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# UNIT 15 EXCHANGE NETWORKS, MERCHANT ORGANISATIONS AND URBANISATION: SOUTH INDIA

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## 15.1 INTRODUCTION

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The early medieval economy of south India was predominantly agrarian, with an initial phase of agrarian expansion (6<sup>th</sup>- 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) It has been suggested that this was brought about by the practice of land grants, in which the *Brahmadeya* and the temple as the two major forces of integration, were the foci of rural organisation (see Unit 13 of the present Block). At the same time, the need for exchange points and increase in commercial activities led to some of the *Brahmadeyas* and temple centres to expand their economic role thereby incorporating trade, craft and commercial activities and creating urban space for all such newly emerging economic groups. Political and/or administrative centres were also the foci of urban activities and attracted heterogeneous population, both as consumers of commercial goods and as users of money, i.e. coins which were royal issues and also possibly the currency of the merchant guilds, although the latter is not clearly or directly attested to in inscriptional records. This was the second urbanisation for the south Indian regions.

The phase of urbanisation with which we are concerned here was of a different nature, and was *sui generis*, consequent upon the development of an agrarian order (See Unit 13 of the present Block) developing between the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, i.e. the first phase of the early medieval period. This process, which was spread over the whole peninsula, was, however, not uniform in all the south Indian regions. The Deccan i.e. Karnataka and the Andhra regions differed considerably in the nature of agrarian organisation, although the land grant system was a widespread institutional means for the extension of agriculture and agrarian organisation. These

regions do not have continuous plains except in the delta regions of the Krishna and Godavari and in some pockets of the interior river valleys. Agricultural activities were more intensive in the delta regions, while large parts of the plateau and hilly areas remained predominantly pastoral and/or agro-pastoral and dependent on hunting activities.

The early medieval urbanisation in the Tamil region was a re-urbanisation brought about by agrarian expansion and organisation of peasant micro-regions like the *nadu*, with the emergence of the *nagaram* or market for the peasant region. It manifested itself in a new set of urban centres between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, representing an intelligible sequence of change, first by providing an agrarian base and large surpluses to be channelled into trade. The proliferation of such market centres together with the movement of larger trade organisations like the Ayyavole led to the emergence of urban centres and inter regional trade networks and communication (for details see our Course EHI 03, Block 1 Unit 4). There are significant variations in the nature, category and hierarchy of urban centres, depending upon ecological and cultural differences. Regional studies of urban centres are, therefore, essential for providing correct overall perspectives. Such studies are available only for a few regions like Rajasthan and Central India in the north and the Tamil region in south India. For Karnataka and Andhra, such studies are in their initial stages. For instance it is not yet clear as to whether agrarian or peasant regions like the *nadu* of the Tamil country evolved systematically in these regions and whether they initiated trade centres like the *nakhara* or *nagaram* in the early medieval times.

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## 15.2 MARKET CENTRES, TRADE NETWORKS AND ITINERANT TRADE

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Early medieval urbanisation shows a phenomenal increase and proliferation of urban centres of relatively modest dimensions. These are the market centres, trade centres (fairs—*Santa/Santai*) which were primarily nodal points of the exchange network. The range of interaction of such centres varied from small agrarian hinterlands to regional commercial hinterlands and to inter-regional contexts and contexts beyond the borders of India. However, by and large the early medieval urban centres were far more rooted in their regional contexts than the early historical urban centres.

The need for marketing facilities and development of local exchange brought into existence market centres, which were points of exchange for a specific region or small agrarian hinterlands. This is best illustrated by the *nagaram* of South India, substantial evidence of which comes from Tamil Nadu and to a limited extent from Karnataka (*nakhara*) and Andhra region (*nagaramu*). It served as the market for the *nadu* (K.R.Hall, 1980) or *kurram*, a peasant region of Tamil Nadu. Some of them emerged due to the exchange needs of the *nadu*. A fairly large number of such centres were founded by ruling families or were established with royal sanction, as for example under the Cholas. They were named after the rulers, a feature common to all regions in south India, with the suffix *pura* or *pattana*. However not all such *nagarams* were commercially of equal significance. *Nagarams* located on important trade routes and at the points of intersection by itinerant traders developed into large towns, both in terms of their size and volume of trade and commerce. They were ultimately brought into a network of intra- regional and inter-regional trade as well as overseas trade through the itinerant merchant organisations and through royal ports and royal interests in and policy of fostering long distance trade. Such a development occurred more or less uniformly throughout peninsular India from the

10<sup>th</sup> century AD when South India was drawn into the wider South Asian trade, which was revived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and in which all the countries of South Asia, China and the Arab countries came to be involved. Between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD South Asian trade provided the impetus for the development of commodity production and exchange, growth of towns, both interior and coastal. The *nagarams* of the Tamil region linked the ports with political and administrative centres, which were consumer points and with the craft centres in the interior. The movement of the itinerant traders played a major role in this network.

Major craft centres which developed in response to inter-regional trade were textile and weaving centres in all the three culture regions of south India—Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu. Some of the craft and commercial centres of the early historic period survived till the early medieval period and were brought into the processes of re-urbanisation which linked them with the new socio-economic institutions of the period.

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## 15.3 REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

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Different levels of urban centres developed in South India. However, these varied from region to region in their function and importance as also their relationship to larger exchange networks.

### 15.3.1 Deccan-Karnataka

In Karnataka the *nagarams* served different functions as points of exchange in trading networks and as regular markets for agrarian/peasant regions. However, the uniform feature in all such *nagarams* (*nakharas*) is that they either had or acquired a basic agricultural hinterland (through grants to the local temples) for the non-producing urban/craft/trade groups living in such centres. Markets in these centres were controlled by traders headed by a chief merchant called *pattanasvami*, the lord of the town.

In Karnataka, the steady increase in towns from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries shows a proliferation of commercial centres with a concentration of such centres in north west Karnataka, Konkan coast and the commercial districts of Bijapur, Dharwar, Belgaum and Shimoga. In the trade with the west i.e., Arabia, Persian Gulf and beyond, the west coast of peninsular India played a consistently dominant role even from the early historical period. Several ports such as Thana in Maharashtra; Goa; and Bhatkal, Karwar, Honavar and Mangalore in Karnataka developed during the revival of long distance trade between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, with evidence of coastal shipping and ocean navigation. The use of money on a large scale in commercial transactions was generally on the increase throughout south India during this period, particularly in the Deccan and Andhra regions.

Epigraphy being the major source of information, most studies have relied entirely on inscriptions for categorising and locating the types of towns which emerged in various regions. In Karnataka, the terms used for towns of different types are *Rajadhani*, *nelevidu* and *pattana* or *nagara*. While *nelevidu* was usually the headquarters of a local/provincial ruler, *pattana* or *nagara* refer to commercial towns. Some indication of the nature of town planning and habitation is available for Venugrama or Velugrama, the present Belgaum, where separate quarters existed for foreign and local merchants. Belgaum was ancient Venugrama with early Jaina associations. It is said that Belgaum provided for 4000 “burghesses”, probably not

the medieval European type of burghesses, but for several villages of the region, which provided for the agricultural and trading requirements of this city. That such cities also had *geris* or quarters for various artisanal and trading communities is also attested to by the epigraphic records. Large urban centres like Belgaum had migrants from other regions, such as Tamil Nadu (Tigulas), Kerala and Lata or Gujarat, Bengal and even Kashmir and Ahichchhatra in Uttar Pradesh. Many of these towns e.g., Lokkigundi (80 Km from Badami) and Belur (34 km from Hassan) were also frequented by the Ayyavole (itinerant) merchants.

Transport and communication were facilitated through construction of roads in north west Karnataka, where Terdal (Bijapur district), Lokkigundi and Belgaum emerged as important trade centres. Highways and Trunk roads came up linking Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu and earlier trade routes survived well into early medieval times. On the northern and southern banks of the Kaveri, in its middle reaches (Kongu region) arose a number of exchange points between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu such as Talakkad (near Mysore) and Mudikondan (Thiruvavur district).

Wider trade networks also existed between Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil regions. The presence of Kannada, Tamil and Telugu merchants is well attested in several towns such as Belgaum (Karnataka), Peruru (Nalgonda district- Andhra Pradesh) and the coastal towns of Visakhapatnam and Ghantasala in Andhra. The Andhra coast concentrated on the southeast Asian trade with Motupalli, Visakhapatnam and Ghantasala acting as major outlets. Market towns of inter-regional importance are represented by places like Nellore, Draksharama, Tripurantakam and Anumakonda in Andhra Pradesh.

## Guilds

The Merchant Guilds of medieval south India comprised many groups and the Karnataka inscriptions mention the *settiguttas*, *nanadesis*, *banajus*, *virabananju*, *mahanagara*, *ubhayanadesi*, *mummuridandas*, *tanda*, *nakhara*, *nadu settis*, *paradesigalu*, *sthanabanajigaru*, *muvattarum-bidina settiyaru*, *astadasapattanigaru*, *nadus*, *gavares*, *gandhigas*, *gatrigas*, *nagara mahajana*, *vaniga mahajana*, *samasta-desi*, *biradaru*, etc. It is not clear as to whether they were a regular part of the guilds or local groups, who were occasional participants in the itinerant trade which moved through the different regions of south India.

A fair number of references to guilds occur in Karnataka inscriptions such as the *sreni*, *kottali* (*gottali*), *samuha*, *samayengal*, *hittu* or *pittu*, and *okkalu* which appear to be agricultural guilds. The *Ugura* 300, *kuruba senigas*, *tambuliga*, *gale* 300, *billa* 300, (toddy drawers), *medaru*, *mottakara*, bamboo makers, *bojangas*, *aravattu okkalu* point to the existence of professional or occupational groups perhaps as organised craft groups within a settlement. However, larger intra-regional organisations of craftsmen also begin to appear in the inscriptional records such as the guilds of *telligas*, *gottali*, *jagati samayengal* or *pattasaligaru*, artisans, goldsmiths, carpenters, *chippiga gottali* (tailors), *jeda kottali* (Weavers), stone cutters, *kanchagara gottali*, *beruttambar*, *kammata* (mint), *gana okkalu* (oil press with hand or bullock), *gana mettuvaru* (treading oil press). It would hence be reasonable to infer that there was a gradual diversification of production activities and craft production was being recognised as economically significant and their groupings must have enabled the processes of manufacture and trade in which the merchant organisations seem to have promoted such specialisation and diversification.

