CHAPTER III
CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN CENTRES

The origin of city in history is a result of the increased complexities of a social organisation. It represents a new kind of settlement, having specialized crafts, temples, industries, markets, administrative apparatus and good educational institutions. The city has to perform distinct kind of functions; for instance, economic, religious, cultural, educational and administrative. The role of the city suggests some type of functional variations among the urban centres. A city, however, does not perform a single function wholly. For instance, if it is an administrative centre it is bound to have some kind of commercial, educational and religious functions too. So it is inappropriate to think that a town of administrative importance has no cultural or commercial functions. Sources both epigraphic and literary suggest some broad classification of towns. Different epithets for city or town are found in the sources such as pattana, pura, rājadāni, skandhāvāra, etc., suggest diverse functions performed by these settlements.

No doubt there can be a primacy of some elements either commerce or religion, administration or education. But the origin of city is more complex and no single isolated factor can bring urban revolution, but all aiding factors equally influence urban growth. The primary necessities like availability of surplus food - production for non-agricultural population,
an existence of mercantile class, some kind of administrative staff are the essential requisites of non-agricultural settlements. However, in some towns, commerce has an upper hand, while in others, religion; but basic needs are the same. The temple centres attract large number of people, which lead to initial urbanization of those areas, but they depend on surplus produced by the rural communities. There exists a mercantile class for buying and selling of goods; and some kind of administrative staff is essential for the maintenance of law and order at places which are exclusively temple-centres. Encompassing all these factors the tīrthas also develop into towns of note. 8

Broadly, urban centres during the period under study can be classified into five different categories:

a. the trade centres;
b. the capital towns;
c. the administrative centres;
d. the religious centres; and
e. the educational centres.

The trade centres are mainly referred to in the sources as pattana,9 dronamukha,10 nagaram,11 putabedha,12 banajuvattana13 and sometimes epithets nagara14 and pura15 are used with the towns of commercial importance. Whereas administrative-cum-military centres bear connotations like pura,16 nagara,17 durga,18
The capital towns are primarily represented as rājadānīs in the sources. The towns having religious importance or places of pilgrimage are referred to as tīrtha and puram whereas āghāra and matha mainly represented educational centres. Another type of urban settlement has been referred to as adhisthāna, but not very frequently.

This broad categorisation with functional variations is significant in explaining the existence of a large number of urban centres performing different functions in the country during the period under study. Let us examine each category a little more closely.

First of all we take up trade centres in general referred to in the sources. The trade and commerce presuppose a great number of towns, whereby the process of urbanization gains momentum. An epithet pattana mainly denotes the commercial value of town is clear from the contemporary sources. The Mayamata refers to pattana as a town inhabited by people of all classes and where there is abundance of merchandise in stones, grains, fine cloth, etc. and here products from other countries are bought and sold. The text further stipulates that these towns are primarily situated on the sea coast. Whereas Samārāṅgasūtradhāra refers to pattana as a residence of the king different from the rājadānī or capital town. However, the text refers to another category putabedha as a
market town full of merchants. These centres ranked as the first-rate urban centres which were frequently visited by merchants and also at times worked as centres of wholesale trade. A *dronamukha* was another kind of commercial town situated on the banks of river and was visited by traders of all sorts and inhabited by all classes of people. This suggest that *dronamukha* towns worked as the port towns during this period because of their strategic location on the coastal areas. Sometimes places with *pura* epithet also performed wide commercial functions where merchants flocked from distant places for trade purposes.

