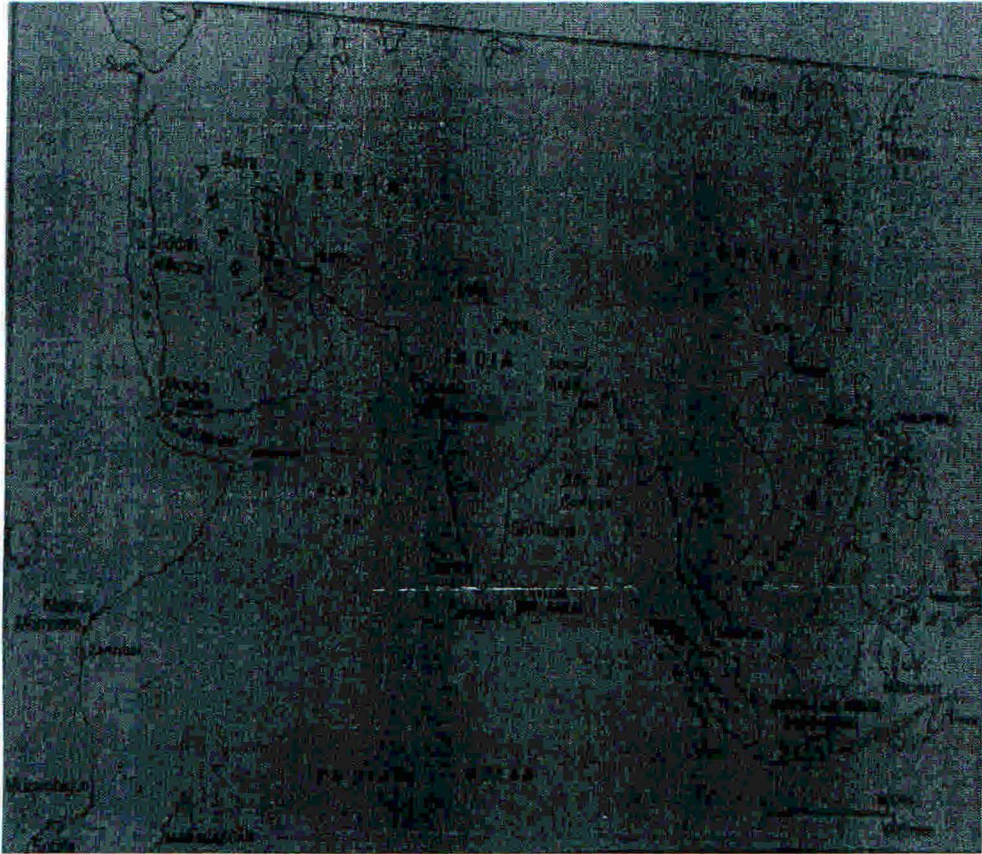
Map 2 : Some important trade centres and places during Vijayanagara Empire.  
(Courtesy Google earth)





Map 3 : The Southern peninsula, c. 1400-1500

Source: Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History Of India Vijayanagara* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p.xiii



Map: 4 The Portuguese and Asia

Source: M.N.Pearson, *The New Cambridge History Of India The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, p.xix

