

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN GOA AND KARNATAKA: A HISTORICAL PERCEPTION

by

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Introduction

Their geographical location, sharing a common boundary to a large extent, the necessities of existence and the desire for socio-economic growth resulted in inter-regional interactions between Goa and Karnataka down the ages. The political relations between Goa and Karnataka also influenced their socio-economic relations. In this paper, these socio-economic interactions between the above two regions on the West Coast of India are examined.

From Ancient Times to the Fifteenth Century

The sources are somewhat scanty until the end of the 15th century, though one cannot deny an interdependence and some socio-cultural relations between the two regions even in ancient and medieval times. Kannada, the language of the Kadamba and Vijayanagara rulers, was in use in Goa, the Kannada script being introduced during the Kadamba period, says Mitragotri.¹ However, only three Kannada inscriptions could be found. The earliest Marathi inscription from Goa, the Khandepar copper plate, is written in the Marathi language, but the script used is *Hale* (old) Kannada. An incomplete and unpublished stone inscription from Chandor, belonging to the period of Badami Chalukyas (c. 700 AD), mentions the word *baredan*, meaning "had written" in Kannada. In Kannada, *bare* means write, and in Konkani the word for writing

1. V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa*, p. 267; V. R. Mitragotri, "Cultural Contacts of Goa with North and South India" in P. P. Shirodkar (ed.), *Goa's External Relations* (Panaji, Rajhauns Vitaran, 1992) (Henceforth, "Cultural Contacts of Goa"), pp. 15-16.

is *baraup*. The use of the Kannada script continued in Goa right up to the 17th century and Comunidade records are found in this script. The Portuguese ended this practice by law in 1614 AD. Even Konkani was written in the Kannada script in Goa during the 16th and 17th centuries.² The Konkani language was developed in coastal Karnataka by Goan immigrants. Even today, Christians and Gouda Saraswat Brahmins speak Konkani in these regions. Some Portuguese words like *igreja*, *bateria*, *padre* and *mestre* had become part of the Kannada vocabulary and used as *igarji*, *batteri*, *padri* and *mestri* respectively.³ The dynasties, which ruled over Goa with their headquarters in Karnataka, influenced the cultural history of Goa through their contribution to religion, sculpture, art, architecture, music and dance.⁴ Mitragotri suggests that the Aravalem cave resembles Badami cave No. 3 of Mangalesha dated 538 AD.⁵ The Yakshagana, a popular folk dance-drama of western Karnataka resembles the Jagor of Goa. With the influx of Gouda Saraswats from Goa to Kanara in the mid-16th century, the literary works on Yakshagana witnessed a remarkable growth.⁶ The contact with Karnataka gave definite forms to Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam in Goa. The cult of Yallamma, popular in the Ghat region of western Karnataka, had its origin in Goa as early as the 6th century AD.⁷

From the 11th to 16th centuries, there were political and administrative contacts between Goa and Karnataka. The numerical administrative divisions like Banavasi in Karnataka and Bardesh in Goa, the administrative units like *vishaya*, *desa*, *nadu*, *grama*, etc.,

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2. V. R. Mitragotri, "Cultural Contacts of Goa", pp. 15-16; B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations Between Karnataka and Goa - II" in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (QJMS)*, Vol. LXXIII, No. 2 (April-June 1982) (Henceforth, "Socio-Economic Relations - II"), p. 30.
 3. B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations - II", pp. 30-31.
 4. V. R. Mitragotri, "Cultural Contacts of Goa", pp. 15-17; V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa*, p. 23; V. R. Mitragotri, "Art of Goa from Pre-Historic Period to the Vijayanagara and Intra-Regional Influence on the Art of Goa", in S. K. Mhamai (ed.), *Goa in the Indian Subcontinent* (Panaji, Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Govt. of Goa, 2001), pp. 13-28.
 5. V. R. Mitragotri, "Cultural Contacts of Goa", p. 17.
 6. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, "Gove-Karnataka Cultural Contacts from 1000-1600 A.D.", in P. P. Shirodkar (ed.), *Goa: Cultural Trends* (Panaji, Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Goa, 1998), p. 27.
 7. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

the designations of officers, *dandanayaka*, *gaunda*, etc. and their functions were almost similar in both Karnataka and Goa. There were close similarities in the levy and collection of taxes as also in the system of granting land to *agrahara* and religious institutions.⁸ Historical sources, like inscriptions and *kadatas* (black books) testify to the close administrative relations between Goa and Karnataka. The Karnataka rulers in Goa, like the Kadamba and the Vijayanagara, must have introduced soldiers, administrators, traders, artisans, and farmers, many of who must have settled in Goa.⁹