The relevance of these epithets becomes clear when they are found in the inscriptive sources with the names of those towns which were more of commercial nature. The Ahadanakaram plates refer to town *Prithvipallavapaṭṭana*, which conducted commerce across the seas. The epigraph refers to another town *Renduvadalapaṭṭana* an important mercantile town, where the rich merchants participated in the town administration. A record of ninth century refers to place *Tengāpaṭṭanam* on the sea coast. Owing to commercial importance of the place the country around it came to be known as *Tenganādu*. *Kāverippumpaṭṭinam* was an important Coromandel coast port since the beginning of first century A.D. This port town attracted merchants from distant lands and they exchanged their products with the products of the *Cōla* hinterland. *Nāgappattaṭinam* was another port city of the *Cōlas* where non-resident and
resident merchants both were engaged in trade transactions. Its strategic location on the Kaveri river helped this port to develop as the most important port town under the Cholas, and it superseded the earlier port town Mamallapuram of the Pallavas. Similarly, Somnathpattana in Gujarat was famous as religious and commercial centre of the period.

The Rājarāstrāṅgīnī refers to a town Āmkarapattana, as a great centre of cloth weaving and sale and purchase of cattle. Similarly, Deśi-ūyyavaṇḍapatṭanām in Coimbatore district was another important trade centre which was colonized by the merchants of different localities, who carried on trade activities there. This shows that pattana was in some cases used for the trade centres other than the port towns.

Apart from pattana, there were another kind of towns also which were designated as erivirapattana. These have been described as "inland ports" and were mainly located in the remote and frontier areas. These were the centres of exchange involved in transactions between the nagaram on the one end and pattana on the other. Aiyapolil was an erivirapattana in the Chingleput district, the mention of this in the epigraphs of early medieval south India refers to the militant kind of merchant guilds carrying on trade there, and there caravanas moved with the armed protection. Another erivirapattana was located in Tirumelvili district where the army protected temple and temple treasury.
Nagaram in south India is again used for the market centres of the period, which undoubtedly represented as the potential centres of urban growth. Nagarams worked as common markets for the local villages and nadus, and in some cases, participated in wide network of inter-regional trade; consequently nagarams developed into important commercial centres. They administered their local markets and also collected fees levied on commercial transactions from different regional markets. Nagarams in places like Tañjāvūr, Kañchī, Kōṭṭūr and Vīrāncipuram led to rapid development of these areas into big mercantile towns during the early medieval period.

Apart from pattan, commercial centres can be identified with the synonym pura. In earlier times, pura represented exclusively a fort. Gradually it was used for nagara or town irrespective of its functions. In early medieval period pura meant not only a fort-town but it was also used with the towns, having commercial importance. The capital town of Gujarat, Anahilapura was a great centre of trade and was connected with all important ports and towns of western India. Similarly Kāñchīpura was an important commercial centre where merchants flocked with their merchandise from foreign countries. An inscription of twelfth century refers to a town Maṅgalpura which was an important port-town, having commercial contacts with the foreign countries. A record of twelfth century refers to Naḍolpura as a big exchange centre,
under the Chāhmānas. This exchange centre served as distribution centres for the local villages surrounding the place. Ahar or Tattāndapura was also a commercial centre of north India during this period. The several commercial centres are also referred to as nagāra in the inscriptions. In the Valabhi inscription, important exchange centre Dholka has been referred to as pramukh-nagara. Similarly the ports of Gujarat, such as Cambay is mentioned as the pramukh-nagara in the epigraphs of the thirteenth century. In some cases, the epithet puram is also found with the centre of trade where merchants flocked from distant areas for trade transactions. Valikandapuram was one such exchange centre where local and itinerant merchants came with their merchandise for sale. Mamallapuram was a most important port along the Coromandel coast where the Indian and foreign merchants came with their articles of merchandise for sale during the Pallavas and the Cōlas between sixth and tenth century A.D. The nagaram of Rajendrapalapuram served as the major market centre of south India during the eleventh century.

