

**ARCHIVAL SOURCES  
ON  
KARNATAKA HISTORY**

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## **ARCHIVAL SOURCES ON KARNATAKA HISTORY -**

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The Photo in the Front page is a wooden cover painting of a Paper Manuscript, from Kooli village, Haveri District, representing Veerabhadra, belonging to early 19th Century A.D.

## **ARCHIVAL SOURCES IN GOA ON GOA-KARNATAKA RELATIONS**

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The colonial powers had left behind an indelible imprint on India in the fields of administration, education, culture and the like. The abundant quantity of historical records that the colonial masters had bequeathed to India portray their thoughts, actions and consequences. The various archives in India have formed the repositories of historical records and in fact it is impossible to pursue research in history without going through the archives. The Historical Archives of Goa, located in Panaji, is one such rich mine of historical sources. Any scholar undertaking research in the areas of Portuguese colonial expansion or Indo-Portuguese history will have to consult the records preserved here.

Goa and Karnataka, the two states on the western coast of India have many similarities and differences. The legend of Parashurama, traditional works like *Sahyadrikhanda*, rules of the Chalukyas of Badami, Rayas of Vijayanagara, the Bahmanis and the Adil Shahis, intervention of foreign merchants and rulers, the Arabian Sea coast and the Western Ghats are only a few of the major similarities in their history. They are dissimilar in their size, socio-cultural composition, history, etc.. As neighbouring regions, throughout their history, they had close interactions in the fields of politics, economy, society and culture. They were interdependent in many areas and both had gained from this continuous and long historical experience. It is important to emphasize that the various dimensions of this relationship are co-related and interdependent. The Portuguese in Goa had close interaction with Karnataka. Indeed it began from the beginning of the sixteenth century and continued up to 1961.

The myriad aspects of the Portuguese relations with the rulers and feudatories of Karnataka could be fully studied only by tapping the records preserved in the archives and other repositories in Goa and also Portugal. These institutions include the Archives of Goa ;<sup>12</sup> Central Library, Panaji; Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Alto-Porvorim, Goa, and the Paço Patriarcal, Altinho, Panaji. Most of the sources are available in the Portuguese language. There are plenty of Marathi records written in Modi script. Further large number of records are in *Hale* Kannada language also. Major repositories in Portugal would include Arquivo Nacional De Torre Do Tombo (The National Archives of Lisbon), Biblioteca De Palacio De Ajuda (Library of Palace of Ajuda), Arquivo Historico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archives), and the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library)—all located in Lisbon. The Jesuit

documents, which are so useful to study the history of the spread of Christianity, are available in Goa and Bangalore. They are also preserved in the Italian archives.

Many historians like Henry Heras, N.K.Sinha, Mohibbul Hasan, K.D.Swaminathan, P.S.S. Pissurlencar, K.N.Chitnis, B.S.Shastry and others have utilised some of the archival sources available in Goa in their studies on some or other aspects of the history of Goa, or Karnataka or South India.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, much remains to be done. However, there are serious difficulties to be overcome by anyone wishing to do a serious and in depth study in this area. Firstly, there exists the challenge of studying the Portuguese language and its palaeography. Secondly, mastery over *Hale* Kannada, Konkani and Marathi (Modi script) is required. Thirdly it is indispensable to apply the critical methods of historical research to these sources and their contents as they were created by the colonial overlords. The colonial rule was its own biographer and hence the portrait available in their records is partial. Obviously they tried to cover up their colonial acts and follies and eulogise their achievements. A complete study of Goa-Karnataka relations during the Portuguese times is possible only by sifting facts from these different categories of sources and by using corroboratory evidences and a method of comparative languages or philology.

It is not easy to cover all categories of sources in the repositories of Goa in a write-up like this. This is an effort to introduce only a few of the major series of original source materials which could be profitably used for a better and deeper understanding of Portuguese relations with Karnataka. It is necessary to note that these sources are identified and used to some extent by researchers and historians. However, there is still

tremendous scope to utilise them fully to enrich and improve our historical knowledge of coastal western India both quantitatively and qualitatively.