The agrarian activities and the classification of cultivable lands in Goa resembled that of coastal Karnataka. The Kabambas divided cultivable lands as *gadde* (paddy field), *tota* (garden), etc. similar to Karnataka. Both Karnataka and Goa recognized private property during the 12th and 13th centuries. The Nakhara Samuha (Traders' Association), Banagiga (Merchants' Association), Hanjamana (Muslim Traders' Association) and others carried on brisk trade between Goa and coastal Karnataka. Even the Tulu *paddanas* (folk songs) refer to economic interaction between these two regions.¹⁰

From the Sixteenth Century Onwards

From the beginning of the 16th century, with the political emergence of the Portuguese in Goa, we have much evidence, particularly literary sources, to delineate the socio-economic interactions between Goa and Karnataka. The Portuguese came to India "in search of Christians and Spices",¹¹ to look for Christian allies in the East and to trade in spices which were in great demand in Europe. During Portuguese rule, close economic and cultural relations prevailed between Goa and the bordering regions, particularly Maharashtra and Karnataka.¹² In September-October 1498, Vasco da Gama sold shirts to the local people who supplied him fish, eggs and fowls at two points in Coastal Karnataka,¹³ at Saint Mary Islands, off Kundapura, and at the Anjediva Islands,

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

9. B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations - II", p. 24.

10. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

11. Alvaro Velho, *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama* (Lisbon, 1940), p. 40, quoted by B. S. Shastry, "The Portuguese in South India", in his *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History* (Bangalore, 1981), p. 48.

12. V. T. Gune (ed.), *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*, District Gazetteer Part I, Goa (Goa, Gazetteers Department, 1979), p. 16.

13. B. S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese in Coastal Karnataka: Sixteenth Century" in H. V. Sreenivasamurthy et alia (eds.), *Essays on Indian History and Culture* (New Delhi, 1990), pp. 109-110.

off Karwar. Tom Pires (1512) informs us that rice, pepper, sugar and ginger were brought to Goa from Karnataka. The accounts of Duarte Barbosa (1516), H. Linschoten (1583) and some Portuguese records of the 16th century bear testimony to the exuberant trade between Goa and Karnataka.¹⁴ Due to political rivalry between Vijayanagara and the Bahamani rulers, there was always a great demand for war horses. The Vijayanagara kings maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese who procured horses from Arabia and gained huge profits from the horse trade.

The migration of Goans to coastal Karnataka during the 16th and 17th centuries was for better living conditions to escape the famines, food shortages, and infectious diseases prevalent in Goa, especially during the years 1553, 1570, 1635 and 1682.¹⁵ The Portuguese policy of conversion and their discriminatory laws against Hindus¹⁶ led to the migration of thousands to different parts of coastal Karnataka. Perhaps most of them were Gouda Saraswat Brahmins, who had their family deities in Goa. Their descendants used to visit Goa frequently on pilgrimage to the temples at Jambavalli, Mangueshi, Mardol, Kavalem, etc., to offer prayers to family deities, as also after performing thread ceremonies and marriages. Munificent donations were made to their deities and temples in Goa in the form of gold, silver and other ornaments, as also financial contribution for the construction of rooms or buildings around the temple. The names of such donors are prominently displayed in the temples of Goa even today. The descendants of the donors usually stay, with nostalgic feelings, in rooms constructed with the donations of their ancestors.¹⁷

The Portuguese religious policy was not confined to Goa. Each port and factory in Kanara had a church with a vicar and other priests, for religious duties and missionary activities. The political agreements and treaties between the Portuguese and the chieftains and rulers of Karnataka usually contained a number of provisions in favour of

14. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

15. B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations - II", pp. 24-26.

16. The Inquisition of Goa was established in 1560 and suppressed in 1774. It meant to enforce the Catholic way of life among the newly converted people - cfr. V. T. Gune, *Op. cit.*, pp. 801-802; A. K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961).