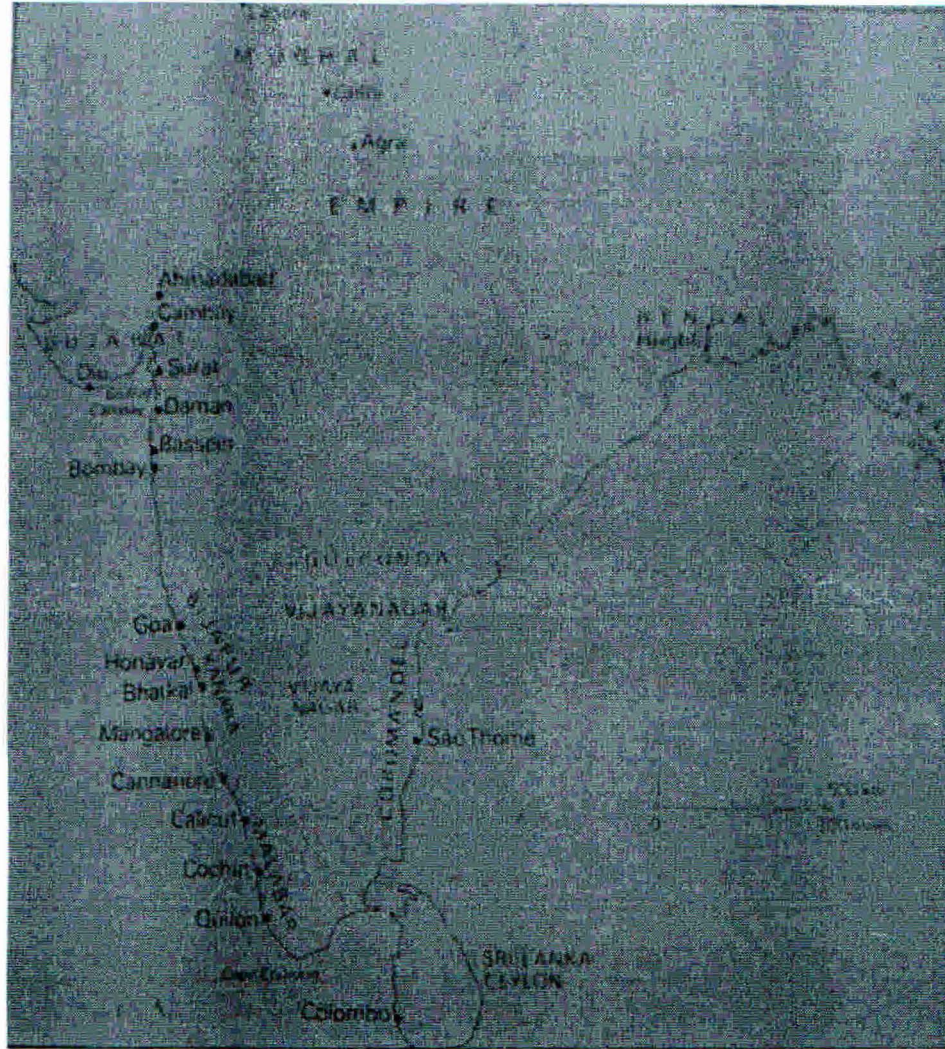




Map 5: Southern India: Physical features and ports

Source: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, p.13.