***Monções do Reino* (Monsoon Correspondence from the Kingdom):**

*Monções do Reino* is the largest and an extremely valuable collection of Portuguese documents in the Goa Archives. This series include more than 456 manuscript volumes which cover the period from 1560 to 1914. They deal with instructions, letters, annual reports received in Goa from Portugal and Spain in the monsoon season (June to September) with enclosures containing copies of replies sent from Goa during the period from December to March. These records are useful to know the expansionist activities of the Portuguese and other European nations in the Indian Ocean. They reveal Portugal's trade rivalries with Arab and European powers, and Portugal's relations with the neighbouring small powers in South Asia, the Far East and East Africa. Many of the documents in these volumes throw light on the political and economic conditions in India. It is said that in 1777, sixty two volumes consisting of 12,318 documents covering the period from 1605 to 1651 were shifted to Lisbon. Some of them, covering the period from 1605 to 1616 were later published under the title *Documentos Remettidos da India* (in 5 volumes). C.R.Boxer has dealt with the contents of the first 64 volumes covering the period 1574 to 1700. P.S.S.Pissurlencar, a noted Goan historian, has used and extracted several documents from among the first 180 volumes ending with the year 1800 for his studies on relations of the Portuguese with the Marathas, Hyder, Tipu and others.<sup>14</sup>

***Livros das Pazas e Tratados da India* ( Books of Peace**

**Treaties in India ) :**

These *livros* in Portuguese deal with the treaties signed by the Portuguese with the neighbouring kings in India, East Africa, Asia and other European powers during the period from 1571 to 1856. The first four were published by Cunha Rivara in the series of *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* of 1873-75. The fifth book is in printed form and deals with treaties from 1809 to 1842.<sup>15</sup> Julio Fermino Judice Biker later on reproduced these treaties.<sup>16</sup> The volumes compiled by Biker are useful for a study of Portuguese relations with the potentates of Asia and East Africa.

**Reis Visinhos ( Neighbouring Kings ) :**

This series contains 22 volumes in Portuguese covering the period from 1619 to 1842. They include the correspondence from Goa with the neighbouring rulers and princes of India. These documents are mainly useful for the study of Portuguese-Maratha relations. Scholars like S.N.Sen, A. de Bragança Pereira and P.S.S. Pissurlencar and others have used these documents.<sup>17</sup> They are also useful to study Portuguese-Karnataka relations, as we get references to the Portuguese relations with the Vijayanagar rulers, Suntans of Bijapur, Kings of Keladi and even with the chieftains of Kanara like that of Banguel ( Bantwal). They also furnish facts on commercial relations between the two regions, particularly pepper trade between Kanara and Portuguese Goa.

**Correspondence para o Reino (Correspondence with the Metropolitan Government) :**

This category includes 124 volumes in Portuguese, mainly consisting of letters to the Crown, political condition, neighbouring kingdoms, and situation in India. These sources are useful to analyse

the political issues of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>18</sup>

***Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*** ( Proceedings and Assents of the Council of Revenue and Taxes ) :

This is a series of 59 volumes in Portuguese relating to the period from 1613 to 1781. These documents are useful for the study of economic history and trade relations of the Portuguese with other nations as well as the neighbouring kingdoms in India.<sup>19</sup>

***Regimentos e Instruções*** ( Regulations and Instructions ) :

This series contains 25 volumes covering the period from 1564 to 1869. These documents contain the bye-laws and instructions sent by the Kings and Viceroys to the top military officials about the strategies to be adopted while dealing with the navies and armies of the other Powers in the Indian Ocean and the military bases. Volume No.14, 1747-52 includes the Viceroy's instructions to the Factors of Mangalore and to the Captains and Captain-Majors of the Portuguese fleets. It is useful to study the political, commercial and religious relations between the Portuguese and Kanara.<sup>20</sup>

***Cartazes*** (Cards for Safe Conduct or Sailing Permits) :

This series includes *Cartazes* issued by the Portuguese authorities to ships of alien nations for safe conduct during the period from 1704 to 1870. The *Cartazes* constitute a set of 9 volumes and bear testimony to the Portuguese hegemony over other nations in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>21</sup> For example, one of the *Livro do Cartazes* furnishes details on the sailing permits issued to the Kanarese merchants from 1705 to 1758. These details relate to the years in which the permits are issued, names of merchants to



whom they are issued, quantity or volume of merchandise in *khandis*, and destination of trade.<sup>22</sup> Details of some of the passes granted by the Portuguese during 1618-22 are noted by M.N. Pearson. They include many permits issued to the rulers of Bijapur and Kanara who were the owners of the ships, and other relevant data.<sup>23</sup> V.T. Gune observed that some of the certificates of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are also mixed up in the series of *Monções do Reino*.