The guilds acted through the *pattanasvamis* or *vaddavyavaharis*. The guilds seem to have crystallised as sub-castes. Among the main crafts mention may be made of oil mills, sugar cane, betel processing, salt manufacturing, bamboo working, making metal images of deities, musical instruments, lamps, vessels etc. related to temple and rituals. The textile industry seems to have been the most flourishing, the *maggadere* or loom tax being common in all parts of the Deccan, such as the Hassan, Kadur, Bangalore, Mysore, Shimoga, Chitradurga and Raichur districts. Innumerable varieties of cloth are known such as *patta* (silk), *sire* (long cloth – sometimes *sari*), cotton, *teresire*, *hodake*, *nulu* (cloth of cotton thread), *uttama ponbatte* (gold coloured silk cloth), *kuttida nulpatta dara patta*, *puttiya patte*, *sattigeya hanjara* and so on. The Spinning process is known from the detailed references to the wheel (*ratne*), spindle (*kadiru*) and lower planks (*adiya halige*). Perfumery and incense (*dhupa*) manufacture is mentioned in the *Manasollasa*, which also refers to leather work for seats (*asanas*), jewellery (*manigara*), gold smiths, and silver-smiths and bangle making. Carpentry, Pottery, Tailoring, Smithy and Dyeing were other occupational activities apart from the art of Sculpture and other Fine Arts.

### **Minting**

Minting, especially of the die-struck coins, was made by the *kammatakaras*, while the *savukattukaras* trimmed the coins into uniform shape and size and weight in places like Sudi, Gobbur, Balligave Lakkundi, etc. No regular banking and credit were followed for money lending did not find much favour with people. Deposits were made usually with the temples and the interest was utilised for worship. Thus the temple's role in commercial activities was significant. Interest was invariably in kind, particularly paddy, although money interest was not unknown. Annual interest often accumulated as *toduvaddi* paid in the form of *pana*, *haga*, *visa*, or *bele* and the principal being in the form of *gadyana*, *pon* or *hon*.

The marketing services were provided by the merchants and vendors in weekly fairs held by the *pattanasvamis* and others as an act of *dharmā*. Among the shops the privileged ones were the *manyadangadi* and temple shops or *devarangadi*. Others like the *karadangadi*, *angadimane* or *malige* represent the wholesalers.

Commerce, inter-regional and intra-regional, and pilgrimage added to the proliferation of towns and trade centres and at the apex of the urban hierarchy stood the *Rajadhani pattanas* like Kalyani and Dvarasamudra. Arasiyakere and Balligave were commercial centres which also served as administrative centres. Notable among the inland towns were Paithan, Ter or Tagara, Kalyana, Nandgad, Valaipatna, Pandiyur, Kuduregundi (Hassan district). Vaijyanatipura, Puligere, Mudubidire and others.

### **Coastal Trade**

Trans-oceanic contacts were on the increase and ports like Bhatkal, Basrur, Barakur, Karwar, Honavar, Kasargod, Kumbala, Mangalore, Sirur, Sadasivagad, Malpe, Ankola, Mirjan developed on the Konkan and Kanara coasts. Honavar was one of the major ports. There was regular coastal traffic and periodical long distance traffic for the unloading and collection of goods at the coastal towns brought into bigger ports like Honavar. Kasargod was of greater importance for Muslim merchants. Mangalore was the biggest town for Arab travellers.

Arab writers refer to articles of export such as rice, pepper, silk, coconut, bananas, teak, aloe, amber, bamboo, camphor, cardamom, cloves, mango, sulphur and myrobalan. Marco Polo lists the imports such as copper, brocades of gold, silk, and drugs. Horses, elephants, pearls, cloth, musk, and sandal from Gandhara, Turushka, Simhala, Chola, Magadha, and Maleyala were other important items of trade, if one were to take the inscriptions of the itinerant traders into consideration.

Commodities like teak, coconut, spices (pepper and ginger) and textiles are found in one of the most impressive lists in an inscription of AD 1204 from Belgaum, which witnessed a major convergence of many types of merchants in north Karnataka. Items of trade also included regular consumer goods like paddy, rice, black pepper, asafoetida, green ginger, turmeric, betel leaves, areca nuts, coconuts, palm leaves, grass, sugarcane, coarse sugar, plantains and myrobalan. It is not clear which of them were transported by coastal crafts. The coastal network for trade in both agrarian products and manufactured ones apart from luxuries was brisk and impressive.

### 15.3.2 The Konkan Coastal Trade and Voyages

Foreign trade received a setback especially after the decline of maritime trade in the early historical period. Conventional narratives refer to trade routes (overland and riverine), commercial centres, professional bodies of merchants but much less is known about coastal networks, which seem to be rarer. It was only after AD 1500 that the importance of the Indian ocean in Asian and Middle eastern trade seems to have been recognised. For example, the Konkan coast, former Aparanta i.e., the Maharashtra coast (North and South Konkan) and its importance is known to classical sources. However, the interlinkages between the ports of northern and southern Konkan are not clearly known in the early period. The term Konkana becomes more prominent only in the early medieval period. Kamkam in the Arabian texts is invariably equated with the kingdom of Balhara i.e., the Rashtrakutas. The distinction between north Konkan and Tulwan (Dabhole to Goa–Juwah Sindapur) was not known in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. From the Badami Chalukya period (6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) interest in controlling certain parts of this coast increased especially after the conquest of Lata (south coastal Gujrat) by the Chalukyas. Henceforth coastal linkages between the northern Konkan coast and the Gujarat-Kathiawad coasts developed and coastal voyages became regular.

The early medieval period witnessed the emergence of more and newer ports in the Konkan littorals than in the early historical period. A great number of ports on the Konkan coast appear from the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD which are mentioned in the Arabic and Persian sources. Kolhapur is known from the Jewish letters of merchants as an important business centre. A number of harbours from north to south are mentioned such as Samyana/Sindan (=Sanjan in Thana district), Srasthanaka (Thana), Cemuliya/Saimur (Chaul in Kolaba district), Nagapura (Nagav in Kolaba district), Balipattana (Kharepatan in Ratnagiri district) Gopakapattana/ Gove (Goa), Chandrapura/Sindapur (Chandore to the south of Goa). Sindapur is prominently referred to in the Arab sources. Gove of the Kadambas was an important port and capital.

Arab accounts such as those of Sulaiman and Ibn Khurdadbeh (9<sup>th</sup> century) give interesting facts about the trading network connecting Konkan and Malabar and with Cambay (Kanbaya), corroborated by the Persian geographical text *Hudud al Alam* (AD 982). Surparaka i.e. Sopara near Mumbai was also known to foreign accounts. The long coastal voyages from Konkan through Malabar to Srilanka

established links with the interior trading and craft centres. Hence the Silaharas, the most formidable power on the Maharashtra coast, tried to establish close control over the whole Konkan coast.

Till the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD the ports of north Konkan were more important, but from the 11<sup>th</sup> century the situation changed with the southern Konkan ports also becoming prominent, particularly Balipattana mentioned in the epigraphic records of the Silaharas (present Kharepatan in the Ratnagiri district). Coastal voyages between Balipattana and the area around Goa connected Chandrapura and Cemuliya (Chaul) to Balipattana. Balipattana was the point of convergence of vessels near Goa and those from the north of Balipattana. Tolls on vessels at Balipattana yielded considerable revenue. Exemptions were given to encourage commercial links with the two important harbours north and south. The development of coastal trade in the northern sector of the Konkan littorals, with Balipattana in a more prominent position, appears to have resulted because of the gradual spread of agrarian settlements, diversification of crops, proliferation of crafts and growth of commerce in Karnataka during early medieval times.

Sindapur, which had close connection with Goa, is known from the navigational manual of Arabian navigator Ahmed ibn Majid (the celebrated *muallim* of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). Under local Kadamba rulers Gopakapattana, Gopapura and Gove (Goa) emerged as the most important port. References to pilgrimages from Goa (by Kadamba rulers) to Kolhapur, Somanatha, on the Kathiawad coast (1038 and 1125) i.e. from south Konkan to the Kathiawad coast (Saurashtra) via Thana in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, to Arab Muslim merchants rescuing a Kadamba ruler from shipwreck and becoming even administrative heads in Goa point to its importance. The term *Nauvittaka* interchangeable with the Arab *nakhuda* (master of the ship) evidently refers to a ship owning merchant. A *mijigiti* (masjid) built by him was maintained by tolls at Goa from vessels from Gurjjara, Saurashtra, Lata, Konkan, etc.

Linkages between Manjrur, a leading port in the northern part of Malabar and Kathiawad and voyages through Konkan coast to Gujarat, are attested by the Cairo Geniza records of Jewish merchants, which prove the role of Jewish traders in the trade with Aden. Tinbu a ship owner (*nakhuda*) is known from a Jewish letter of AD 1145. Ships plying between Aden and India had to encounter piracy on the Konkan coast. Tinbu's shipping business spanned from Manjrur to Tana along the Konkan littorals. Early Indian merchants also participated in shipping enterprises but the data is meagre. The *Nakhuda* Mahruz Jacob brought a letter to his brother-in-law in AD 1145 from Manjrur, referring to the coastal voyage from Manjrur to Thana. Kanbaya (Cambay) also formed a significant part of this coastal network and linkages with Mangalore and other ports in the Malabar littorals. Reference also to Mulaybaar and to Kollam indicates that the voyages from Somanath in Kathiawad assumed considerable regularity from 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The early medieval sources are silent about the types of vessels which were known to the *Periplus* such as *Trappaga* and *Kottyamba*, which correspond to the references in the Jain text *Angavijja* (4<sup>th</sup> century AD). *Trapyaka* and *Kottimba* were coastal crafts, which must have plied from Cemuliya and Chandrapura to Balipattana. The picture about the coastal crafts is hazy, textual and epigraphic references being meagre. Visual representations on *Viragals* or hero stones in the context of battles and in the caves in Borivli, near Bombay, show some varieties of crafts made of planks sewn together. They may also have been used in the battles between the Silaharas and Kadambas of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Smaller boats carrying

soldiers and large ones carrying passengers and cargo are referred to in the Jewish letter. Epigraphic data is available on a community of ship owning merchants in early medieval Konkan. The *Mahamatya* was a high ranking officer, and under the Silaharas an officer called *Vasaida* was also a *nauvittaka* (The Arab sources refer to the *nakhuda*). They combined commercial and administrative roles.