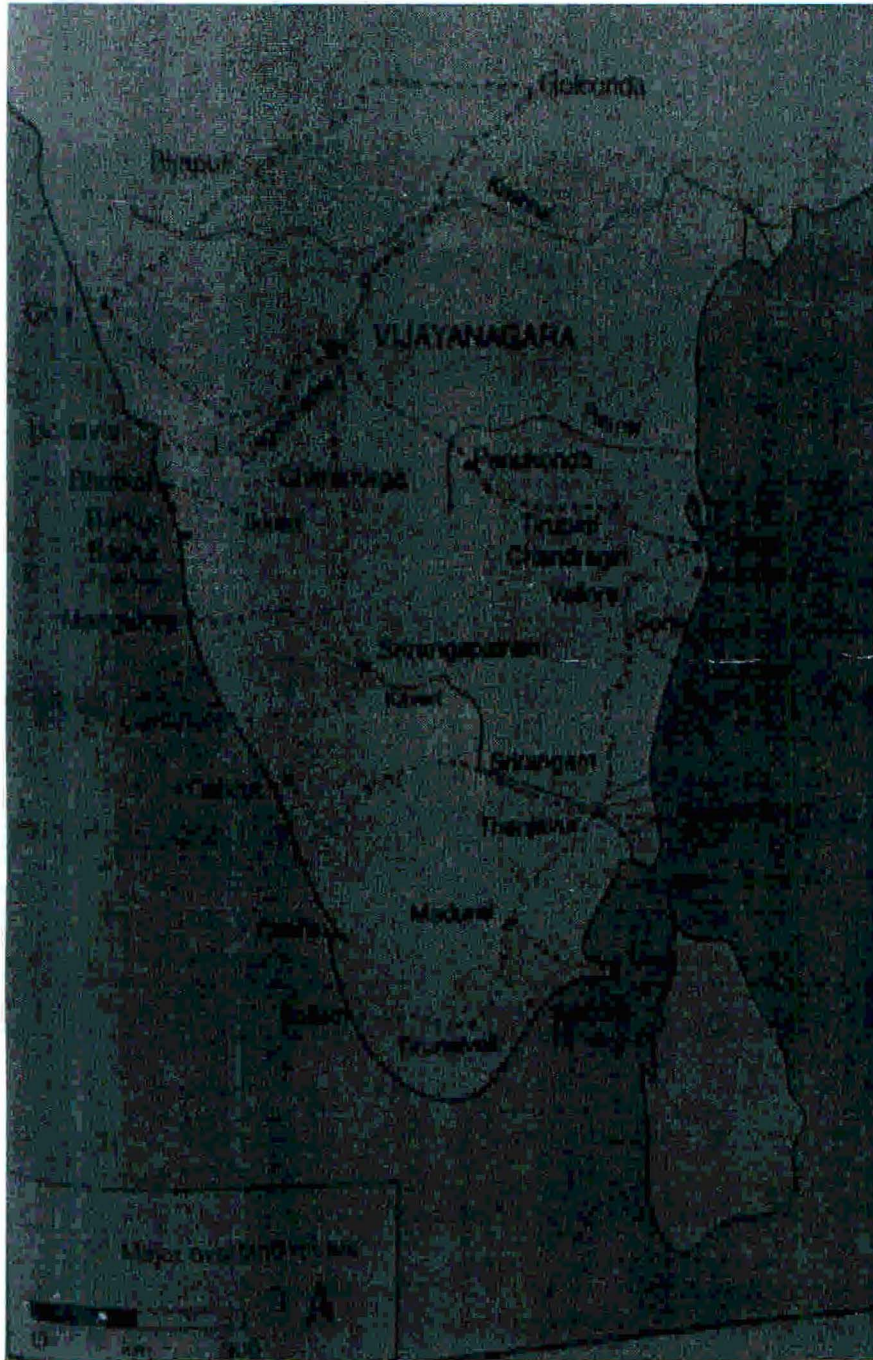




Map 6: The Portuguese and India

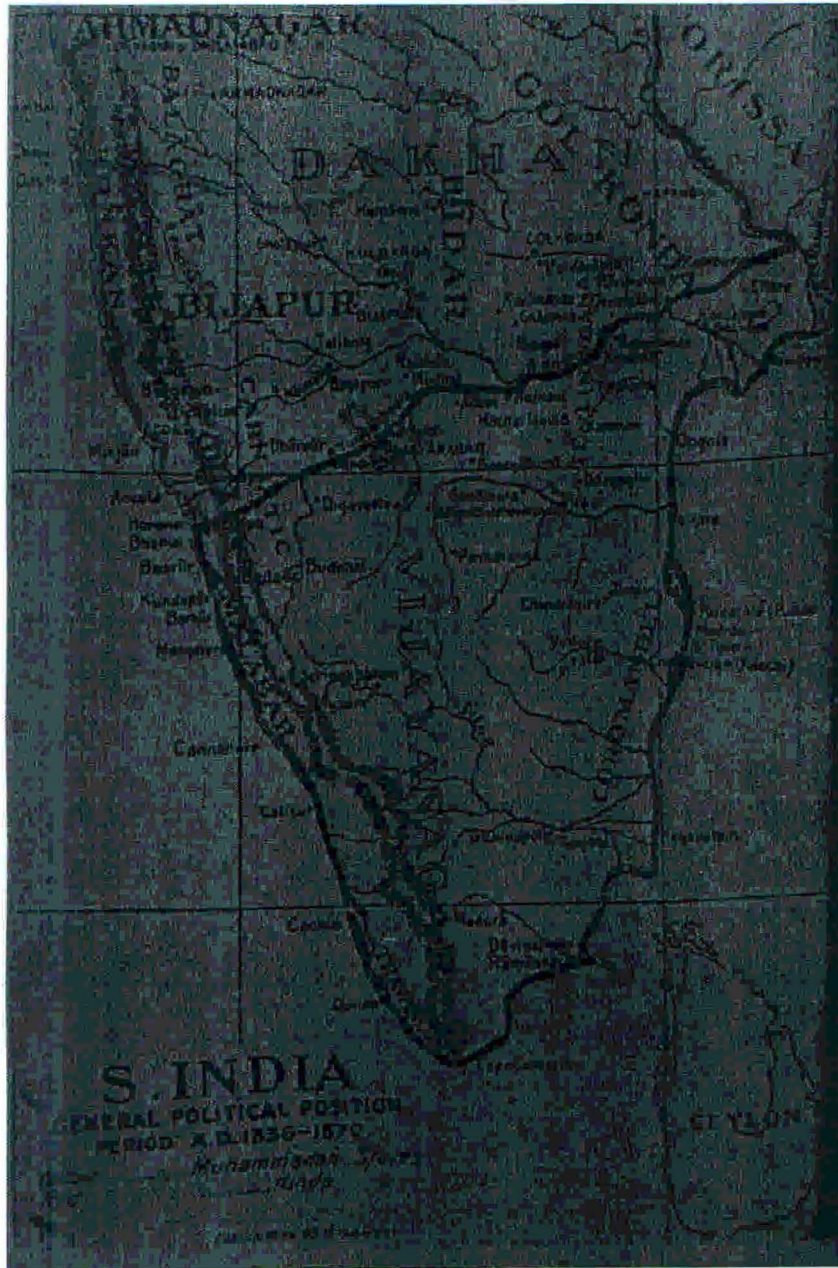
Source: M.N.Pearson, *The New Cambridge History Of India The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, p.xx