### ***Feitorias* ( Factories ) :**

The 64 Portuguese volumes under this category cover the factories of Bassien, Chaul, Diu, Goa, Mangalore, Siam, Sofala and Surat. They deal with letters, charters, accounts, inventories, responsibilities, correspondence, provisions and other details pertaining to these trading centres or factories of the Portuguese. These sources are immensely useful to analyse the economic, political and expansionist history of the Portuguese from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Obviously they deal with the Portuguese activities in Karnataka.<sup>24</sup>

### ***Alfandegas* (Customs) :**

These volumes in Portuguese are of invaluable importance to study economic history in general, and history of inland and maritime trade in particular. They provide data on the entry and departure of ships, customs collected, levies imposed, receipts, quantity of imports and exports and other related issues. They constitute a huge collection of 2,450 volumes, and cover a long period of over three centuries, that is, from 1593 to 1902.<sup>25</sup> For example, *Alfandega de Betul*, *Alfandega de Assolna*, *Alfandega de Agoada*, *Alfandega de Sanguem* and *Livro da Exportação de Mercadorias da Alfandega de Betul* are only a few out of the

thousands of original records furnishing information and statistics on exports and imports with date, destination, nationality of transport, name of the merchant, description of the merchandise and its price, total value of the goods transported and amount of the duty imposed.<sup>26</sup> Betul, Assolna, Agoada and Sanguem are only a few of the Custom houses of Goa and they had regular trade contacts with ports of the western coast such as Cochin, Calicut, Cannanore, Kasaragod, Mangalore, Kundapura, Gangolli, Barkur, Baindur, Honavar, Kumta, Ankola, Sadashivgad, Karwar, Malvan, Vengurla, Bombay, Daman, Diu and so on, and other ports on the eastern coast up to Calcutta, and foreign ports like, Lisbon, Mozambique, Ceylon, Muscat, Macao, etc. The names of the ships include *Mochu*, *Patamarin*, *Tona*, *Padau*, *Galveta* and so on. Thus the Customs records provide much statistics regarding the quantum of trade. If they are analysed properly, they should yield very useful and interesting results. These original records are immensely useful in the reconstruction of the trade relations between Karnataka and Goa. Their economic interdependence and mutual economic interests are vivid in the facts available here.

Ecclesiastical records like *Catecumenos de Betim* (Catechumens—Converts under pre-Baptismal instruction in Betim), *Colegios* (Colleges), *Congregações* (Congregations), *Conventos* (Convents), *Cristandade* (Christianity), *Inquisição* (Inquisition), *Jesuitas* (Jesuits), and *Missões* (Missions) are useful to study religious history and religion and politics. All these documents provide information on the spread of Christianity and religious activities of the Portuguese in Goa and other parts of India.<sup>27</sup> They are useful to reconstruct the history of the spread of Christianity in the coastal areas of Karnataka as well. A study of the Christianisation policy of the Portuguese in the Old Conquests in Goa, the policy of

conversion, inquisition, etc. and the consequent migration of large number of Hindus, particularly the upper caste Saraswat Brahmins towards the south up to Malabar and beyond, would be useful in explaining the cultural contacts between Goa and Coastal Karnataka over the centuries. The members of such Saraswat families in Karnataka and Kerala had to visit Goa to worship their family deities in the major temples of Goa like Mangueshi, Shantadurga, Mahalasa, etc., that is, the temples of the New Conquests, mainly in the Ponda taluka.

*Livro de Correspondençia do Canara* (Book of Correspondence with Kanara )<sup>28</sup> is a valuable Portuguese document to unravel the Portuguese, British and French activities in Kanara, particularly at Mangalore, during the reigns of the last few kings of Keladi and Haidar Ali of Mysore. This document covers the period from 1698 to 1720 and 1747 to 1769 and touches topics like trade, Portuguese factory at Mangalore, Christianity and other subjects.