The monetary scenario does not seem to correspond to the information on brisk trade due to the relative lack of metal pieces from mid-8<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. While the Rashtrakutas had no definite dynastic coinage, the Arabic *drammas* must have been in use. The Silaharas issued the *gadhiya paisa* type i.e., silver coins. Gold coins appear from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (under the Kalachuris, Kadambas and Western Chalukyas). There seems to have been unhindered movement of merchants and merchandise along the coast despite risks and uncertainties. Unlike the spirit of adventure involved in long distance trade, the journeys along the coast were relatively more sedate and safer. There was continuity in this traffic, although shifts and alterations even within the overall sedate nature of commerce in the Konkan coast, led to the emergence of newer ports like Balipattana. Sanjan under the Rashtrakutas was a well known port in north Konkan. Linkages between the Malabar littorals, Konkan and Saurashtra were unbroken from the early historic to the early medieval and well into the early modern times.

### 15.3.3 The Andhra Region

Exchange networks developed in Andhra from the early historical times mainly due to the opening up of the peninsula to the north Indian trading circuits. Both inland and maritime trade, particularly long distance trade with the western and south east Asian regions stimulated the growth of commerce and urban activities. On the contrary the early medieval urban processes in Andhra were *sui generis* and were brought about by the agrarian expansion of the period comparable to other regions of south India. Craft production and development of towns and cities, including ports, were thus built into the general socio-economic transformations of the period. The demand for luxury goods in addition to regular consumption of daily requirements led to the development of industries such as metal industry. Mining for gold, iron, copper, brass and diamonds was done in several parts of the Deccan, while zinc and tin probably came from southeast Asia. Much of the information on the metal crafts comes from the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards and more particularly during the Kakatiya period (11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries AD). The Kakatiya inscriptions refer to the Pancalohala Beharamu, a community named after the metal trade. Apart from the royal families as the main promoters of these crafts, the temples were recipients of gifts of jewellery and ornaments for the deities. The 16<sup>th</sup> century texts such as Vallabharaya's *Kridabhiramamu* and Srinatha's *Palanativiracaritra* and the Draksharama temple inscriptions (AD 1144) mention the royal patrons and temples as the major consumers of such luxury items and give the names of the ornaments. Copper and bronze images were produced for the temples and temple *rathas* represent the best of the carpentry work of the times, *ratha* becoming an important processional chariot of the temple, especially from the post- Kakatiya period.

The second major industry of the Andhra region was the production of oil, gingelly being the most common among the oil seeds. Production of sugar and jaggery was also an important craft well attested in inscriptions. Later date epigraphic records confirm the development of these crafts and by the Vijayanagara period they attained significant proportions. Textile industry was, however, the foremost in medieval Andhra with its substantial black soil (e.g. Guntur district) cotton producing areas

occurring in the whole region. The best and delicate fabrics of Andhra were known to Marco Polo and other medieval travellers. Other manufactures included salt production, etc.

The artisan community of blacksmiths and metal workers known as the Pancanamuvuru lived in separate quarters and grants of land to these communities were common. They also participated in gift giving and construction of *mandapas* etc. in temples (e.g. the Edavalli, Guntur district inscription of AD 1257). Oju, a suffix to the names of artisans/ architects who built temples, was common even from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. A later *prasasti* of the artisan community found in a 15<sup>th</sup> century inscription from Amaravati refers to the origin of the *Pancananamuvuru* from the legendary Visvakarma. The Panchalas of Karnataka (1372 AD) also traced their descent from Visvakarma, the celestial artisan who was well versed in the *Sastras* and *Puranas*. More elaborate *prasastis* occurring in the Vontimetta inscriptions describe them as the refuge of the whole world and as the lords of Vara Pemdota with their own banner (Garuda), musical instruments, golden palanquin, sword, fan, crown etc. The term Akkasale also refers to the artisanal community. Similar *prasastis* were adopted by the Telikis (an organisation of oil merchants in Andhra; the Lords of Bezwada – Oil Mongers and traders), the Penugonda Vaisyas (Lords of Penugonda – Penugonda was a centre of big traders and hence called Lords) and Balanja merchants.

The corporate activities of these communities are better known only from the inscriptions of the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (e.g., Alangudi inscription, Tanjore district refers to the Rathakaras, who are said to have belonged to the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes). They included goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, stoneworkers and painters. An *inavari* (tax on a community) levied on *rathakaras* of several *nadus* is known from several inscriptions. In Andhra, an undated inscription from Udayagiri records the remission of such taxes to the treasury of the temple (15<sup>th</sup> century or later?). Organised territorially from the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the composite artisan community great influence over society. Even from the 13<sup>th</sup> century they have greater visibility in the Hoysala inscriptions of AD 1291 and 1342 from Bangalore district. Honours came to be conferred on them increasingly from the Vijayanagar period.

The Teliki Vevuru (1000 families) of Vijayavada was another organisation of importance and is prominently mentioned in inscriptions from AD 1071-1120 (i.e. from the period of Kulottunga I, the Chalukya-Chola king) and such texts as the *Manuvamsapurana*. They had played a significant role even from the period of the Eastern Calukyas of Vengi. Subsequently *Dharmasasanas* were issued in their favour by kings who were pleased with the community. The Teki plates of AD 1084 refer to the *Telukule settis* of different places and the honours conferred on them. Mythological accounts of their origin attempt to connect them with Ayodhya and locate their original habitation in the north. The Bapatla inscriptions of AD 1163 and 1164 record their gifts of gold for lamp to the Bhavanarayana temple underlining their corporate character as a *samaya*. The Nadendla and Bezwada inscriptions contain *prasastis* giving them a high status. They were also regarded as *Calukyarajyamulastambhayamanulu*, i.e. generals of the army.

The 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries represent a period of moderate long distance trade activities in Andhra. For this it is claimed that the political atmosphere was not conducive. But internal trade was prevalent on a limited scale. Merchants often acted as bankers, for example Chanda Bhima Poti *setti* acted as a banker to Velanati Kulottunga

Coda Gonkaraju (1157). Capitals of subordinate chiefs and chieftains such as Vengi, Gudimetta, Nadendla, Dharanikota and Nellore attracted merchants. Among the temples fostering trade were the five *aramas* (Bhimapura, Gudipudi, Palakonalu, Draksharama and Amaravati) as also Mallesvara at Bezwada and Mahasena at Chebrolu which were centres of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage centres included the more famous Simhachalam, Bapatla, Ghantasala Srisailam, Ahobalam and Tirupati. In the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries towns grew around such temples. The Lords of Penugonda, Tamil merchants and merchant organisations in Andhra including the 500, Manigramam, Anjuvannam (Mallam inscription) were fairly active. However, a spectacular growth under the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva (1199-1261) opened a new epoch in the trade of Andhra by encouraging sea-borne trade and by renovating the port of Motupalli, Guntur district and by issuing an *abhaya sasana* for all foreign merchants. This led to freedom from oppressive taxation and from piracy. Fixed duties on articles of trade such as sandal, camphor, pearls, ivory, silk, thread, coral and spices enabled regular movement of goods and merchants. The means of communication were also improved. Marco Polo refers to this port as Mutfili. The Motupalli inscription (Guntur district) of AD 1244 records both the imports and exports of this town. (See page 117 of the present Unit for the extracts from Motupalli inscription)

The general prosperity of the Vaisya community from this period is reflected in the *Vaishya Purana*. Penugonda and 17 other towns constituted the original habitat of Vaishyas of 714 *gotras*, each with a *nakaram* with a *nakarasvami* at its head. Komatis, the traders, on whom stories abound in the *Vaishya Purana*, are an important group mentioned also in some inscriptions from Ghantasala.

Studies on the economy, society and polity in Telingana during the 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries have increasingly shown that Telingana was a major region of trade potential under the Kakatiyas, in whose period this relatively dry and lake irrigated region was consciously developed through agrarian expansion and organised trade. Later it was this process which enhanced the importance of Andhra as a whole in the inter-regional and long distance trade networks, due to royal policy of encouragement and patronage.

Professional groups also figure in greater frequency in epigraphic and literary sources as craft production increased and was further diversified in this period. Crafts groups are referred to as *Panchalohadhipatilu*-workers in five metals—gold, silver, copper, tin and lead, *Salivaru*—weavers, *Vaddavaru*—stone cutters, *Kase*—mason, *Vadrangi*—carpenter, *Kammarilu*—blacksmith, *Kummarilu*—potter; *Musaravaru*—persons who manufacture and sell crucibles and *Telikivaru*—oil crushers and *Akkasalavarau*—goldsmiths. They were socially and economically well established in the Telingana region in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as followers of hereditary crafts (*astadasapraja*) and as an organisation of crafts groups looked after the redistribution of the manufactured items. Works like the *Kridabhiramamu*, *Prataparudracaritra* and *Siddhesvaracaritra*, written after the Kakatiya times, perhaps in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries make references to various craft groups or communities like the Padmasale—cotton weavers, Pattunese *salevaru*—silk weavers, Visvakarmavamsajulu and others. Varieties of oil pressing devices (*Ganugu*) such as *sempagenune* and *kranuganune* used by the *Teliki vevuru* (oil pressors) are mentioned in the *Kridabhiramamu*, which also describes process of oil pressing by an ox tied to a beam. The same work also refers to perfumed oil. The *Sutradhari* or architect was of considerable importance topping the list of the artisanal groups and descendants

of Visvakarma. Skilled in the building of *prasadas* or *places*, well versed in the *Vastu Sastra* etc. the architects designed mansions and temples of the Nagara, Kalinga, Dravida and Vesara styles. All artisanal groups followed their *Samaya Dharma* or community code of conduct, prescribing punishment according to it for non-conformation to its code.