17. The Portuguese Policy of Conversion, its Impact on Goan Culture and Identity and the Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa are critically studied in Paul Axelrod and Michelle A. Fuerch, "Flight of the Deities: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa", in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, Part 2 (May 1996), pp. 387-421.

the missionaries and Christians. The Nayakas of Keladi permitted the construction of churches at Mangalore, Buntwal, Honnavar, Kalyanpur, Chandrapur, etc. A large number of Christian converts migrated from Goa to coastal Karnataka to escape the danger of invasion and possible persecution at the hands of the Marathas. Joseph Vaz, a Goan native priest, was responsible for the construction of two churches in Basrur and Gangolli. The churches of Our Lady of Rosary and of St. Francis Xavier at Mangalore, the churches of Our Lady of Mercy at Ullala and of St. Francis of Assisi at Farangipet are some of the beautiful churches built by the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁸ These factors explain the presence of a sizeable number of Christians in that region even today.

During Portuguese rule, Goa was not self-sufficient in food grains. Kanara was the Portuguese granary and they secured much of the commodities needed by them through treaties and tributes exacted from local chiefs of Kanara or rulers of Karnataka. Rice tributes were imposed on the chiefs of Bhatkal, Honnavar, Basrur, etc. in the 16th century and on the Keladi rulers during their reign, excepting the period of a powerful ruler like Shivappa Nayaka who was able to defy the Portuguese. The Portuguese also purchased large quantities of rice from the merchants of Kanara, paying very high rates for commodities from Kanara during the war years.¹⁹ The Portuguese assumed monopoly of trade in pepper. Through treaty provisions, they secured large quantities of pepper from the chiefs of Bhatkal, Gerusoppa and others. But in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Portuguese weakened politically and militarily, and lost their trade monopoly in the East to the Dutch and the English. Besides, during the rule of Shivappa Nayaka, the Portuguese were unable to procure large quantities of pepper from Kanara.²⁰ Other items which the Portuguese bought from Karnataka and particularly from Kanara, included sugar, iron, ginger, coir, saltpetre, tobacco, sandalwood, wood and timber. These goods were produced in Kanara but also in the Balaghat regions. The local merchants

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18. 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* (New Delhi, 1998), p. 30; B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations - II" pp. 26, 28-29.
19. B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations Between Karnataka and Goa - III" in *QJMS*, Vol. LXXIII, Nos. 3 & 4 (July-December 1982), pp. 39-40, 43; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "The Portuguese, the Port of Basrur and the Rice Trade, 1600-1650", in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (October-December 1984).
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

collected and brought them to the ports of Kanara and sold them to the Portuguese. The Portuguese sold several articles, brought from Portugal and other countries, to the merchants of Kanara including horses, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, lead and salt.²¹

There existed a road from Bhatkal to Bankapur via Honnavar. Goa was linked up with Vijayanagara via Bankapur.²² Road and water transport facilities supported trade. Porters, pack animals like horses, asses, bullocks and bullock carts were used for transporting goods. Boats and ships were used in the river transport. The ports of the Western coast in Kanara and Goa facilitated this inter-regional trade between Goa and Karnataka.

Excluding the Competitors

The Portuguese endeavoured, by force or by agreements with local chiefs, to exclude their enemies and competitors from the Kanara trade, particularly the merchants of Calicut, the Arabs, the Dutch and the English. Often, the local chiefs were punished for allowing the rivals to trade at the Kanara ports. Occasionally, the Portuguese encouraged Kanara merchants to trade with them by exempting them from the 4.5 % entrance duty collected in respect of articles coming into Goa from territories other than Kanara.²³

The 'Fortress-Factory System' and the Cartazes

The Portuguese organised their commercial affairs in the East through the 'Fortress-Factory System'. In Kanara, the first factory was set up at Bhatkal in 1540 and, after the treaty of 1671, they set up a factory in Mangalore. They also had fortresses between 1568 and 1654. A factory or a fortress was the centre for trade transactions, military operations and missionary activities. The Portuguese system of issuing *cartazes* (sailing permits) was introduced in Kanara in the mid-16th century,²⁴ to maintain their

21. Xavier Mariona Martins, "Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa 1510-1780" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Goa University, 1994), pp. 122-123.