### ***Estrangeiros* ( Records on Foreigners ) :**

These records furnish valuable information on the Portuguese Indian trade. They throw light on the trade contacts between Karnataka and Portuguese Goa.

### **Documents in Native Languages :**

Apart from the Portuguese language documents, the Historical Archives of Goa houses a large number of Marathi Modi documents. Many of these documents throw light on the Portuguese relations with the chiefs of Sonda in the North Kanara region of Karnataka. They cover the period from about 1526 to

1798.<sup>29</sup> These source materials deal with the political, economic and social relations between the Portuguese on the one side, and the Sonda chiefs, Keladi rulers and the Marathas on the other. However, a major requirement here is to study the Modi script and Marathi language.

### **Private Papers :**

The private papers of families of merchants are extremely important as sources of economic history. The Mhamai Kamat's family was one of the leading business houses in Portuguese Goa at least until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. They had trade contacts with other parts of India including Kanara. The Mhamai House papers are presently preserved in the Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Goa. Most of these papers are in the *Hale* Kannada language. Many of them are in Marathi Modi script, and considerable number of them are in Gujarati and Sanskrit. This collection also includes papers in European languages like Portuguese, French and English.<sup>30</sup> These source materials are of immense value for the reconstruction of the history of trade on the Western coast of India.

### **Published Primary Sources in Portuguese :**

*Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India* (The Agents of Portuguese Diplomacy in India),<sup>31</sup> is a source-book for the study of Portuguese relations with their neighbouring kings of Vijayanagara, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar, the Mughals, the Marathas, the Nayakas of Ikkeri and others from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

*Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* (The Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara),<sup>32</sup> is a volume containing two accounts of the

Vijayanagara empire as given by Fernao Nunes and Domingos Paes. This is useful to know about Krishna Deva Raya's war with the Adil Shah of Bijapur, way of life in his Court, and his relations with the Portuguese.<sup>33</sup> *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India* (Ordinances or Instructions for the Fortresses of India),<sup>34</sup> is a collection of 71 documents. They belong to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They include the instructions issued to the forts of Quilon, Cochin, Cranganor, Mangalore, Kundapur (Basrur), Honavar, Goa, Chaul, Bassein, Daman and Diu. These documents are useful to understand the commercial and religious policies of the Portuguese. They also enlighten us on the administration and economic condition of their forts.<sup>35</sup>

The commentaries, travelogues, diaries and other published primary sources available in the Portuguese language are also immensely useful in understanding the history of Karnataka and Portuguese Goa and the relations between them. Only a few notable works are indicated here. Braz de Albuquerque's *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Dalbuquerque*<sup>36</sup> is based on original documents. Though it is laudatory in character, it is fairly reliable and provides good information on Albuquerque's relations with the Kanarese region.<sup>37</sup> The book of Duarte Barbosa is useful particularly for a study of trade and commerce along the Kanara coast, and in other regions. The travel accounts of Ludovico de Varthema and Pietro Della Valle provide useful account on the trade and commerce of Kanara and political activities of the Portuguese in Kanara respectively. Similarly the travelogues of Fernao Nunes and Domingos Paes are extremely invaluable in the reconstruction of the history of Vijayanagara with special reference to Krishnadevaraya. The Diary of Conde de Linhares furnishes some useful references on the history of Kanara. It is gratifying to note

that most of these sources are accessible today by a larger group of scholars as their translations are available in English. Many such published Portuguese volumes are preserved in the Central Library, Panaji.

The Central Library also houses the old Newspapers which form another major category of source in the writing of History. The Fourth Estate did not enjoy freedom under the colonial regime. Nevertheless the Dailies are useful as sources for the reconstruction of History.