In craft production, apart from those of agricultural implements, the making of weapons (axe), *Ganugu*—oil crushing machine, *maggamu*—wooden looms, bullock carts and boats were significant. The making of armoury, jewellery and other luxury items, which demanded skilled and organised production also became important. Notable references to *Vadrangulu* or carpenters who made furniture and ivory (*dantamu*) workers are also known.. The dependence of craftsmen on agriculture is underlined by the fact that in most cases they were given land for their service in a locality in lieu of payment. The increase and diversification of craft production was a result of traders' interest in promoting production of specific commodities for inter-regional and long distance trade from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and more importantly during the Kakatiya period. This seems to have attained greater autonomy from the agricultural associations moving towards a more monetised exchange system. However, monetisation was generally on a low key till the Vijayanagara period.

These processes are reflected in the development of weaving as the major craft. The *Salivaru* were both manufacturers and traders in cloth. Varieties of cloth are known from such texts as the *Simhasana Dvatrimika* (Telangana), *Haravilasamu* and *Basava Puranamu*, which refer to printed cloth, silk and wool. More than 37 varieties including Chinese silk (*Cheeni yugalam*) and designed and patterned cloth are mentioned. The association of weavers was called *Saliyajanalalu*. The advance in the conditions of the artisans is indicated by the Macherla inscription of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Organised trade and greater interaction between the traders and artisans also meant the introduction of greater government control over it through customs and tolls with officers like the *Sunkadhikarulu*, *Sunkaverggade* and *Nayaka* monitoring the movement of trade. All *angadulu*, *angadi veedhi*, or *hatta margas* as also the *Santas* organised by merchants along with the *Santa nagaramu* came under supervision and a separate tax called *addavatta sunkamu* (a kind of toll) came to be levied.

The Warangal fort inscription AD of 1228 (Ganapatideva) records gifts of *ayamulu* made by different trade organisations. Prices of standard commodities were set and were not allowed to undergo fluctuation. The *Sakalaniti Sammatamu* advises the king not to allow the merchants to deal in foreign items if they increase the price of articles even when the king buys them, to punish merchants who try to enhance the rates arbitrarily. Cheating in weights and measures was checked by the movement of spies of the king. The Motupalli inscription was an *abhaya sasana* attempting to standardise levies on trade, at least external trade. The earlier Panugal inscription of AD 1124 gives details of *Siddhayamu* (sales tax) and also *angadi sunkamu* or *malige sunkamu* and how they are to be collected. The Motupalli inscription of AD 1244 records articles of import and export and some of the items of trade were *kari* (elephants), *turaga* (horse); *kanaka* (gold), *ratna* (gems), corals, copper, zinc lead, and silk thread etc.

**TRANSLATION OF THE MOTUPALLI INSCRIPTION**

- (Line 135) By this glorious *Maharaja* Ganapatideva the following edict (assuring) safety has been granted to traders by sea starting for and arriving from all continents, islands, foreign countries, and cities.
- (Line 140.) Formerly kings used to take away by force the whole cargo, viz. gold, elephants, horses, gems etc., carried by ships and vessels which, after they had started from one country for another, were attacked by storms, wrecked, and thrown on shore.
- (Line.146.) But We, out of mercy, for the sake of glory and merit , are granting everything besides the fixed duty to those who have incurred the great risk of a sea-voyage with the thought that wealth is more valuable than even life.
- (L.151.) The rate of this duty (is) one in thirty on (all) exports and imports.
- (L.154.) On one tola of sandal, 1 pagoda  $\frac{1}{4}$  fanam.
- (L.155.) On 1 pagoda's value of (country) camphor, Chinese camphor, and pearls,  $\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  fanam.
- (L.157.) On 1 pagoda's value of rose-water, ivory, civet, camphor-oil, copper, zinc, riseya (?), lead, silk-threads, corals, and perfumes, 1  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  fanam.
- (L.162.) On 1 pagoda's value of pepper,  $\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  fanam.
- (L.163.) On all silks, 5  $\frac{1}{2}$  fanams per bale (?*svarupa*).
- (L.165.) On every lakh of areca-nuts, 1 pagoda 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  fanams.
- (Verse 28 f.) In the Saka year eleven hundred and sixty-six, named Krodhin, at the great Desyuyakkondapattans (also named Mottuppalli, Ganapatideva set up for the sake of glory (this) edict-pillar, which resembles a staff for the support of the eternal (law of ) justice (*dharma*) which is stumbling in the mire of the Kali age.

**E. Hultzsch, 'Motupalli Pillar Inscription of Ganapatideva; AD 1244-45', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, No: 22, pp. 196-97.**

The *Nagarmu*, a local organisation which regulated local trade was not similar to the self-governing organisation called *nagaram* in the Tamil region under the Cholas. It was an integral part of the *astadasapraja*, in which are listed the *mahajanans*, *nagaramu*, *kampulu*, and *balinja settis*. The distinction that is made between the Telugu nakaramu and Arava nakaramu in the Peruru inscription may however indicate the presence of two groups the Tamil *nagaram* and the Telugu *nagaram* in that centre.

The trading community was known by terms like the Vaisyajanalulu and Komatis. The Komatis were best known as grocers, merchants and money lenders as referred to in the 16<sup>th</sup> century *Vaishya Puranam*. The *Settis* and Komatis were associated with the *dasabandha* grants of land and maintained gifts to temples.

The larger guild organisations such as the *Ayyavole*, *Pekkandru*, *Nanadesi* (from different regions), *Paradesi* (foreigner who were part of the guild), *Ubhaya Nanadesi* and *Svadesi* (local) have their own *prasastis*, such as the *Ayyavole* and *Pekkandru* in Telingana. There were traders specialising in the sale of particular commodities like areca nuts, perfumes, betel leaves and so on. With a well organised internal structure known from the Alampur inscription of AD 1303, a gradation of status and titles, depending upon the nature, items and volume of exchange, was upheld. Some held posts of administrative importance, e.g. the office of *Bhandagaradhyaksha* (Head of the store – of goods and perhaps also treasury) held by a *setti* is mentioned in the text *Haravilasamu*.

Coins such as *mada*, *gadyana*, *cinnamu*, and *visamu* are assigned to the Kakatiyas and king Ganapatideva is credited with coins bearing the legend “*dayagaja Kesari*” and the symbol of boar as the emblem of the Kakatiyas.

The Kakatiya period is marked by greater intensity of urban processes and hence several towns emerged with the suffixes *puri*, *nagaram* and *pattana*. It was not the mere presence of crafts and trade but also mainly the presence of guilds that marked the towns. Such centres of manufacture and exchange are often mentioned only in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century literature. Categories like temple towns, royal towns or political centres can be identified where the most common economic activity related to manufacture and exchange. They were also centres of surplus appropriation. The temple’s wealth and economic activities involved different professional groups, the temple representing the spatial context for urban growth, especially those in big pilgrim centres. In political centres the concentration of wealth, accumulation of surplus and its redistribution to different functionaries of the state created urban space. Prior to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, however, craft and trade remained localised. Hanumakondapura, the political seat of the early Kakatiyas, became a big commercial centre due to its strategic location. From the 10<sup>th</sup> –11<sup>th</sup> centuries, under the Chalukyas of Kalyani and later under the Kakatiyas, royal incentive led to the growth of such centres. Peruru in Nalgonda district was another town and a port in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century, due to a conscious royal policy of encouraging trade and the movement of itinerant merchant groups, the pace of urban growth increased.

The size and intensity of trade and craft activity is reflected in the number of towns with Orugallu(Warangal), the Kakatiya capital at the apex of what may be called a hierarchy of urban centres. The capital had the earliest fort known to south India with a temple and huge tank all of which are described in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century literary works, the *Kridabhiramamu*, *Prataparudracaritramu* and *Siddhesvaracaritramu* on the glory of the town. Also known as Ekasilanagaramu, it had different quarters (*vadas*) such as the *akkalvada* and *vesyavatika*, and for the *Telikis*, *kampulu*, *madaras* (basket makers), *moharis* (tailors) etc. who were organised caste wise with a main street and bazaar leading to the Rajamargamu or royal highway. Brisk trade, mobile population such as travellers and visitors, routes to other towns and craft production and commercial centres made Orugallu the leading city.

Other centres with characterisation of both rural and urban centres and full fledged commercial centres such as Polavasa Pattana (12<sup>th</sup> century under western Chalukyas), capital of the Polavasa chiefs and subordinates of the Western Chalukyas, attracted itinerant trade bringing the Ayyavole 500, Ubhayanadesi, Mummuridandas and others. Several towns emerged in the Karnataka and Andhra regions, of which Alampuri, Magatala Govindapuram(Warangal dist), Marutadu, Panugallu in Nalgonda dist, Motupalli in Guntur district and others in the Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Karimnagar districts are also known.

The economic position of traders and craftsmen not only improved considerably but also changed due to the emphasis on commodity production from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, leading to new links with wider networks of south Asian and other neighbouring regions, which intensified under Vijayanagara.