22. B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations - III", p. 45.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48; B. S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese", p. 116. For the Dutch activities in Kanara, see K. G. Vasanthamadhava, "The Dutch in Coastal Karnataka 1602-1763", in *QJMS*, Vol. LXXIII, Nos. 3 & 4 (July-December 1982), pp. 1-10.

24. B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations - III", pp. 48-49; B. S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese" p. 111; For some *cartazes* issued to merchants of Kanara in the 18th century, see *Livro do Cartazes*, Historical Archives of Goa (HAG), Ms.1363; Nagendra Rao, *Craft Production and Trade in South Kanara A.D. 1000-1763* (New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, 2006), pp. 152-158.

control over the sea trade. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Portuguese appointed procurators to secure goods needed from Kanara. They sometimes ill-treated the Kanara merchants, forcibly taking goods at a low price or collecting illegal impost from them.²⁵

The brisk trade of the Portuguese in Kanara created a demand for the agrarian products and spices of that region as also of the hinterland. There emerged mercantile classes like the Saraswat Brahmins, Chettis, Muslims and others. The thriving trade facilitated the growth of trade-based urban centres and port towns like Mangalore, Basrur and others in the region. The construction of churches enhanced the urban character of the port towns.²⁶

The Portuguese and the Sultans of Mysore

After the fall of the Nayakas of Keladi, the Portuguese had to deal with the Sultans of Mysore, but commercial transactions between Goa and Karnataka continued as before. During Haidar Ali's rule, the Portuguese imported rice, pepper, sandalwood, tobacco, pulses, chillies and other articles from Kanara. During Tipu Sultan's reign, coconuts and its byproducts were bartered for rice, pulses and other items that came through Balaghat to Goa. Rice, pepper, cardamom were the major items imported by Goa. There was an uninterrupted flow of merchandise between Kanara, Goa, Mysore, Maharashtra and the Carnatic. The middle-level traders became agents of coastal contractors when the Peninsular wars, involving the Mysoreans, Marathas, Nizam, English and French disrupted overland traffic. The Goan merchants managed to survive by working out a compromise with the European private traders-cum-Company officials.²⁷ The Alvara of 8 January 1783 lowered the rates of duties on exports from Goa though this did not improve exports, particularly to the Balaghat region.²⁸ Due to the British invasion of Tipu Sultan's kingdom, certain merchants, like Mohamad Sufi, sought asylum in Portuguese territory and were granted protection under the laws of the Portuguese King.²⁹ After

25. B. S. Shastri, "Socio-Economic Relations - III", pp. 48-51.

26. Nagendra Rao, *Op. cit.*, pp. 147-150.

27. Ruchira Banerjee, "Mercantile Network in Malabar c. 1760-1800", (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Bombay, 1998), p. 130; M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Traders in Gujarat* (New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), p. 46; Rita Braganza, "Goa-Karnataka Relations 1763-1857 - A Political and Economic Study (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Goa University, 2001), p. 116.

28. Commercial Department Diaries, No. 11786, Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai, p. 8.

29. Reis Vizinhas, No. 16, 1782-84, Vol. 984 (HAG), p. 31.

the treaty of Srirangapattana (1792), Tipu Sultan secured the fort of Sadashivgad and ordered that the ports of Barcelore, Coondapur and Mangalore be opened to all traders coming from Goa with no obstacles to their purchasing rice and other essentials from Kanara. The Portuguese merchants were allowed to export rice from Mangalore at reduced rates. Tipu Sultan in return wanted to establish a commercial house in Goa, but the Portuguese authorities did not accept his request as it would antagonise the English.³⁰ Thus, from 1763 to 1799, there was no change in the trade policy nor in the items of trade between Goa and Karnataka.