The above different connotations used with the towns suggest that pattana, nagaram, erivirapattana and banañju-vattana mainly refer to the commercial importance of the places existing in northern and southern India. These instances are perhaps adequate in explaining the nature of trade, internal as well as external, role of market centres in ushering urban activity in the country.
The capitals of the ruling elites formed another important category of urban settlements. Primarily word rājadhānī has been used to denote the capital towns in ancient India. Mayamata distinguishes it from the ordinary town, because it has a royal palace and so is a royal capital. The Samarāṅganasūtrādhāra, also refers to rājadhānī as a chief seat of the king. Though sometimes word pura or nagara is also used in the sense of rājadhānī. The sources both epigraphic and literary refer to them as the centre of administration, commerce and culture. Even if the functional role of town is not specified, the rājadhānī itself unveils the character of the town. The ruling elite cannot live in isolation. The basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter are indispensable for any human being. But the royal folk had greater needs and demands. The palace of the king presupposes the existence of residential quarters for ministers and army-men, markets and mercantile class and other architectural edifices like temples, etc. The palaces were beautifully constructed and thrones were decked with gold and jewels. The capital towns also had troops of musicians, dancers, bards for the entertainment of the ruling elite. The rājadhānī assumed the status of an urban settlement because king's every effort was directed to make his capital beautiful and one of the best, and safe from the point of view of security. The capitals of kings used to be populous and comprised of different classes of people. The epigraph of tenth century refers to capital town of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas named Mānyakheṭa,
full of beautiful palaces. The beautification of capital towns by the construction of tanks, temples and mathas is mentioned in the sources. An̄āgīre and Kalyāṇa, two capital towns have been referred to in the epigraphs, as having temples, mathas, tanks and ponds. The epigraph of eleventh century refers to rajadhānī Sundi as an excellent town, which surpassed dwelling, pre-eminent in the whole world. It was loftier than the Himalaya or Kuṭkīla, and was spacious than the great silver mountain (Kailāśa). In addition to its political importance, it was a big market town also. Here in addition to the regular markets, special markets were organised on Sundays. The taxes levied and collected from these were distributed for the religious purposes. An epigraph of eleventh century refers to Lokkigundi as rajadhānī, which was a commercial and mint centre also. An inscription of eleventh century categorically mentions Chatetana as rajadhānī of the king Krishṇarāja. It shows that this capital town definitely had commercial and cultural importance as well. The twelfth century inscription of king Rudradeva of Kaikatya dynasty from Anumakonda in the north of Warangal refers to Anumakonda as the capital town which resembles the capital of god (Śrī). It has been adorned with many temples and there were quarters for harlots and students who assembled there to attain knowledge.

In north Indian epigraphs also the capital towns are referred to as rajadhānīs. The epigraph of A.D. 992-3 refers to a capital town Kanauj which was filled with many excellent
qualities. The town seems to rival the town of the lord of immortals with its gardens resembling the Nandana, its high topped temples and dark green surroundings.  

An inscription of twelfth century refers to Kritipura in Madhyadeśa as a capital town of Prithviśvara, which was the only receptacle of the bliss of the enjoyment of all pleasures. The Dohad plate of king Jayasimhadeva of Chālukya dynasty of A.D. 1175 refers to Anahilapataka as the rājadāni or capital town which had very high and beautiful temples.

In some instances the capital towns are mentioned with the epithet pattana. The term rājadānī-pattana indicates the politico-economic functions of the place, i.e., apart from being a royal residence, the town functioned as a market centre. In the records of eleventh century Annigere is described as the rājadānī of Belvola country, whereas in the late twelfth century it is mentioned as rājadānī-pattana. This clearly suggests that Annigere as capital town developed into a centre of commerce too. Similarly an epigraph of twelfth century refers to Huligere in south India as rājadānī-pattana which was a chief city of early medieval period. The record of early twelfth century of king Somesvara III mentions a capital town Puligere, modern Lakshmesvara, as rājadānī-pattana, which in earlier sources has been referred to as a nagara. This city of Puligere had three general assemblies, called mahājanas, concerned with general condition of the town and the
people, the second comprised of brāhmaṇa inhabitants that looked into the problems of residence and property, and the third was the mercantile body which controlled and regulated the mercantile activities of the merchants. This shows that the rājadhānī-pattana was metropolis and its progress was mainly due to the political and economic development in the region.