The contents of these sources, in general, reveal that the native rulers like the Kings of Vijayanagara, the Nayakas of Keladi and the Sultans of Mysore on the one hand, and the foreigners like the Portuguese on the other, attached priority to control the western coastal regions. The political control of these regions was of strategic importance from the point of view of politics, trade and defence. They also provided ports and facilitated coastal and sea trade, both inter-regional and long-distance. The Portuguese established their 'Fortress-Factory' system in Kanara. The coastal ports acted as rendezvous of trade. The agricultural products of the hinterlands and the up-Ghat regions like rice, coconut, cotton, etc. and the valuable spices and forest products of the Western Ghats or the Sahyadris like pepper, cardamom, timber, and so on were transported to the coastal ports and then transported to their places of demand either in India or abroad. Further, Goa had been a rice-deficit region, and it always depended on Kanara - the granary of the west coast - for its supply. Obviously, the Portuguese activities in Karnataka were more visible on the coast of Kanara. This is not to suggest that their activities in the interior parts of Karnataka were less important. Their horse trade with Vijayanagara and visits to

Hampi, etc. are too well-known facts of history. The provisions of their treaties with the native rulers invariably covered and safeguarded their political, commercial and religious interests. Only a few rulers of Karnataka like Krishnadevaraya, Shivappa Nayaka, and the Sultans of Mysore could oppose the Portuguese colonial interests and dictates.

### Conclusion :

The above sources, mostly in the Portuguese language, both unpublished and published, and in other languages like *Hale Kannada*, Marathi (Modi), Konkani and English are innumerable. They cover the varied facets of history : politico-administrative, economic and socio-cultural. If used exhaustively, they could fill in many gaps that exist not only in the history of Goa and Karnataka, but also in Goa-Karnataka relations. It is crucial to interpret these sources objectively and scientifically. In politics, economy or society, they furnish data which are useful to write history in its entirety ; both from 'above' and from 'below'. Apart from the problems of insufficient catalogues and indexes, one also faces the challenge of learning new languages in tackling these source materials. A polyglot could really do justice to them.

### References and Notes :

(38)\* About the catalogues of Goa Archives, C.R.Boxer wrote thus in 1981 : "Pending the publication of a detailed catalogue of the records in this archive, which will demand a great deal of time and money, the following three publications give some idea of the scope and extent of the material available for consultation. They are listed in chronological and not in 'pecking' order. C.R.Boxer, 'A Glimpse of the Goa Archives', article in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London (Vol.XIV, 2, pp.299-324, London, 1952). Panduronga S.S.Pissurlencar,

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*Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa* (Bastora-Goa, 1955). V.T.Gune, *A Guide to the Collections of Records from the Goa Archives* (Panaji, 1973)". This observation of Boxer holds good today also. For details of the catalogues published by P.S.S. Pissurlencar, see B.S.Shastry, "P.S.S.Pissurlencar", in B.S.Shastry, *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History*, (hereafter *Studies*), (IBH Prakashana, Bangalore, 1981), pp.11-2 and p.24.

It may be noted that B.S.Shastry has contributed considerably to the historiography of the Portuguese in Kanara through his researches and publications.

<sup>39</sup> H.Heras, *South India Under Vijayanagar Empire : The Aravidu Dynasty*, in 2 volumes (Madras, 1927); N.K.Sinha, *Haidar Ali*, (A.Mukherjee and Co., Calcutta, 1969); Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, (The World Press, Calcutta, 1971); K.D.Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri* (Madras, 1957); P.S.S.Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India* (Instructions or Ordinances for the Fortresses of India) (1951), *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India* (Agents of Portuguese Diplomacy in India) (1952), *Antigualhas*, (Antiquities), (in 7 vols.), (1938-42). In the 7th Volume Pissurlencar deals with the documents relating to the life and deeds of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore and are important to know their relations with the Portuguese; K.N.Chitnis, *Keladi Polity*, (Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1974); B.S.Shastry, "The Portuguese in Kanara 1498-1763" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bombay, 1969) and now available in print as B.S.Shastry, *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763* (hereafter *Goa-Kanara*), edited by Charles J. Borges (Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 2000); B.S.Shastry, *Keladi Arasaru Hagoo Portuguesaru*, (in Kannada, Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1972); B.S.Shastry, *Studies, Op. Cit.*

<sup>40</sup> V.T.Gune, "Source Material from the Goa Archives", in John Correia-Afonso (Ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History : Sources and Problems*, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1981), pp. 21-2. Such works of Pissurlencar are mentioned above in endnote no.2.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 22-3.