The Portuguese and the British

After the fall of Tipu Sultan in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799), the British annexed the coastal region of Karnataka and named it Province of Kanara and Sonda. Trade transactions between Portuguese Goa and Kanara were however not affected. Sir Thomas Munro, first Collector of Kanara, has described the trade of Kanara in 1800, noting that one-third of the rice exported reached Arabia and the rest went to Malabar, Goa and Bombay. Kanara imported arrack, salt and gin from Goa.³¹ Francis Buchanan and John Sturrock mention the export of rice from Kanara to Goa chiefly at Hangarkatta,³² but also at Mangalore and Kundapur.³³ In a fine season, as many as a hundred native crafts loaded for Goa at these ports. Due to the salt monopoly introduced in Kanara by the East India Company in 1807, this region had to depend on Government supply. Since the licensed manufacturers were unable to meet the demand for salt, a large quantity was imported from Goa by land on payment of a customs duty of 12 annas per maund.³⁴ In 1809,

30. Rita Braganza, *Op. cit.*, pp. 132-133; Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan* (Calcutta, The World Press Pvt. Ltd., 1971), p. 391.

31. Sir Thomas Munro to the Madras Board of Revenue (hereafter, MBR), in *Proceedings of the Madras Board of Revenue (PMBR)*, 28-8-1800, Vol. No. 261, pp. 7492-7497.

32. F. H. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (3 vols.) (Madras, 1870), Vol. III, between pages 4 and 5; John Sturrock, *Madras District Manuals, South Canara*, Vol. I (Madras, 1894), pp. 218-219. The principal port of Barkur was situated at Hangarkatta - a busy port till the end of the 19th century.

33. John Sturrock, *Op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; H. S. Brown, *The Handbook to the Ports on the Coast of India between Calcutta and Bombay including Ceylon and Maldiva and Laccadive Islands* (Mangalore, 1857), p. 257; Malathi K. Moorthy, "Trade and Commerce in Colonial South Kanara (1799-1862)" (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Mangalore University, 1991), p. 135.

34. H. S. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

Alexander Read, Collector of Kanara, wrote to the Madras Board of Revenue that the export of rice to Goa should not suffer since the troops at Goa, being more than that of the previous year, could procure its supplies from no other quarter but Kanara.³⁵ In 1812, a shipment of 9 horses priced at 300 xerafins each, arrived from Mangalore to Goa.³⁶ During the year 1813-1814, the value of salt exported from Goa to Kanara was about Rs. 88,338. Other trifling goods amounted to Rs. 7,456. The exports from Kanara were valued at Rs. 4,38,374, of which, rice alone was valued at Rs. 4 lakhs. The rest was the value of coir, coconuts and paddy, etc. from Malabar.³⁷ The Balaghat region provided tobacco and saltpetre to Goa. The Mhamais, a well known business family in Goa, despatched regular consignments of Balaghat saltpetre to Lisbon. Rice, wheat, spices, condiments, bamboos, cattle and textiles were also imported into Goa from Balaghat. Goa exported to Balaghat items like salt, local liquor, arrack and feni, salted fish, arecanuts as also paper and sugar imported from Lisbon and Macau. Different kinds of vessels, canoes, *machvas* and *padavs* were used in transporting goods between Goa and Kanara.³⁸ In 1836, C. R. Cotton, Principal Collector of Kanara, reported on the articles of exchange between Kanara and Goa during 1828-29. Rice and paddy were major articles of export from Kanara to Goa. Dates, drugs, paper, dry grains, sugar, wines and spirituous liquors were imported into Kanara from Goa.³⁹ From 1838-39 to 1845-46, Kanara exported the following quantities of rice to Goa:⁴⁰

Year	Quantity in <i>Muras</i>
1838-39	1,35,727
1839-40	1,11,492
1840-41	1,26,591
1841-42	84,356
1842-43	1,18,507
1843-44	1,63,809
1844-45	1,20,094
1845-46	78,433

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35. Alexander Read to MBR, 22-2-1809, in PMBR 2-3-1809, Vol. No. 485, pp. 1424-1425.
36. Report on External Commerce 1813-14, Board's Miscellaneous Consultations, Sl. No. 256, p. 51.
37. Extract from BOR, Miscellaneous Consultations, 1813-14, Sl. No. 266, p. 88.
38. Rita Braganza, *Op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.
39. C. R. Cotton to BOR, 26-2-1836, PMBR, 10-3-1836, Vol. No. 1494, p. 4262.
40. T. L. Blane, Collector of Kanara to BOR, 10-7-1846, PMBR, 4-3-1847, Vol. No. 2070, p. 4174.