The above discussion on the capital towns indicates that the continuous efforts of the kings and chiefs to increase the grandeur of their empire and superiority of power, definitely accelerated the process of urbanization in India.

The glimpses of urban activities have been noticed in towns which were primarily administrative and military headquarters other than the capital towns. Owing to their importance in the politico-administrative front they developed into commercial and cultural centres also. As some kind of trade activity was a necessity for these centres, where the items of daily consumption were bought and sold. No doubt these were more of exploitative rather than of productive nature, yet were necessary concommitant to urbanization. In many cases forts developed into big centres of exchange and were frequently visited by the merchants of the neighbouring countries for the local products. Pura which earlier denoted a fort town now was interchangeably used for the military,
commercial and capital towns. The inscription of tenth century refers to Tattānādapura as the seat of Hindu principalities previous to the Muslim invasions. Due to the administrative importance of the place, perhaps of its location, it developed into a big market town having bazars, houses, big and small streets. The record of eleventh century refers to the durga of Gopādri or Gwalior. This fort was commanded by the kottanāla, while the rest of city was administered by the city-board which comprised of the merchants and traders in addition to other members. This indicates that fort existed in the town of Gwalior, and the town performed other functions also in addition to the politico-military functions. The epigraph of eleventh century refers to Vaṭapura, as the capital town of Paramāra king Purṇapāla. The place has also been referred to as Vasantgadh which throw light on the military importance of the place. It is further mentioned in the inscription that it was also famous for the temples of different gods and goddesses. Other important forts in different parts of the Rajasthan like Māṇḍavyapuradura at Mandor, Suvarṇagiridura at Jalor, and Rājapura in Alwar were not only important for defence purposes but had distinct composition of populations and distinctively some of them show wider functions.

The large number of sources refer to Kalyāṇapura as the capital town since sixth century. It was important administrative
centre of the period, which helped it to develop into an important town during this period. Danḍapura in eastern India was a large city with a strong fort. It was made the capital of the Pālas by Gopāla in 740 A.D. But despite this it also functioned as important centre of Buddhist learning.

In south India pura and puram settlements had distinct composition of population and they served as capital towns, major exchange centres and administrative headquarters as well. Muḍikondacōlapuram or Paḷaiyārai developed into a large city when it was chosen as the residential capital by the Cōlas. Karvandapuram in south India had an important fort and also it was the capital Neduṅjeliyam, a local ruler, who developed it into an important city of the period, because of its strategic location it served as an exchange centre also. An epigraph of eleventh century mentions Jayantipura or Banavāsi as the capital town of the Kadambas, which was the chief city of the province of about twelve thousand villages. Its importance was mainly as an administrative headquarter of the period which led to the development of the place as a large city.

Other than the administrative headquarters, the contemporary sources refer to skandhāvāras or military camps. These camps played a major role in the development of ancient Indian towns. A skandhāvāra is described as a settlement near a forested region or river; it is heavily populated and has a royal palace. The Mānasāra describes it as a kind of fort
which had kingly edifices (of the kṣatriya), is furnished with 
gardens and many residential dwellings. The epigraphic 

sources also suggest that these settlements had gardens, groves, 
bowers, temples, etc., and served the purpose of capitals of 
kings in many cases. It is presumed that before the beginning 
of war, the site was selected to serve as base for military 
operations against enemies so a skandhāvāra bear affinity to 
safety precautions and military-strategical plannings of a 
durga or a pura. These army camps were provided with all 
necessary facilities in addition to sāmantas, prostitutes and 
merchants, which made the life of the people easy by making 
them available everything that was normally available in the 
towns.