#### 15.3.4 Kerala

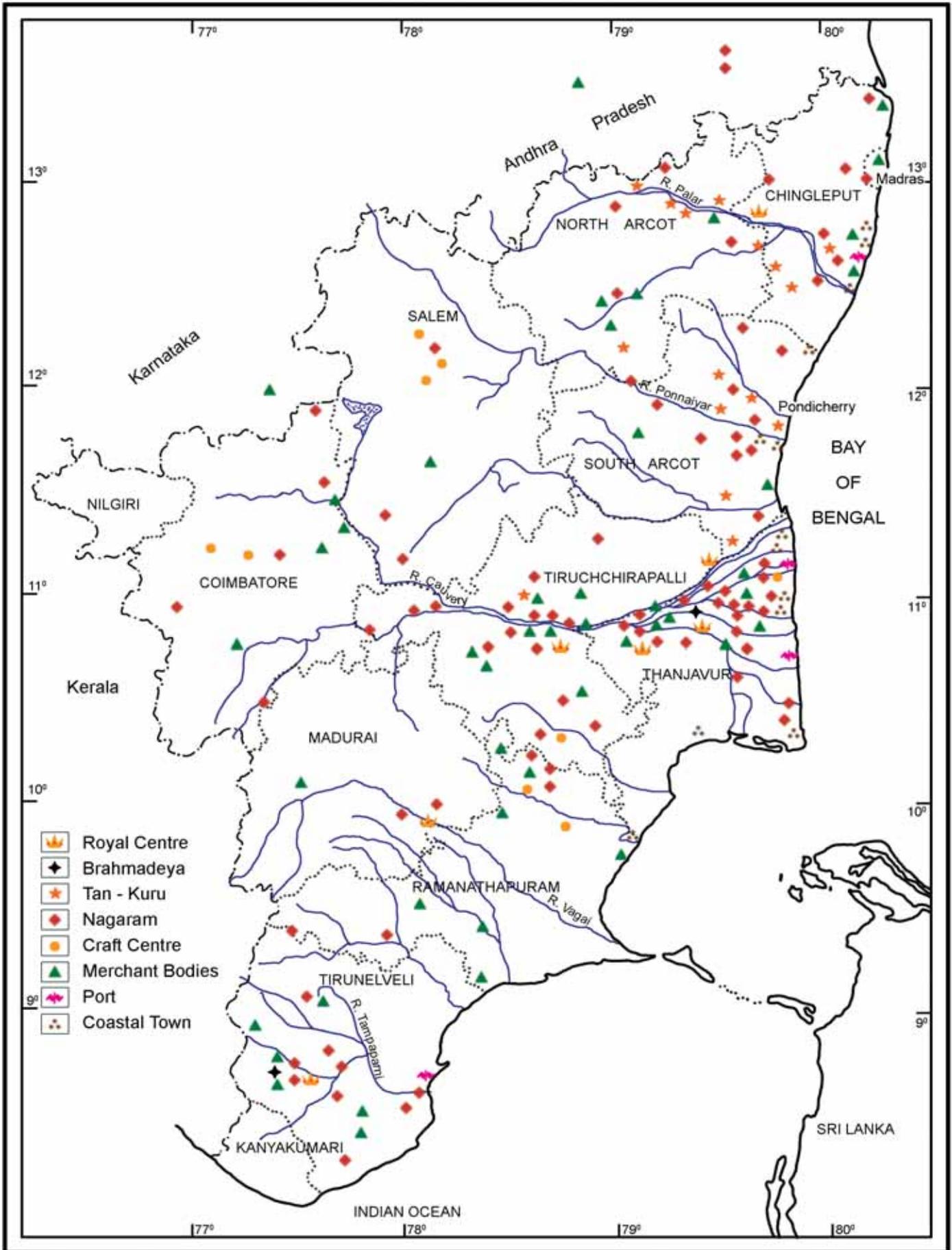
Kerala developed contacts with the west and foreign traders like the Jews, Christians and Arabs were given trading towns (i.e. centres with major trading activities given

to them for settlement and trade) under royal charters. Other coastal towns emerged such as Kolikkodu, Kollam etc. which became entrepots of south Asian trade. The Anjuvannam was a trading organisation more often met with on the Kerala and Kanara coast in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries and even later, the Hanzamana of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions in South Kanara probably representing the *Anjuvannam* of the early medieval times. The location of such trading groups and of Arab horse dealers from the Malaiyala region enhanced the importance of the coastal towns in Karnataka and Kerala, as also the presence of the *Ayyavole* referred to in an inscription of Sultan Battery (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries) near Kozhikode.

### 15.3.5 The Tamil Region

It is in the Tamil region that the processes of the development of early medieval economy, particularly trading activities and urban development, are best illustrated in the rich epigraphic records of the Pallava-Pandya and Chola periods. Starting with the systematic development of an agrarian order through institutions like the *Brahmadeya* and the temple during the 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries, the emergence of the *nagaram* as a marketing centre for the peasant regions called the *nadu* met the exchange needs of the *nadu* as a peasant region, which not only assisted in the exchange system of the *nadu* but also acted as a meeting point for the inter *nadu*-exchange and inter regional exchange. Subsequently it also enabled the movement of goods in long distance trade carried on by itinerant trading organisations. It was a gradual expansion of a trading network for which the Tamil region provides the most significant evidence in different phases. Though not all such *nagarams* became major urban centres, many of them located on trade routes and distribution points intersecting with the itinerant trade of the Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar (Nanadesi, Valanjiyar and Ayyavole), Manigramam and Anjuvannam evolved into big towns and cities apart from the capitals and ports of the ruling families. All these centres came to be linked through a large exchange network into a web of commercial activity with the west Asian and south Asian (Srilanka) and southeast Asian regions, where the inscriptions of the itinerant trading organisations appear from the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. The urban centres which developed as a result of increasing non-agricultural or craft production and trade had the *Brahmadeyas* and temples, apart from royal centres, as their focus and arose in nodal points. Some of them developed from clusters of *Brahmadeyas* such as Kudamukku-Palaiyarai in the Kaveri delta, Kancipuram in the Palar-Ceyyar valley and Ambasamudram (Mannarkoyil and Tiruvalisvaram) in the Tamraparni-Ghatana valley. They are mostly multi-temple or pluralistic centres, each temple marking the growth of the town and its economic importance. Others were sacred and/or pilgrimage centres with huge temples, which attracted trade and commercial activities. The ports like Mamallapuram, Kaverippumpattinam, Nagappattinam were royal ports conspicuously promoted by royal patrons, where evidence of long distance trade is marked by the presence of foreign agents (e.g. from China at Nagappattinam) and royal functionaries interacting with each other. The exchange of embassies with China by the Chola rulers and the abolition of tolls (Sungam), building of religious institutions like the Buddhist vihara at Nagappattinam were acts of deliberate royal policy for promoting trade. The Chola royal expeditions to south east Asia, especially Srivijaya also were aimed at creating facilities for the south Indian traders, whose presence in these regions and as far as China was commercially significant.

The rural-urban continuum (i.e. without the town-country dichotomy but with a gradual transformation towards urban forms and activities) is best illustrated by urban processes in the Tamil region where the economic activities of the *Brahmadeya*



Tamilnadu: Non-Agrarian Configurations c. AD 1300; Champakalakshmi, R (1996), *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300BC to AD 1300*, New Delhi, OUP, p.245.

and temple centres, marked urban growth in the core regions with the emergence of clusters of *Brahmadeyas* and temple centres. Some of them were administrative centres and hence political processes and/or commercial importance also added to the urban character of these centres. Such core regions were Kumbhakonam, Ambasamudram and Kancipuram. Some of the major *Brahmadeyas* expanded into pluralistic settlements and were made into Tankuru or Taniyur (independent settlement or revenue unit) with an agglomeration of *pidagais* (hamlets) and *nagaram* (market) and craft production centres.

### *Nagaram*

The proliferation of the *nagaram* kept pace with the increase in commercial activity in three phases under the Cholas (most conspicuously in the middle Chola period – AD 985-1070). The networks and centres model developed by W. Skinner for China has been influential in the studies of the Tamil *nagaram* by Kenneth R. Hall. At least one *nagaram* per *nadu* has been identified. The *nagarams* were potential centres of urban growth, yet only those on trade routes and in political and commercial centres grew into large urban centres. *Nagarams* became part of a wider network of inter-regional and overseas trade from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. A unique feature of this network was the *Erivirappattanas* or chartered (i.e. with royal sanction (or charter) to be made into a protected mercantile town) mercantile towns of the Tamil region. These were protected by armed mercenaries and begin to appear from the 11<sup>th</sup> century as protected warehouses and distribution centres for the itinerant trading organisations. Numismatic evidence shows a partial monetisation of the economy from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and more significantly from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Specialisation in marketing and trade led to the emergence of organisations like the Saliya *nagaram* (weavers-cum-traders), Sankarappadi *nagaram* (oil mongers-cum-traders) and Paraga *nagaram* (foreign traders). The *Vaniya nagaram* dealing in oil was a wider organisation of oil-mongers and was composed of merchants from various regions, comparable to the Teliki of Vijayavada in Andhra. Trade in horses, another specialised occupation, was almost entirely in the hands of merchants from Malaimandalam (Kerala) throughout the medieval period. Trade in Arab horses was conducted mainly through the western ports from Gujarat down to Kerala and the Tamil region depended on Kerala merchants to procure and transport them. There was a close nexus between some of the crafts groups such as weavers and trading organisations. The joint donations of the Cittira Meli Periyannadu and Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar in several centres of trade have a special significance as marking the institutionalisation of the coming together as a forum by the agricultural guilds and commercial guilds in the 12<sup>th</sup>- 14<sup>th</sup> centuries to make special grants to the temples in such points of commercial activity, when the Chola power was on the wane or had already declined creating a new context in which such organisations were gaining greater importance in south Indian and south Asian trade.