In 1845-46, Goa exported to Kanara by sea commodities like coconuts, dates, furniture, glassware, grain of sorts, salt and sundry items. In the same period, Kanara exported by sea to Goa drugs of sorts, tamarind, pepper, dry grain, paddy, rice, cotton, silk, fish bladder, timber wood black and timber wood jungle.⁴¹ From 1851 to 1854, Goa and Kanara had a brisk trade. Among the exports of Kanara to Goa, rice and wheat were major items. Of the items exported from Goa to Kanara, coconuts, dry fruits, salted provisions and salt were major items.⁴² During 1855-56, the exports of Kanara by sea to Goa included cotton wool, cotton goods, coconuts, rice, iron bar and bolt, molasses, pepper, maize, cardamom, timber and wood. About 121 native craft with Portuguese colours arrived at Kanara ports with 1,747 tonnage. About 122 Portuguese native craft departed from Kanara ports with 1,693 tonnage.⁴³ In 1858-59, Goa imported by sea, paddy worth Rs. 43,339, rice worth Rs. 59,836 and wheat worth Rs. 5,796 from Kanara while Goa exported salt worth Rs. 8,488 on Government account and Rs. 364 on private account to Kanara.⁴⁴ In 1862-63, one steamer and 160 native crafts with Portuguese colours and a total tonnage of 2,909 were sent from Goa to Kanara, and 156 Portuguese native crafts with a total tonnage of 2,895 departed from Kanara taking mainly rice to Goa. In 1869, rice imported to Goa from South Kanara was 16,198 *khandis* of 16 *māos* and the import of paddy was to the tune of 19,868 *khandis*.⁴⁵

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41. Report of W. E. Underwood, Reporter, External Commerce, 1846, from *Imports into Canara by Sea and Exports from Canara by Sea, in the year 1845-46*, pp. 160-167.
 42. F. N. Maltby, *Report on the Settlement of Land Revenue of South Canara District for Fasli 1261* (Mangalore, Collectorate Press, 1909), p. 4. *Fasli* means Revenue year or Financial year. Add 590 to convert a *Fasli* year into the Christian Era. In this case, it is 1851-52. Statement showing the Imports into Canara by Land in the Official Year 1852-53, Fort St. George, p. 130; N. Shyam Bhat, "Trade in Goa during the 19th Century with Special Reference to Colonial Kanara", in Charles J. Borges et al. (eds.), *Goa And Portugal: History and Development* (New Delhi, Concept Publishing Co., 2000), pp. 55-71.
 43. Report of W. Fisher, Collector of Canara, 1856, from Statement of Ships and Tonnage arrived at and departed from the port of Kanara not subject to the Madras Presidency, from 1st May 1855 to 30th April 1856, pp. 138-139.
 44. W. E. Underwood, Reporter, External Commerce, Fort St. George, 1st May 1859, Statement exhibiting the Quantity and Value of Imports by Sea into the Port of Canara from Foreign Ports and Indian Ports, and Exports by Sea from the Port of Canara to Foreign Ports not subject to the Madras Presidency from 1st May 1858 to 30th April 1859, pp. 164 & 228.
 45. Reports of W. Hudleston, Secretary, Revenue Board Office, on Imports and Exports of South Canara, Fort St. George, 20th June 1863, pp. 149-51 and 29th June 1863, pp. 242-45; A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portuguesa*, 2 Vols., (New Delhi, 1989 reprint), Vol. I, pp. 47-48.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the most prominent item of export from Kanara to Goa was rice from Mangalore and Basrur. Rice trade was carried out by rowers Nicholas Fernandes and Baba Naik, after the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 was signed. Goa imported chillies (Ghanti chillies) from the Ghat region and vegetables from Belgaum and Dharwad. During 1878-80, Goa exported salt, instruments of iron, earthenware, tiles, coconut oil, wine, betelnut, pumpkins, potatoes, onions, salted fish, mangoes, and nachinim to different parts of coastal Karnataka and the Balaghat region. During 1878-79, Goa imported rice, paddy, long chillies, onions, ginger, cinnamon, coffee, canes, loose thread, jaggery, grams, coconuts and wheat from different stations in coastal Karnataka.⁴⁶