During this period the practice of establishing java-
skandhāvāras became very popular. Such settlements substantially 
contributed to the origin and development of cities. The 
inscription of the Chālukya of seventh century refers to 
Puligere as a skandhāvāra, and an inscription of tenth century 
refers to it as a nagara whereas in a twelfth century inscription 
it is referred to as rājadhi-pattana. The gradual development 
of Puligere from a skandhāvāra to a capital-cum-commercial town 
in the twelfth century indicates that such settlements 
definitely initiated economic, cultural and other activities 
in the area which helped in the gradual transformation of army 
camps into capital towns. The inscriptions of ninth century of
Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings (as many as five records) refer to Mayūrkhanda as a skandhavāras which indicate that it was a flourishing town under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and was probably, for sometimes, as one of the capital towns of these kings.\textsuperscript{96}

The Pāla kings established many jaya-skandhavāras, from where they issued land charters. They established their army encampments at Pāṭaliputra, Rāmāvati, Mudgagiri, Vilāsapura and Vaṭaparvataka. These centres served as the rājadhānīs or capitals of the kings, where the king had his palace and administrative staff. From there he made various endowments to the temples and the people. The archaeological evidence also shows that some of them covered a wider area and more or less served as the capital towns of the Pālas.\textsuperscript{97} The Pāla fortresses were not autonomous feudal centres but were directly under the Pāla kings. These fortresses were of a prime necessity for the Pāla kings because they were in constant struggle with the Pratihāras in the north-west and Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Leccan. The epigraphic sources refer to them as centres of power where from the king issued different charters. Even if these were not permanently inhabited by the king, yet played an important role in similar manner as the towns of the period did.\textsuperscript{98}

The religious centres or the tīrthas\textsuperscript{99} form another important category of urban settlements. These places attracted people from far-off places, where they took holy dips and performed different rituals. Such places had excellent temples
and beautiful idols which were worshipped by the people. The
temple in early medieval period was considered an important
feature of any town or big village. The architectural treatises
lay special stress on the location and construction of temples
in the city. 100

In ancient India (from sixth century B.C.) many towns grew
on account of the spread of two heterodox sects, Buddhism and
Jainism. The important centres were affiliated with the life
and teachings of the lord Buddha (like Śrāvastī, Sārnath,
Kapilvastu, etc.) developed into important pilgrimage centres
and simultaneously performed urban functions. However, with
the re-emergence of brahmanism, and lack of patronage to
Buddhism, these towns lost their earlier metropolitan character.

Hüein Tsang's testimony confirms the ruin and desertion
of the city of Śrāvastī in the seventh century. 101 Similar was
the fate of Kapilvastu which earlier enjoyed the urban status. 102
Whereas Varanasi is described by him as having numerous
inhabitants enjoying boundless wealth and living in houses full
of rare valuables. 103 He further mentions the existence of
some one hundred deva temples in Varanasi, which confirms that
Varanasi was an important pilgrimage centre. It is mentioned
that seven crores of ascetics visited this place for spiritual
gains. 104 An eighth century inscription from Banaras refers to
city of Varanasi, renowned in the whole world having beautiful
and extensive streets, lofty towers and with numerous inhabitants. 105
Varanasi was the headquarter of a district under the Pratihāras and was the secondary capital under the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj. The town Banaras must have prospered immensely in the twelfth century under these rulers. The copper plate grant of Jayachchandra of late twelfth century refers to Varanasi as the glorious town where before making donations of two villages to the brāhmaṇas, he took bath and performed certain rituals.

The epigraphs of Jayachchandradeva of Gāhadavāla dynasty refers to Kāṣī, Kuśika and Uttarkośala as important tīrthas, which were granted protection by the kings on account of the religious and spiritual importance of these places. Dwarka situated in Kathiawar was also an important centre of religion during this period. In the Gupta and post-Gupta it became prominent centre of Vaisnavism, and developed into a centre of religion and pilgrimage which was visited by many ascetics for attaining the spiritual gains.

