CHAPTER - I

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This thesis deals with the empirical and analytical study of the system of craft production and trade in South Kanara from A.D. 1000 to 1763. As in the earlier period of its history, during this phase too South Kanara continued to exist predominantly as an agrarian economy. However, there existed considerable craft production or industrial activity which drew sustenance from agriculture. In fact agriculture and agrarian-based craft production thrived as the two major pillars of the economy of this region. The flourishing agrarian economy and the surplus production in the primary sector created conditions favourable for the development of industries, industrial production and trade. Trade was carried out in both agricultural and industrial products. This included inland trade, and sea trade between various regions in the country as well as with countries like Persia and others. Though traditionally barter system prevailed, during this period money economy came into being and both continued to exist side by side.

Political changes and administrative policies affected the system of production (both agricultural and industrial) and trade. Political changes in the region such as the fall of the Alupas, rise and fall of the Hoysalas, Vijayanagara and Keladi and the impact of these on the economy, production and trade are considered here. The society was organised and hierarchically arranged on the basis of the caste system. Caste determined the work or profession of the individual and in many cases their settlements too. The relations between caste, craft production and trade are analysed. Similarly religion and religious
institutions like temples and *mathas* were important in the development of trade and trading centres.

The arrival of foreign traders, Persians, Arabs, Portuguese and others, and the emergence of various ports and port towns like Basrur, Kundapur, Gangolli, Barkur, Baidur, Malpe, Mulki, Mangalore, Kumbla, etc. and trade routes are important in this study. In the same way, the various factors which led to the process of urbanisation and economic transformation are examined.

**Historiographical Survey:**

The earliest contribution to the historiography of South Kanara was from the British administrators. John Sturrock compiled *Madras District Manuals, South Kanara Vol.I* \(^1\) and H.A.Stuart compiled *Madras District Manuals, South Kanara, Vol.II* \(^2\). Sturrock gave a short outline of the political history of the region. He then discussed about the professional *jatis* who may be termed as craft producers. He referred to the various communities like gold smiths, black smiths, braziers, masons, carpenters, weavers and traders and their respective professions. The Portuguese settlements, the nature of relationship that existed between the traders of South Kanara and the Portuguese and other Europeans are briefly discussed here. However, the author did not include much information on the economic history of the region.

M.Ganapathi Rao Aigal wrote *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Prachina Itihasa* \(^3\). He dealt mostly with the political history of South Kanara, from the beginning to the end of nineteenth century. He referred to the trade relations between traders of South Kanara and the Portuguese.
Bhaskar Anand Saletore, in his work, *Ancient Karnataka, Vol. I, History of Tuluva* examined the political, economic and social history of the region until the Hoysala period on the basis of inscriptions and literary evidences. One significant aspect about this work is the extensive use of folklore in the reconstruction of history. The *Gramapaddhati* and *Paddanas* were used for the first time by Saletore. This work provides information on seasons, state of agriculture and commerce.

Suryanath U. Kamath’s “*Tuluva in the Vijayanagara Times 1336-1646*” dealt mainly with the political changes that took place in the region. In this work we get some details of trading activities particularly on the western coast.

B.S. Shastry in his thesis entitled “*The Portuguese in Kanara 1498-1763*” concentrated more on political history. He examined the political relations between the Portuguese and the Nayakas of Keladi. He opined that political relationship between these two powers was largely influenced by the Portuguese commercial interests in Kanara. Though this work provides information relevant to our study, there is still scope to examine the dynamics of Portuguese trade with Kanara.

Later B.S. Shastry published his *Keladiya Arasaru Hagu Portuguesaru*. This work is largely based on his Doctoral Thesis. His another work *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History* is useful to study the economic history of the region. He analysed the trade practices, monetary system, weights and measures, different categories of traders, volume of trade, shipping and other
related aspects. K.V. Ramesh wrote *A History of South Kanara* which deals mainly with the political aspects. Yet we get information about trade guilds, their influence upon the state policy, urban centres, weights and measures, coinage, communication in cities and towns. This work is largely based on the epigraphical sources.

P.Gururaja Bhatt's *magnum opus, Studies in Tuluva History and Culture* deals with the ancient and medieval history of South Kanara with greater premium on architecture and iconography. He refers to the activities of traders and trade guilds in the region. His treatment of post-Vijayanagara period is very sketchy.

K.G.Vasanthamadhava researched on "Political History of Kanara 1565-1763" and also wrote on *Religions in Coastal Karnataka*. Obviously there was no scope to discuss about the economic aspects of history. His later work entitled *Western Karnataka-Its Agrarian Relations 1500-1800* gives useful details on agrarian system and agrarian production. His published papers are useful to our study.