### Trade Routes

Regions like Pudukkottai and Ramnatahapuram, Salem and Coimbatore lay on ancient trade routes linking Karnataka and Kerala with Tamil Nadu and further south to the Mannar gulf leading to Srilanka. Their commercial importance dates from the Sangam age, marked by the distribution of early Tamil Brahmi inscriptions and Roman coin hoards apart from Punch-marked coins (for details see Map 2, Unit 10). They continued well into the medieval times and facilitated the movement of trade from the western coast to the eastern coast. The emergence of coastal towns such as Tiruppalaivanam, Mayilappur, Mamallapuram and further south the

southern ports of Kaverippumpattinam, Nagappattinam (on the Chola coast), Tondi, Kayal and other towns on the Pandya coast would also indicate a coastal route. Tondi (Tittandatanapuram) was an important coastal town where several merchant groups like the Anjuvannam, Manigramam and Samanta Pandasalis entered into an agreement for the levy of certain taxes for endowments to the local temple. The Kamudi and Piranmalai inscriptions of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries refer to 18 pattinams, 32 valarpurams and 64 kadigaittavalams, all of which indicate the rise of several towns, representing coastal towns, fairs and market towns of different degrees of importance in the trading network of south India. In the Kongu region, in which Mudikondacolapuram was a major trade centre, several towns south and north of the Kaveri emerged with the increasing movement of merchants, who made grants to local temples. Perur was a considerably important and large town where merchants with the title Chakravarti exercised great influence.

### **Craft Production**

Areas of craft production are difficult to locate. However, traditional textile and weaving centres have continued down to modern times (Chingleput, Coimbatore, Madurai, Salem, Tanjavur, Tirichirappalli and Tirunelveli districts). Weaving as an industry was systematically promoted by the rulers of south India from pre-Chola times. Special care was bestowed under the Cholas on old weaving centres and encouragement given to settlement of weavers in new areas. There were many cotton producing areas near which weaving centres appeared. But Kancipuram as the major centre received special attention from the Cholas. Madurai was equally important. Eventually Kanci came to represent the venue of the Mahanadu or corporate organisation of the weavers, which controlled the production and marketing of cloth and its trade.

Craft production was more intensive in the Kongu region, where 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions indicate large-scale artisan (Kammalar) activity and participation in important civic duties, receiving special privileges. As interdependent economic groups the trading organisations and artisanal groups acknowledged their mutual benefits by the traders along with other local elite, conferring special privileges on the artisans and giving special asylum to them. In Erode a refugee centre was provided by the trading organisations to the artisans in late 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. The Right and left hand division of caste/professional groups (*anuloma Rathakaras*) also enabled the artisans to acquire gradual enhancement in status also by participating in gift giving and temple building activities and consecration of images.

A series of salt manufacturing centres on the east coast from Marakkanam down to Vedaranyam in Umbala nadu also emerged under the Cholas. However salt manufacture was organised by the state and the state functionaries organised the revenues due from it to the local temples. Salt was carefully excluded from the *nagaram*'s jurisdiction, the *nagaram* exercising the right of fixing and assigning taxes on all commodities except salt.

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## **15.4 THE TRADING ORGANISATIONS OF SOUTH INDIA**

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The trading or merchant community was generally known as the Balanjas, who claimed to be the protectors of the Vira Balanja Dharma (*banaju, banajiga, Vaniga*, etc.) or code of conduct and traded in the South Indian regions and beyond in the eastern countries such as Burma, Malaysia and Sumatra. In Karnataka the 500

Svamis of Ayyavole originating in Aihole in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, moved into other areas and by the 10<sup>th</sup> century appear in the Tamil region on the main trade routes. They acquired an elaborate ring of epithets like Ubhaya Nanadesi, Mummaridandas Ainnurruvar, Svamigalu. Pekkndru, Nanadesi Pekkndru (and Gavares). An elaborate *prasasti* in the Tripurantakam inscription of AD 1292 adopts the usual pattern, tracing their mythical origin from celestial beings, praising the personal virtues of the members in glorious terms, their high principles and honesty, conduct, to which Marco Polo provides additional testimony, their devotion to deities, respect to brahmanas, outdoing the brahmanas, social status, claims to mobility upto the Ksatriya and Brahmana status and their affluence and influence.

Their activities increased by the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (Belgaum inscription of AD 1134), their presence in many *nagaras* and *gramas* attested by their inscriptions in Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar districts. Even after the 12<sup>th</sup> century i.e., from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Kakatiya period) to the fall of the Vijayanagara empire their inscriptions are found in the Deccan and Andhra regions but with lesser visibility due to changes in the nature of trade and other entrants into the South Asian trading network. A graphic picture of their activities is found in the inscription of Belgaum, AD 1184, travelling by land and water, penetrating into many regions with their articles of trade like superior elephants, well bred horses, large sapphires, crystals, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, karkketana, and various articles of lesser value. Apart from hawking and peddling, they also had also extensive dealings in foreign trade.

The Tamil merchants who called themselves *Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruver* hailed from several parts of the Tamil region and played a significant role in overseas commerce especially with Sumatra and Burma. They made gifts of tolls (*Sunka*) to various temples in Andhra and the Tamil region. Apart from the luxury items like precious and semi-precious stones, they also traded in agricultural products like grain and gram and oil i.e. gingelly, cotton, yarn and cloth. Their influence and role in the collection of tolls (*Sunka peta sunkam santas*) is conspicuous in the 12<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and more so in the late Kakatiya and post- Kakatiya periods. *Sunka* was the main tax levied on items of various description collected at different centres of trade activity. They followed the *Samaya Dharma* punishing those who went against the *Dharma* and rewarding persons for meritorious services and conferring honors/titles like "Prithvi Setti". The *Mahanadu* of merchants often met in the *mandapas* of temples.

It is not easy to comprehend the nature of the relationship among the different merchant guilds. Nor is it clear as to whether a hierarchy of such organisations evolved during the early medieval times. The Ayyavole 500 with their *Virasasanas* seem to be the most important of these organisations and could well have been at the apex of the itinerant trading bodies. That these merchant moved in groups of trading caravans (*Satu* in Telugu and *Sattu* in Tamil) is also referred to by Ferishta (c. 1560-1620) and Ibn Battuta (d.1377).

The inter-regional movement of goods was controlled by these organisations and we find the Ayyavole 500 in south Karnataka calling themselves the southern Ayyavole and the Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar moving into the Andhra region regularly from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Tamil merchants are visible in the trade of Andhra from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Inscriptions refer to the Colamanadalamuna *vyapari* and the Visakhapatnam inscription of the period of Kulottunga I calls the place by the name Kulottungacola Pattana and Colapandya pura, where the Five Hundred and the Anjuvannam were present. The port of Motupalli (Desi Uyyakkonda pattana), a

trading emporium, emerged under Kulottunga, the Chalukya-Chola ruler and was promoted systematically under the Kakatiya Ganapati Deva, (1190-1252) with his *Abhaya Sasana* of AD 1245. Ghantasala also known as Chola Pandyapura was a 12<sup>th</sup> century nakaramu.

From the mid-twelfth century onwards there are definite indications of increased participation in foreign trade judging from the overseas imports in south India in the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The Chinese trade missions to South India under the Yuan dynasty underline the importance of South India and its overseas trade in the Chola and post- Chola periods. Changes in the commodities of maritime trade from luxuries to necessities such as dyes, cotton yarn, textiles, processed iron, pepper, and horses become more prominent in Ayyavole inscriptions. How these goods came to South India for trans – shipment and who the shippers were, are not known. The guild inscriptions suggest that they sent their agents quite far abroad and established trading stations (e.g. Takua Pa – *Manigramam* (in Malaya peninsular) and Pagan – *Ayyavole* (in Burma, Myanmar. The first indicates the place and the second represents the guild.). Merchants had access to kings and the Chola invasions of Sri Lanka involved such interaction. The external policy of the Cholas was designed to favour the expansion of overseas trade interests from which both the Chola ruler and the merchant derived benefit. These expeditions were not for plunder and loot but trade figured as an important factor in framing the Chola policy and the Chola rulers had links with the merchant community for mutual benefit. In northern Srilanka Chola inscriptions are found from Mantai to Trincomallee, Polonnaruva being the main centre.

Chola occupation of northern Srilanka may have been a hurdle in the links of Srilanka with southeast Asia, especially the Sinhalese links with Java and Bali. Srilanka was rich in precious stones such as rubies, topaz and sapphire. Arab works like “*Ahbar as Sin wa’l Hind*”, a collection of travel stories, and that of Ibn Khurdadabih refer also to pepper, perfumes, musk, diamonds and precious stones, aloes, gold and pearls, some of them like aromatics being imported to Srilanka. The Gulf of Mannar rich in pearls and Mantai (Mahatitta) in northwest Srilanka was the point of ingress for the Cholas, the latter being one of the great emporiums of the early medieval period comparable to Siraf on the Persian gulf. Pepper was highly priced in China and in the west and the demand had grown in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The Chola and southeast Asia trade links are attested to by the Nagappattinam records of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century and Kamboja’s gifts to Chola kings and the Chola missions to China (AD 1077). Rajendra’s expedition to southeast Asia was a coastal voyage to *Kadaram* or *Srivijaya*.

Chola raids were meant to “protect Indian commercial interests from interference by Srivijaya”. Like the Sung emperors of China or the rulers of Srivijaya in southeast Asia, the Cholas both solicited and sought to foster foreign trade and to establish trading rights for the Tamil speaking merchants in those areas. The Srivijaya inscription of Canton, if it has been interpreted correctly, gives an unusual inside look at the sub-surface diplomacy that preceded the commercial moves of the Cholas at Canton. (It records a donation on behalf of Kulottunga I, to the Taoist monastery in Canton ). By AD 1088 the Ayyavole guild was established near Barus in Sumatra. The Chola rulers were personally interested in sharing the profits of maritime trade.

Inscriptions from Piranmalai (latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), Koilpatti (Trichy district-1305), Tiruvarankuricchi, same district, record the imports and exports. The goods mentioned in them include arecanuts, pepper, myrobalans, iron, cotton, thick cloth, thread, wax, yak's tail, camphor oil, civet, horses, elephants, camels?, aloeswood, sandalwood. In the Sung maritime trade the main commodities were cloves, frankincense, gried galangale, abaca cloth, umbrellas, swords, bottle-gourd, edible date, medicinal rhubarb, slaves, peafowl, benzoin, putchuk, margosa bark, melons, gardenia flowers, coconut, cardamom, lacquer ware and a host of other things. Common commodities in the Chinese and south Indian lists are identifiable. Sandalwood and camphor were two articles of great demand in the Indian Ocean trade. Aromatics were also an important item as there was constant demand for expendable, sacred items. Frankincense was the only item coming from west Asia, while the bulk of the aromatics came from southeast Asia.