The Skanda Purāṇa refers to Pushkara as a tīrtha. In the Harsha stone inscription of A.D. 970, the Chāhamāna king referred to it as a tīrtha, where king took bath before making certain donations. The Thenwal inscription of tenth century records gifts given to gods worshipped at Pushkara by Durgarāja who was a local chief of king Simahrāja and had area around Pushkara under him. Kotitīrtha is referred to in the Skanda Purāṇa, where if one feeds a brāhmaṇa, he achieves the punya of feeding a crore of the same. Kolhāpura is mentioned in the inscription of
eleventh century as a sacred place in southern Maratha country.\textsuperscript{115} Kolhāpura inscription of Śaka 1058 records many gifts of revenue made to the temple at Kolhāpur.\textsuperscript{116} This description of tīrtha suggests that Kolhāpura was an important religious centre of the period. Banavāsī was also religious-cum-administrative centre of south India.\textsuperscript{117} An inscription of eighth century mentions Guheśvara tīrtha which seems to be associated with Elāpura or Ellora. Here Dantidurga, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, built the Daśāvatāra temple, and Kṛṣṇa, his successor, built the Kailāśa temple there.\textsuperscript{118} Kāṇchīpura was also important pilgrimage centre and due to the sanctity of the place it developed into an important centre of commerce under the Pallava and Cōla suzerains.\textsuperscript{119} Some centres of pilgrimage are mentioned as pura and pattana also, these had important temples, idols etc., and attracted large number of pilgrims who visited them for spiritual boons.\textsuperscript{120} Another kind of settlements which developed into urban settlements were the villages gifted to brāhmaṇas. These villages were termed as agrahāras and brahma-devas in the inscriptional and literary sources of the period.\textsuperscript{121} These villages performed a greater role in society by educating the masses. They were unique centres of civilization and held great influence on the folk around them and developed into thriving centres of agrarian activity.\textsuperscript{122} However, the gradual development in these areas with the changing economic, social and political patterns
they grew into chief cities and witnessed great structural and commercial activity. These agrahāra and brahmadeyas villages carried out wider functions and grew into pura and pattana settlements, due to increase in size, population and commercial functions. The Kalas inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govind IV dated Śaka 851 refers to a town Ereyana-Kādiyūr, which was a brāhmaṇa estate, but gradually became one of the choicest spot in the world. The town was adorned with beautiful parks, splendid tanks, by growing beautiful trees, plants the town was made very beautiful (such beauty is difficult to be described). Many of the agrahāras villages were surrounded by a fort-wall. The temple was the special feature of these settlements. Koḍaganur was one such agrahāra-town which had many ancient temples existing there. Similarly, Kabbūr about some distance to the north-east of Māikoṇḍa was also a prominent agrahāra town of eleventh-twelfth century, because the traces of a ruined fort-wall of rubbles and mud surround the place, which was one of the important features of early medieval urban settlements. Gopāla was the another agrahāra town of the period situated at about a half mile east to the Sidlipura in the Bhadravati taluk. The traces of an old fort, a moat and a temple in the centre of this place has been noticed, which were the special features of urban settlements.

The epigraphic sources refer to agrahāra villages which developed into foremost trading centres. Huligol in south
India was one such agrahāra which had wide commercial relations. The inscription of Kalachuri king of twelfth century refers to Muttage as a great agrahāra in Kuntala area, full of learned brāhmaṇas. The frequent mention of this place in the sources indicate that it was an urban settlement and also a centre of education. An epigraph of twelfth century refers to Ittagi as a mahā-agrāhāra, other details given in the sources clearly indicate that it performed all the functions of a town.

Similarly, brahmadeva centres though originally were villages granted to the brāhmaṇas, but with the growth of political, economic and cultural activities they developed into urban complexes. The brahmā-devas in the Tirunelveli district under the imperial Cōlas developed into a large urban complex. An inscription of eleventh century of Rajendra I records a brahmadeva of Chidambaram which was settled by merchants of high status, expert artisans, weavers, etc. and it developed into a large urban complex named Guṇamānagaipuram.