In 1954, the export of vegetables to Goa was banned by the Indian Union. During this economic blockade, the 'Repertição de Agricultura e Veterinaria' started a 'Grow more Vegetables' campaign in Goa to flood the local market with vegetables like cabbage, cauliflower, beetroots, etc. The principal markets for Goa's salt (via Railway) were Belgaum, Dharwad and Bijapur in Karnataka, and Poona in Maharashtra. The railway line connecting Mormugao with the frontier of British India above the Western Ghats was completed in 1888. Salt was also exported to Karwar through the land route using bullock carts. In the beginning of the twentieth century, new items of trade appeared. While Goa had a tradition of producing roof and floor tiles, due to economic reasons and the gradual disappearance of *kumbhars* (potters), Mangalore tiles had to be imported from Kanara in British India. This import increased tremendously from 16,24,640 tiles in 1920 to 25,27,732 in 1929 which was valued at Rupees 1,03,000.⁴⁷

During the early half of the 20th century, a considerable number of Goans went to Belgaum, Hubli and Dharwad to pursue their higher studies in the English medium Colleges there, since no higher education in English was offered in Portuguese Goa. Such Goans were highly successful in their careers either in Goa or in other States. However, after 1961, a large number of Kannadigas came to Goa in search of jobs and other professions and were absorbed into Government Offices and the hotel industry. The Udupi hotels, famous

46. Alfandega de Agoada, 1874-79, No. 4715, HAG; Alfandega de Sanguem, 1879-80, Nos. 5521 & 5522, HAG; Livro da Exportação de Mercadorias da Alfandega de Betul, 1873-78, No. 4765, HAG; Alfandega de Assolna, 1850-79, No. 5603, HAG; Alfandega de Betul, 1877-80, No. 5947, HAG.

47. Murelle Maria Leonildes da Costa, "History of Trade and Commerce in Goa: 1878-1961" (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Goa University, 2002), pp. 93, 98, 99, 101, 123. It may be noted that even at present, Goa imports vegetables, milk, cattle, Mangalore tiles, etc. from Karnataka.

in the major cities of India for their special menu of food items and culinary skills set up business in Goa.⁴⁸ Their settlement resulted in the emergence of Kannada Samaja in Goa with its branches in major towns like Panaji, Margao, Vasco and Ponda. The presence of Kannadigas mattered in building construction work, in which the migrant labourers rendered valuable services.

The Portuguese in Goa maintained cordial relations with the English in Karnataka. As England and Portugal were traditional allies, politically, it was not a problem for the Portuguese to interact with the British Government in Karnataka. But the British control over trade and tariff and the other commercial regulations which they introduced from time to time, adversely affected Portuguese colonial and commercial interests. Nevertheless, they continued trade relations with Karnataka, particularly the Kanara and Balaghat regions, to import the much needed commodities, particularly, rice. Colonial Kanara had to depend on salt imported from Goa. Trade with Kanara used land and sea routes. Much of the trade was carried out by private merchants, generally of the Saraswat brahmin, Chetties and Muslim communities in Coastal Karnataka. In Goa, besides the Saraswat brahmin merchants, there were also Gujarati Vania and Parsee traders. Mormugao emerged as a rendezvous of trade in Goa. In Karnataka, Basrur and Mangalore were the major ports for trade.

Conclusion

The above analysis of the relations between Goa and Karnataka through the centuries reveals that the two adjacent territories had considerable inter-regional exchanges in the socio-cultural-economic fields. Goa and Karnataka, particularly, coastal Karnataka, mutually influenced each other in terms of religion, language, art, system of production and trade. The dominant position that the ruling powers in Karnataka enjoyed over Goa influenced and decided their political, economic and social relations. The political powers in both regions changed from time to time, but their relations continued without much change. Career opportunities led to migration of peoples between these two regions. In the field of culture, religious and linguistic pluralism emerged in both the regions. In the economic field, new mercantile classes emerged. Ports and port towns developed paving the way for urbanisation in Goa and Karnataka.

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48. For details see, Ganesha Somayaji, "Udupi Hotellers in Goa: A Sociological Study in Occupational Mobility" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Goa University, Goa, 1997).