The *Ayyavole* inscriptions mention a vast range of commodities exported from the Pandya kingdom. The Kayalpattinam and Tittandatanapuram (Tondi) inscriptions of 14<sup>th</sup> century on the east (Pandya) coast of Tamil Nadu refer to the trading organisations and stockists of goods, such as the *Manigramam* and *Samanta pandasalis*. In Andhra the Chintapalle inscription (Guntur district) of the Chagi chief and the Motupalli inscription (AD 1184) of Ganapati Deva refer to the same regional inflow and outflow of goods of maritime trade.

The ramifications of this trade covered a wide spectrum of regions and commodities from China through southeast Asian countries, Srilanka and south India to the west Asian regions. Further, the Gujarat coast, which linked most of the Indian trade with West Asia, had regular sea traffic connecting it with Hormuz and other central Asian regions and North China. South Indian merchandise also used this important channel for its trade. Marco Polo refers to the importance of this trade to China in pepper, precious stones and pearls. Ma'bar, the Pandya region, sent envoys to China (1283 and 1284) and envoys from China reached Kollam (AD 1279), a major port on the west coast.

The overseas commerce primarily that of west Asia and Egypt (Cairo) and China, was mainly from west coast with Kollam as the major port. The Geniza documents and Jewish letters contain impressive evidence of the links with the Mediterranean regions- Italy, Sicily, Morocco and Lebanon.(Syria). The Egyptian corporate association called the Karimi dealt in pepper and spices. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century they obtained their eastern commodities from Indian traders of Gujarat and south India during the Chola, Pandya and Kakatiya periods and also from the island of Sinhala. The Sung and later Yuan rulers of China encouraged this trade. The Indian subcontinent drew in gold, silver and copper in payment for many of its exports. In China payment in kind was advocated. The Geniza documents show that Jewish merchants trading with south India had to make payment in gold to offset their unfavourable trade balances. Spices to Egypt led to a constant flow of gold to India from Europe and Egypt (the Venetian sequins of the Vijayanagar period). But the horse trade was a major currency drain and this aspect of the outflow of gold from, especially in the post- Chola period, is an aspect of economy which needs more intensive study.

The commodities handled by *Ayyavole* and *Manigramam* thus include a wide variety of goods such as textiles, iron, aloeswood, (Agaru- Aghil), areca nuts and betel nuts, bdellium, camphor, civet, cotton and cotton fabric. Spinning and weaving technology were hence consciously developed and Southeast Asia became a major market for Indian textiles. The brisk trade in cotton is known from the Chinese accounts.(Patula-14<sup>th</sup> century). Textiles were also a major export to the western

markets. Horses were always imported from Turushka, Kamboja and Yavana countries, although the rearing of horses was not understood in south India. The Motupalli inscription ( Meera Abraham, p.170) refers to many items. Iron and steel wootz was exported from many parts of south India. Indian steel out of which the famous Damascus sword was made was one of the most important exports from India as seen in the Geniza records. Musk, myrobaln, pearls, pepper, putchuk rose water, sandalwood, wax and honey and silk- varieties were also traded in, while Chinese silk was imported into Chola and Pandya countries.

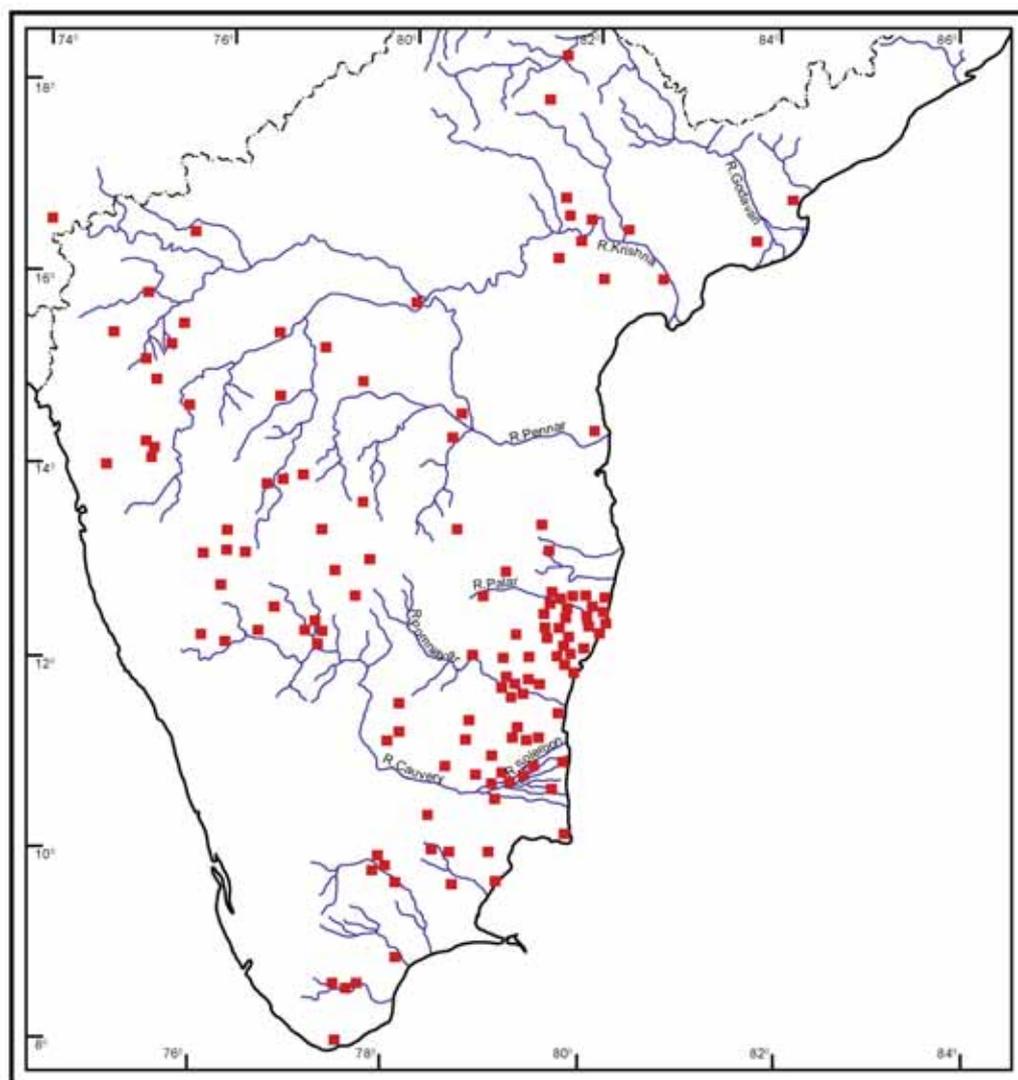
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## 15.5 WEAVERS, TEXTILE PRODUCTION AND TRADE IN SOUTH INDIA

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Textile has been the major craft in south India since the early centuries of the Christian era and continued to be so till modern times. In the early medieval period this craft developed in various regions not only due to its importance for all strata in society but due to royal patronage, elite demands and the needs of the temple, the focus of all economic activities.

Traditional centres of weaving have more or less continued down the centuries from the early medieval times. The criteria for their location were availability of raw materials, e.g., cotton, in areas rich in black soil, easy availability of vegetable dyes



Weaving Centres in Medieval South India AD 1000-1500; Vijaya Ramaswamy, (1985), *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, OUP, New Delhi, p. 7.

and mordants, skilled labour, transport and marketing facilities and proximity to the ports. Areas of black soil such as Coimbatore, Madurai and Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts in Tamil Nadu; Chirala, Guntur, Ellur etc. in north Coromandel (Andhra Pradesh) and in Bijapur, Dharwar and Belgaum (Karnataka) are dotted with weaving centres.

Weaving Communities are known by different names such as the Devangas, originally from Andhra and Karnataka regions, who later moved into the Tamil country in the Vijayanagara period, the Kaikkolas of Tamil Nadu known from the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Saliga community or Sale or Saliya in all the three regions often classified as Padma Sale and Pattu Sale. (Sanskrit Salika meaning weaver), the Jedara caste of weavers, mainly in Karnataka., the Senigar in Andhra and Karnataka regions.

In the Tamil country the Saliya were a superior class of weavers while the Kaikkolas were primarily soldiers in the Chola period and members of the special troops of the kings. They pursued weaving side by side with soldiering and in the Vijayanagara period they became full fledged weavers. They claim to be the soldiers of Virabahu, the divine lieutenant of Kartikeya. The Devangas claim descent from the soldiers of their patron deity Chaudambika. Weavers had separate quarters in the Tirumadaivilagam or temple square often called the Kaikkola-t-teru. The Saliyas were higher in status closely associated with temple administration and as suppliers of cloth to royal families and social elite.

Textile varieties included pudavai (long pieces of cloth), *vetti* and *uttar(i)* yam (male garments) as mentioned in Chola inscriptions. The headgear in cloth was specially woven for the temple honours and for the higher social groups, apart from the gold coloured silk cloth for the deities and royalty (*pumpattigal kattida nulpattu*). The *Kanchuk* was a stitched garment (blouse or shirt-like garment) worn mainly by the lower strata of society. Tunnakkarar is a term referring to tailors known even from the post-Sangam epic i.e., the *Silappadikaram*. *Tayyan* or one who stitches and *tayyal*=stitch, *peruntunnan*, *ratna tayyan* are other terms referring to the tailoring class. Corporations of tailors known as *gottali* or *kottali* are also mentioned in the Karnataka inscriptions.