Mathas were another kind of centres which played some role in initiating urban activity. They played a crucial role by educating students, where there was proper arrangement for the boarding and lodging also. In the eleventh century mathas in Kashmir drew students from different places. Free mobility of students from other regions suggests that Kashmir was an important centre of learning. Similarly, Nalanda and Vikramasīlā were important monastic settlements which attracted scholars from foreign countries and undeniably could retain urban tradition because of their educational importance.
The above classification of urban settlements of varying sizes into different categories suggests that the basic distinction among them was functional and the different functions performed by them largely depended on topography, geography, social set-up, economic initiatives, administrative compulsions and the like. The towns of smaller size, however, could not perform similar functions as metropolises. The *pura* settlements served as smaller administrative-cum-trade centres where *rājadhanīs* were the capital towns, and *pattana* towns were the large exchange *centres* where international commerce was smoothly carried on. Similarly, *rājadhanīs* were the capital towns but the increase in size, population and commercial activities of these settlements converted them into *rājadhanī-pattana*; such growth can be traced to unilateral decision of ruling autocrat or a dynasty. *Grāma* which categorically denotes a rural settlement, but in depth investigations reveal that sometimes they performed urban functions. *Maṇigrāma* was a trade centre on the Konkan coast, which was more of an urban settlement than a village. A record of eleventh century indicates that on the Konkan coast flourishing commerce was carried on with the foreign countries. This further shows that *Maṇigrāma* was more of a town than a village. Similarly *Veṇugrāma* in north Karnataka was an important urban settlement where several group of traders and manufacturers were involved in intense economic activities. In spite of a few exceptions of this kind, the epithets used in the sources are significant in explaining the functional variations among the urban settlements.
Notes and References


2. V.K. Thakur, "Towns in early medieval India", in Śrīnidhiḥ: perspective in Indian archaeology, art and culture, pp.389-95.


5. Ibid., vol. xv, p.98.


7. Supra, ch. II.

8. Such status can be assigned to tīrthas like Somnāth, Pushkar, Kāṇchīpuram, Chidambaram, Prayāga, Tiruvannalai, etc. where the religion was the dominant factor in initiating urban development but role of other factors like strategic location, availability of surplus produce, trade and commerce cannot be completely denied.


11. Nagaram mainly represented the commercial towns.


13. Banañju-vattana were the mercantile towns, and the epithet was mainly used with the towns of Karnataka cf. IA, vol. xiv, pp.19-25; also see S. Gurujajachar, Some aspects of economic and social life in Karnataka, p.114.


16. Ibid., xxxiii, p.269.

17. Ibid., p.311.
18. IA, vol. xv, p.36.
20. Ibid., p.40.
22. Ibid.
25. Ibid., vol. xx, p.109. Brâmbarâpuram is compared to celestial Amaravati, Ayodhya, Mathura that suggest that it was a place of religious importance.
27. Ibid., p.168; Kshemendra, Deôopadesâ and Narmamâlâ, Deôopadesâ, VI.
28. An epigraph of ninth century refers to Pehowa as an adhîsthâna; the details specified in the epigraph suggest that it was a developing urban settlement, see EI, vol. i, p.187.
30. Ibid.
31. Samarânganâsûtradhâra, ch. XVIII, 4-5.
32. Ibid.
34. EI, vol. xix, pp.57 ff.; Tattândapura functioned as important centre of trade where merchants not only come for trade purposes but also migrated from other places.
36. Ibid., p.129.


39. *Pattinam* were also centres of exchange for foreign merchandise situated mainly on the coastal areas, but interior towns with the epithet *pattinam* are also found, see Champaklakshmi, "Urbanization in medieval Tamil Nadu", in *Situating Indian History*, p.67, fn. 164.

40. **EI**, vol. xxii, p.257, the place is described as a delightful place with number of temples, gardens and rest houses.

41. **APR** WC, 1899, pp.7 ff.

42. Rājatarangini, V, 162.

43. **SII**, vol. xiv, p.133.


45. **Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy of 1912**, 256.