Map 7: Vijayanagara- period seaports and major overland routes.

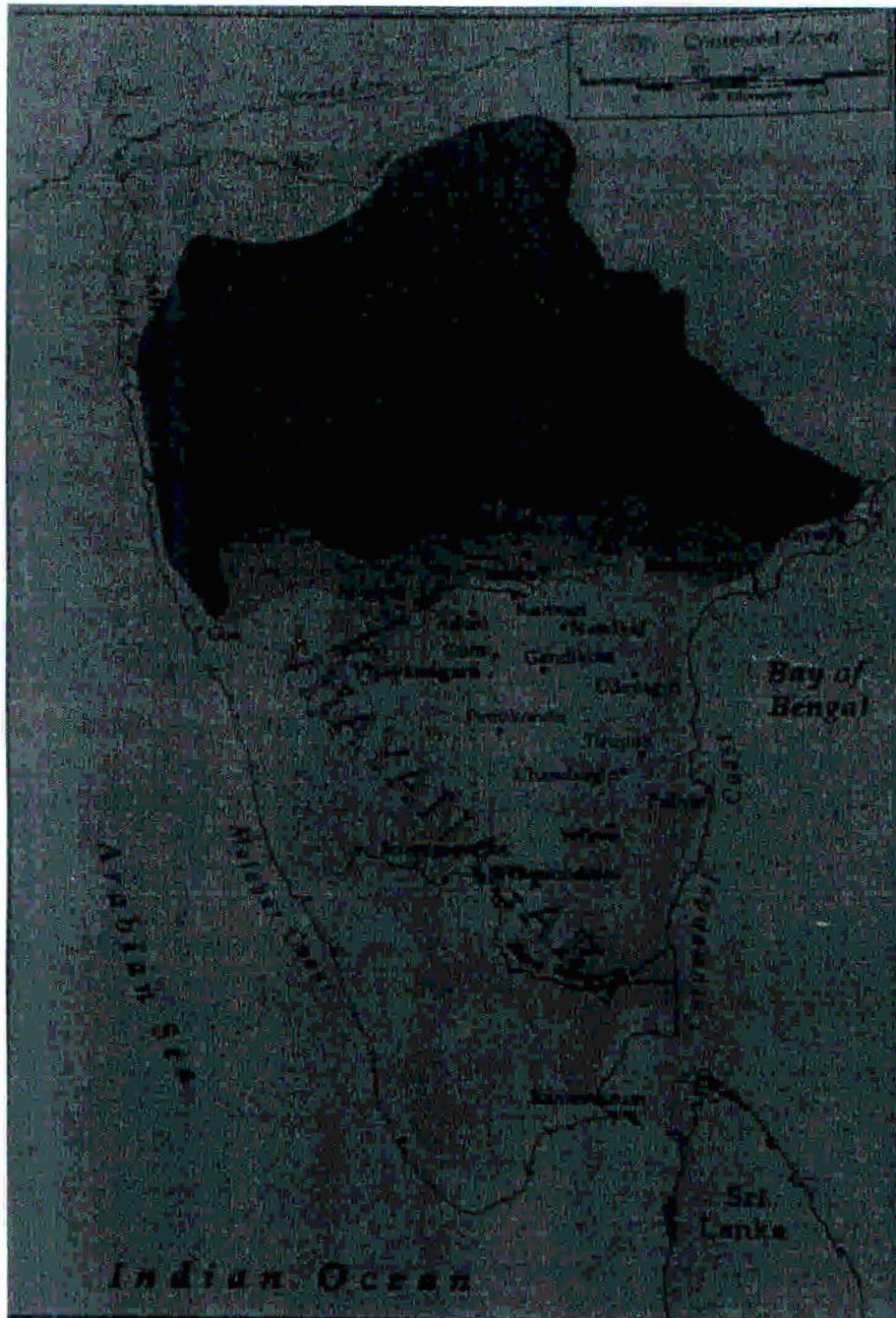
Source: Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production Crafting Empire in South India c. 1350-1650*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p.86.