Muslins and chintz, mainly woven, were produced in Masulipatam. The *Manasollasa*, a 12<sup>th</sup> century compendium of the Deccan (Rastrakuta period), refers to *vicitra* or chintz, cotton (*karpasa*) and silk ( *pattusutram*), tie and dye- tantu-banda etc. The Jaina work in Tamil called *Jivakacintamani* talks about the pumpattu, paccilai pattu, which are varieties of silk. The pattavala pattu (patola) is mentioned in an inscription of the 12<sup>th</sup> century from Coimbatore and the 14<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions from Warangal also mention paccai pattu and dasari pattu (tassore?), tassore known also from the *Mitakshara* of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

In the dyeing and printing of cloth, vegetable dyes and wooden blocks were used such as kusumba- red safflower, nili (indigo), manjishta (madder, the red dye) and caustic agents or purifiers such as arishta, kadukkai (myrobalan). The *Manasollasa* refers to the varieties of dyes used. With the increasing demand for textiles, taxes on weavers and dyers also came to be increasingly referred to in inscriptions from the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD in all the south Indian regions.

The growth of textile technology during the early medieval times is indicated by the terms referring to various instruments and tools such as the shuttle, ginning in a gin, pinjana or batting instrument, spindle for spinning, some of which are known from

literary works like the *Abhidhanachintamani*, and occasionally referred to in inscriptions. The spinning wheel with the crack handle was introduced only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the Turks. The vertical loom was the primitive type (Jambir inscription-Shimoga district AD 1184). That horizontal looms were also used is seen in the songs of the Kaikkola community called the Nainar Kuttar. The draw looms of the Chinese and also Middle East seem to have been familiar, especially the Persian manner of weaving by the Muslims. The patterned loom or achchu tari was known in south India from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards as referred to in an inscription of Tiruvottur datable in the reign of Rajaraja I (985-1014).

Textile was transported on pack bullocks, wooden carts and head loads (talaikkattu) in internal trade to the weekly Santa weeks market. Leading textile manufacturing centres in the south were Shiyali, Arantangi and Kumbhakonam in the Tanjavur district, Sivagangai and Tiruppattur in the Ramanathapuram district, Sadras and Kancipuram in Chingleput district and Mayilapur in present Chennai. Madurai was an important cotton producing and weaving centre with the Pandya port Korkai in the Tirunelveli district. In north Coromandel, Motupalli was well known for its silk yarn and cloth. The Venetian traveller- Marco Polo praises the delicate buckram and muslins of Mutfili or Motupalli, which received a special charter from the Kaktiya king Ganapatideva for its promotion as a major trading centre.

In north Karnataka several centres such as Saimur, Honavar, Bhatkal, Barkur and in South Karnataka Mysore, Shimoga and Chitaldurga, (inferior cotton), Terdal in Bijapur Mangalore in south Kanara are well known. Ibn Battuta (AD 1342-45) refers to several places under the Honavar rulers (sultans) known for their silk and fine linen. Chinese silk came to the Karnataka ports (China and Mahachina). Abdul Feda (13<sup>th</sup> century), Chau Ju Kua, a Chinese traveller of the same period and Marco Polo refer to silk and chintz and other fabrics. State patronage to trade was consistent particularly under the Chola Kulottunga I, Kalachuri Bijjana and Kakatiya Ganapati, whose abhayasana to traders by sea and arriving from all continents, islands, foreign countries, and cities was meant to promote major exports, including textiles. There was more export trade than internal trade in textiles.

The commercial organisation for textile trade was in the hands of merchant corporations. (*nagaram*, *Tisai Ayirattu Ainnuurravar*, *Manigaramam*, *Valanjiyar*, *Anjuvannam* and *Pekkandru*, etc.). That there was specialisation in different aspects of textile production and sale is indicated by independent associations of cloth merchants as the one in Kancipuram, which often organised a mahanadu for the textile traders. The merchants had exclusive quarters such as kurai vanigar and Aruvai Vaniya ceri. The Piranmalai inscription of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century AD refers to many of them. Textile however was not a monopolistic item of trade. It is well known that merchant organisations had their own regiments for protection. There were Cilai Cettis of different mandalams such as Jayankonda Chola Mandalam, Kongu Mandalam and Malaimandalam (Kerala) in the Tamil region. The Saliya chettis of Chidambaram had a special status in the town with their own Saliya *nagaram*. References to Saliya Samayangal (Organisations) occur in Kalachuri inscriptions from the Belgaum (AD 1224). Brokers- taragu kasu (brokerage fee) in late Chola inscriptions included the Kurai taragu ayam also.

Taxation on the textile industry included taxes on looms (tari irai, tari kadamai in Tamil), Magga dere in Andhra and Karnataka and other levies such as achchu tari on patterned loom, tari pudavai, panjupili, parutti kadamai, pattadai nulayam. On dyers a tax called kaibanna or bannige is known from the Kannada inscriptions. In

the 12<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The incidence of taxation was regular and was levied in cash or money (Vijnanesavara's *Mitakshara* 's references to panam, varahan and madai). Instances of protest against high taxation were common in the 13<sup>th</sup> century under Hoysalas which increased in the Vijayanagara period. Privileges and large scale concessions were given as a conciliatory measure by the kings i.e., the state.

The strong Devanga organisation in Karnataka (Devanga Puranam) and Mahanadu in Kancipuram (Colan Purva Pattayam) at the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> and '14<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. and the Saliyas functioning as temple managers and administrators under the Cholas show the nature and degree of influence that the weavers gradually acquired in society and *vis a vis* the state. The Kaikkolas are more visible later and as service groups to temples i.e., devaradiyar. Land and other gifts were made by them to the temples. Origin myths associating them with deities like Karttikeya and Goddesses (Amman) like Kamakshi Chamunda etc. point to their enhanced ritual status. Monetary donations to the building of temples or shrines in a temple and consecration of images such as those of Siva, Parvati, Pillaiyar and Kartikeya and service to temples as accountants (e.g. the Uragam in Kanchi ) mark the increase in the economic importance of the weavers and their status in society.

Land ownership and caste suffixes like Kaikkola Mudalis and titles like Pidaran, Kani yatci and Kudi Kani enjoyed by weavers also indicate their enhanced position in a predominantly agrarian society. Temple honours and use of symbols like sangu and tandu were the social privileges enjoyed by them. The tradition of consecrating to the temple the first girl born in their families as dancers and the male members being given the right to sing the *Tevaram* or the sacred hymns (Ponnambala Kuttar nainar). The weavers also came to be classified under the Idangai- Valangai paradigm. In the Virasaiva or Lingayat community artisanal castes including weavers were given equal importance with other members (Jedara Dasimayya). Weavers had a strong position also in Tenkalai Srivaisnavism with rights to perform rituals in the temples.

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## 15.6 SUMMARY

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Agrarian expansion and general reliance on agrarian sector was the chief feature of the economy. These were instrumental in giving rise to a new phase of urbanization in south India. Tamil Nadu particularly experienced 're-urbanization' through the growth of *nadus*, *nagarams* and organization with wide networks such as *Ayyavole*. As compared to early historical urban centres, during this phase, urban centres developed deeper roots within the regions. Presence of increased number of guilds suggests the 'diversification of production activities'. Among various crafts textiles occupied the foremost place, though in the Andhra region mining was also a major craft industry. There was regular coastal traffic along the entire littoral, particularly the Konkan and Malaya region emerged into prominence during this period. At local levels, local bodies like *nagarams* in Tamil Nadu and *nagaramu* in Andhra region were active in organising the trade. Merchants involved in brisk trading activities throughout the period. They used to move in trading groups (*caravans*). State tried to standardize levies on external trade, particularly in the Andhra region. We get the references of a large number of taxes levied on textile craft production. Heavy burden of taxation at times resulted in protest.

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## 15.7 GLOSSARY

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<b>Kongu Region</b>	Region of ancient Tamil Nadu in South India. It comprises of the present Coimbatore, Erode, Salem, Karur and a part of Dindigul districts of Tamil Nadu.
<b>Cairo Geniza Records</b>	Archive of ancient Jewish manuscripts found in synagogue of Fostat-Cairo. In the 1890s the material was removed to Bodleian Library, Oxford University, London.
<b><i>Sui Generis</i></b>	Self generated or the processes originated and developed on their own and not due to outside influence.
<b>Composite Artisan Community</b>	It followed different crafts but were organised into a large crafts community by the 14th century A.D. Hence, wielded considerable influence.
<b><i>Virasanas</i></b>	Inscriptions of guilds that begin with a <i>prasasti</i> describing their brave and heroic deeds as itinerant traders, who were also good fighters.

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## 15.8 EXERCISES

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- 1) Analyse the role of *nadu*, *nagaram* and *nakhara* in the growth of urbanization in south India.
- 2) To what extent second urbanization was the result of agrarian expansion in south India? Examine.
- 3) Critically examine how the process of re-urbanisation in south India got linked up with temple-economy?
- 4) Epigraphy was the main source of information to study the process of urbanization in south India. Comment.
- 5) Discuss the role of merchant guilds in the growth of craft, trade, and urbanization.
- 6) Write a note on the growth of textile industry in south India during 6-9th centuries AD.

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## 15.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

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## *M.A. History*

### *List of Courses*

<b>Course Code.</b>	<b>Title of the Course</b>	<b>Credits</b>
<b>MHI-01</b>	Ancient and Medieval Societies	8
<b>MHI-02</b>	Modern World	8
<b>MHI-03</b>	Historiography	8
<b>MHI-04</b>	Political Structures in India	8
<b>MHI-05</b>	History of Indian Economy	8
<b>MHI-06</b>	Evolution of Social Structures in India Through the Ages	8
<b>MHI-07</b>	Religious Thought and Belief in India	8
<b>MHI-08</b>	History of Ecology and Environment: India	8

### *MHI-05 History of Indian Economy*

#### *Block-wise Course Structure*

<b>Block-1</b>	:	Historiography, Environment and Economy
<b>Block 2</b>	:	Emergence and Structure of Complex Economy
<b>Block 3</b>	:	Early Medieval Economy and Its Continuities
<b>Block 4</b>	:	Expansion and Growth of Medieval Economy-1
<b>Block 5</b>	:	Expansion and Growth of Medieval Economy-2
<b>Block 6</b>	:	Trade and Markets
<b>Block 7</b>	:	The Rural Economy
<b>Block 8</b>	:	Craft Production, Technological Change and Industrialization