<sup>42</sup> J.F.J. Biker (Compiled), *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de*



*Pazes que o Estado da India Portuguesa fez com os Reis e Sonhores com quem teve relação nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental desde o principio da conquista ate ao fim do seculo XVIII*, in 14 Tomos, (National Press, Lisbon, 1881-87). This collection includes not only treaties and concerts but also relevant correspondence and other papers. It covers innumerable number of treaties with their provisions. These treaties were signed by the Portuguese with the native rulers like the Marathas, Keladi Nayakas, Sonda chiefs, Mysore Sultans, and so on.

<sup>43</sup> V.T.Gune, *Op. Cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p. 23.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p.24.

<sup>46</sup> V.T.Gune, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25 ; B.S.Shastry, *Goa-Kanara, Op.Cit.*, p.315.

<sup>47</sup> V.T.Gune, *Op. Cit.*, p.25.

<sup>48</sup> *Livro do Cartazes*, Historical Archives of Goa (hereafter HAG), Manuscript (MS.) 1363. For details of this *Cartaz*, see Nagendra Rao, "Craft Production and Trade in South Kanara:A.D.1000-1763", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Goa University, 2001), pp. 190-7. For details on *Cartazes* relating to Kanara, see B.S.Shastry's article, "Portuguese Commercial Activities in Kanara", in his *Studies, Op. Cit.*, pp.212-3.

<sup>49</sup> M.N.Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, (Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1981), pp.145-47.

<sup>50</sup> V.T.Gune, *Op. Cit.*, pp.26-7.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 27.

<sup>52</sup> *Afandega de Betul*, 1877-80, No.5947 (HAG) informs about the imports at Betul in 1878-79 ; *Afandega de Assolna*, 1850-79, No.5603 (HAG) informs about the imports at Assolna in 1878-79; *Afandega de Agoada*, 1874-79, No.4715 (HAG), informs about export of commodities at Agoada in 1878-79; *Afandega de Sanguem*, 1879-80, No.5522 (HAG) informs about export of

commodities from Sanguem in 1879. See Murelle Maria Leonildes Da Costa, "History of Trade and Commerce in Goa: 1878-1961", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Goa University, 2002), pp. 280-302. Also see Rita Braganza, "Goa-Karnataka Relations 1763-1857", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Goa University, 2001).

<sup>53</sup> V.T.Gune, *Op. Cit.*, pp.30-2. These Ecclesiastical records are available in the Paço Patriarcal, Altinho, Panaji, Goa; Rachol Seminary Library, Rachol, Goa; and also in the Dharmaram Pontifical Institute, Bangalore.

<sup>54</sup> *Livro de Correspondência do Canara*, HAG, Codex No. 1373. For more details on this document see B.S.Shastry's article, "The Book of Correspondence Concerning Kanara : A Note", in his *Studies, Op. Cit.*, pp.38-46, and p.235. The same article is available in *Indica, Vol.15, No.2, Sept.1978*, (Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay), pp.121-6.

<sup>55</sup> I could only see and use the English translations, in summary form, of some such Modi documents in the several Exhibition Books of the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Panaji. A few of them are used by me to write a paper titled "Portuguese Relations with Karnataka: A Case Study of Sonda".

<sup>56</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India : A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840*, (Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1994 ), p. 253.

<sup>57</sup> With a preface and Notes by P.S.S.Pissurlencar, (Tipografia Rangel, Bastora, Goa, 1952).

<sup>58</sup> Edited by David lopes, (Society of Geography of Lisbon, 1897).

<sup>59</sup> B.S.Shastry, " Some Important Published Primary Sources in Portuguese" in his *Studies, Op. Cit.*, p.26 and p.30.

<sup>60</sup> Edited with Notes by P.S.S. Pissurlencar, (Tipografia Rangel, Bastora, Goa, 1951).

<sup>61</sup> B.S.Shastry, " Some Important Published Primary Sources in

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Portuguese" in his *Studies, Op. Cit.*, p.35.

<sup>62</sup>Published in 4 Vols.,(Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 1912-26).

<sup>63</sup> B.S.Shastry, *Goa-Kanara, Op. Cit.*, p. 317.

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