Map 8: South India General Political Position Period A.D. 1336- 1570

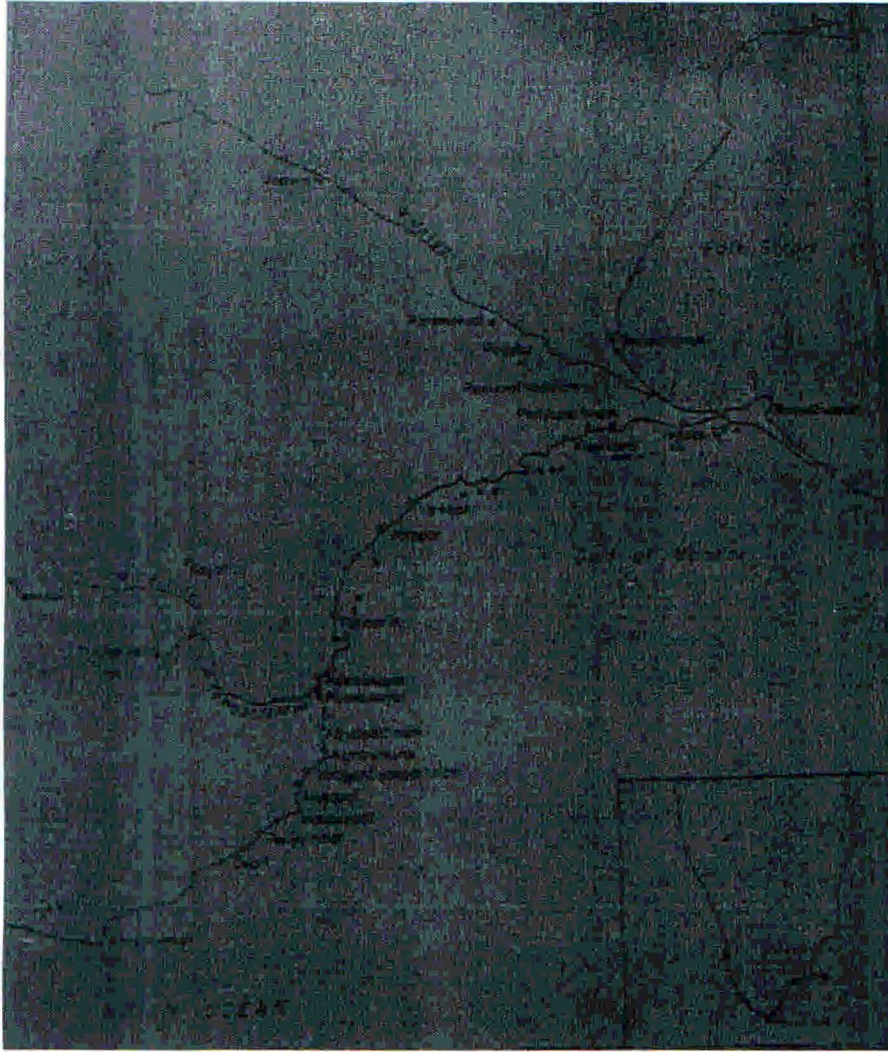
Source: Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagara*, Publications Division, Delhi, 1962, p.xxiv





Map 9 : The Deccan in 1565.