46. Ibid., 1905, 120; 1916, 358.

47. Champaklakshmi, *op.cit.*, p.47.

48. Ibid., pp.34-105, she has prepared a table to show the development of *nagarams* into mercantile towns; she has listed many *nagarams*, operating during the early Cōla and late-Cōla age; also see Hall, "Price making and market hierarchy in early medieval south India", **IESHR**, vol. xiv, no. 2, pp.207-29.


52. **EI**, vol. xi, p.47 ff.; earlier it was referred to as a *grāma* in the epigraphs, *ibid.*, vol. ix, pp.56-70.


55. *Puram* was more frequently used for the commercial centre in south India; see Champaklakshmi, *op.cit.*, pp.40-3.


60. **IA**, vol. i, p.271, the king adorned his capital as if it had been adorned by the architect of Gods.


64. **EI**, vol. xv, p.92.


68. **IA**, vol. xi, p.20.

69. **EI**, vol. i, p.82.


71. **IA**, vol. x, pp.159-60.

72. **SII**, vol. xv, p.120.


76. TAS, vol. ii, p.77, Quilon is referred to as an important port of south India which was a fort of Venadu princes. It was frequently visited by the merchants of foreign countries such as Arabia, Egypt and Europe.

77. EI, vol. xix, p.52 ff.

78. Ibid.

79. IA, vol. xv, p.36.


81. Ibid., vol. ix, p.10 ff.; see for Gadha, a fort, APR WC 1904-6, p.52.


83. APR WC, 1917, p.50.


85. Ibid., pp.88-9.

86. Champaklakshmi, "Growth of urban centres in south India", op.cit., p.18.

87. ASI AR, 1936-7, p.75.

88. APR, Madras and Coorg, 1904-5, p.41.


90. Mayamata, ch. X, p.41.


93. U.N. Upadhyaya, op.cit., p.12, fn.5.

94. Māgha, Sisupalavadhā, V.
Several fortified settlements have been revealed around Monghyr, which confirm that it was a place of importance under them; cf. D.R. Patil, Antiquarian remains in Bihar, Patna, 1963, p.210. Similarly Pātaliputra was also a fortified town under the Palas and continued to be so upto the Muslim times, ibid., p.350.


Tīrthas are mainly the places of pilgrimage on the banks of sacred streams; cf. Monier Williams, op.cit., p.449.

Samarāñagarasūtradhāra, ch. x, 121.


Ibid., p.47.

IA, vol. xii, p.250.

EI, vol. ix, p.61.

A.S. Altekar, History of Benares (from the earliest times down to 1937), Benares, 1937, p.20.

IA, vol. xviii, p.133.

Ibid.

Ibid., vol. iii, p.42.

Z.D. Ansari and M.S. Mate, Excavations at Dwarka, Poona, 1966, pp.15-16.

Skanda Purāṇa, Ava-Reva, 9.3.1-3.

EI, vol. i, p.129.

Ibid., vol. xxxv, p.239.

Skanda Purāṇa, Ava-Reva, 203.1, 113.2.

IA, vol. xvi, p.20.
115


118. EI, vol. xxv, p.29.


120. Somnathpattana was not only a pilgrimage centre but also an important port town of western India; similarly Tattändapura had numerous temples of deities which might have definitely attracted pilgrims also.

121. The villages gifted to brāhmaṇas were referred to as agrahāram, agra-brahma-devas, brahma-maṅgalam, etc. Stein however, assigns different meanings to agrahāram, i.e., a set of privileges enjoyed by brāhmaṇas were much less than those enjoyed by brahmadeva brāhmaṇas; cf. Stein, Peasant state and society in medieval south India, New Delhi, 1980, p.145.

122. Ibid., p.141.

123. Maningavali developed into urban place and known as Malurpattana, cited in Nandi, op.cit., p.63, fn. 1.


125. ARMAP, 1939, p.84.

126. Ibid., 1947-56, p.53.


130. Champaklakshmi, "Urbanization in medieval Tamil Nadu", in Situating Indian history, pp.41-2.


133. *EI*, vol. 1, p. 44.