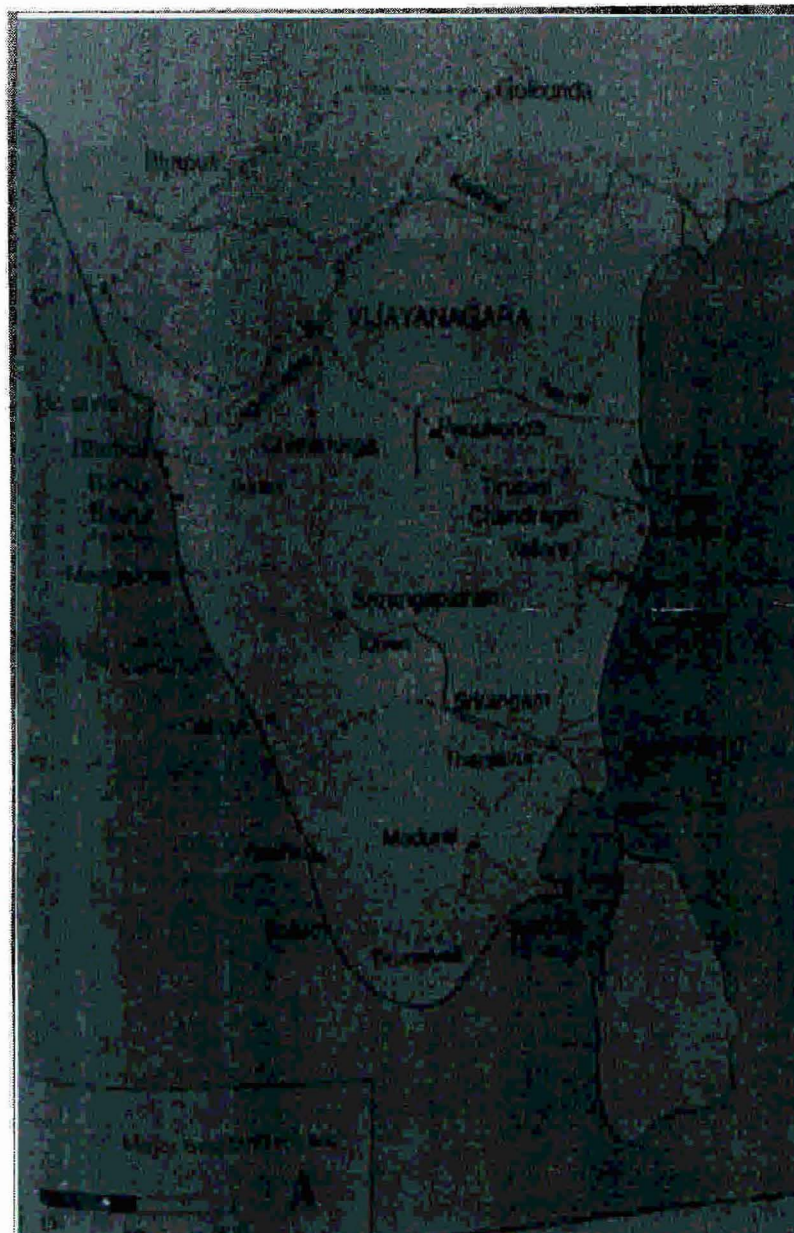
Source: Richard M. Eaton, *The New Cambridge History of India A Social History of the Deccan, 1300-1761*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, p. 93



Map 10: The Pearl Fishery Coast

Source: Jeyaseela Stephen S., *Expanding Portuguese Empire And the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p. 74.





Map 11 : Court Towns and Ports in South India, 1500-1800

Source: Jeyaseela Stephen S., *Expanding Portuguese Empire And the Tamil Economy (sixteenth – Eighteenth Centuries)*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p. 110.



Figure 5 : City Plan of the Vijayanagara empire (Hampi)



Figure 6 : Virupaksha Temple





Figure 7 : Hampi Bazaar



Figure 8 : Friezes, Ramachandra Temple, outer face of the enclosure wall, east side.



Figure 9 : Stone Chariot, Vithala Temple.





Figure 10 : Lakshmi Narasimha



Figure 11: Krishnadevaraya on horseback

Source: William J. Jackson, *Vijayanagara Voices exploring South Indian History and Hindu Literature*, Ashgate, England, 2005, p. 125.





Figure 12: Elephant Stable



Figure 13 : Krishnadevaraya and two wives worshipping at Tirupati, from a painting of bronze images representing their visit to the temple.

Source: William J. Jackson, *Vijayanagara Voices exploring South Indian History and Hindu Literature*, Ashgate, England, 2005, p. 118.





Figure 14: Lord Venkateshvara, the deity at Tirupati, based on a sculpture in Vijayanagara.

Source: William J. Jackson, *Vijayanagara Voices exploring South Indian History and Hindu Literature*, Ashgate, England, 2005, p. 184





Figure 15 : Ramaraya the last ruler of the empire which had Vijayanagara as its capital.

Source: William J. Jackson, *Vijayanagara Voices exploring South Indian History and Hindu Literature*, Ashgate, England, 2005, p. 217.



Figure 16 : City plan of Goa  
(Courtesy Goa State Musuem)





Figure 17: Goa Basilica



Figure 18: Artifacts in the Christian Art Gallery in the Goa state Museum  
(Courtesy Goa State museum)