The Doctoral Thesis of P.N.Narasimha Murthy, "Jainism on the Kanara Coast" discussed the importance of South Kanara in the regional economy, monetisation of the economy, trade contacts with other regions of Karnataka, craft products and trade guilds. But there was no much scope here to discuss the economic aspects in a detailed manner.

B.Vasantha Shetty wrote his thesis, "Barakuru-A Metropolitan
City of Antiquity" and analysed the history of this medieval town of South Kanara from the earliest times to the fall of Vijayanagara. His work provides data which are useful for the present study. He refers to the trade guilds, coinage, agrarian production, weights and measures, urban institutions, streets of traders and craft producers. However the work is based mainly on inscriptions and monuments.

Syed Abdul Bari wrote his Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Non-Agrarian Taxation in Karnataka under Vijayanagara (1336-1565)". He discussed the various taxes that were imposed on traders, shops, commodities that were traded and craft products.

Malathi K. Murthy's Ph.D. thesis, "Trade and Commerce in Colonial South Kanara (1799-1862)" is an interesting study on the economic history of colonial South Kanara. It helps us to some extent in reconstructing the economic history of the pre-colonial period.

B. Jagadish Shetty wrote his Ph.D. thesis on "Agro-Economic Relations and Social Structure in Dakshina Kannada (A.D.1000-1600)". He analysed land structure, land tenure, land revenue and aspects of economy and social structure. This study emphasised on the land system with some information on the ports, urban centres and trade centres of the region. It is useful to know the agrarian character of the economy of South Kanara.

Shaila Bai U. wrote her Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Shasanagala Samskritika Adhyayana". This study is largely based on inscriptions. The author tried to reconstruct the history of trade guilds, their role
and functions in society.

_The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara_ written by Henry Heras dealt with the relations between the Portuguese and the Chieftains of South Kanara. These chieftains included the Chautas, the Bangas, the Bairarasas, the Ballalas, Queen of Karnad, the Heggades and they fought among themselves. Abbakka Devi, the Chauta queen of Ullala, opposed the Portuguese. Heras concentrated on the political history only.

K.D. Swaminathan wrote _The Nayakas of Ikkeri_ and examined the political history of this dynasty which ruled South Kanara also. He studied their relations with the Portuguese and the Kings of Malabar. This work contains some of the original Portuguese documents and their translations. It also refers to the development of trade as a direct result of the policies pursued by the Nayakas of Ikkeri.

A.V. Venkataratnam's _Local Government in the Vijayanagara Empire_ provides information on the organisation and functions of the trade guilds of South Kanara. He refers to the _hanjamanas_ and the _nakhara_. K.N. Chitnis in his _Keladi Polity_ studied the Keladi state and administration which also controlled South Kanara. In this work there is reference to trade activities and the attitude of the state towards trade. In T.V. Mahalingam's _Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara Part II: Social Life_ we get reference to the interest taken by the state in protecting the traders. There is description of various ports under the control of Vijayanagara.

G.R. Kuppuswamy's _Economic Conditions in Karnataka_ has
an analysis of weights and measures, organisation and functioning of trade guilds and communities of traders. Om Prakash Prasad’s *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval South India* helps to know the various urban centres of South India and the structural changes in them. Vijay Kumar Thakur edited the work, *Towns in Pre-Modern India*. It deals with the process of urbanisation and urban centres. It carries an article by Om Prakash Prasad on ‘Towns in Early Medieval Karnataka’. The book as a whole and the article in particular are useful for this work.

Meera Abraham’s *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* is an exclusive study of the trading activities conducted by *Ayyavole* and *Manigramam* guilds. There is some reference to the role of trade guilds of South Kanara particularly during the period of Vijayanagara. The author discussed the structure and functioning of the guilds, trading settlements, towns and markets and international trade. This work is useful for the present study.

R.Champakalakshmi in her *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization in South India* discussed the role of traders and temples in bringing about urbanisation. The theories, interpretations and the models stated by the author could be used by us. James Hietzman’s *The Gifts of Power* discusses temple urbanism as distinct from urbanisation caused by traders. He says that the gifts given by the traders to temples had ideological implications in legitimising their position in the society.

V.K.Jain’s *Trade and Traders in Western India* studies the internal trade, foreign trade, trade routes, market system, taxation, credit and
banking, trading community and merchant corporations, role of merchants in state and society. The ideas used are applied in the context of Gujarat trade. But it provides us a better historical perspective.

Alexander I. Tchitcherov wrote the book *Changing Economic Structure in the Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries Outline History of Crafts and Trade*. In this the author discussed the various stages of economic growth like feudalism and capitalist relations of production. There is a separate chapter which theoretically analyses craft production and its implications.

George M. Moraes in his *Mangalore A Historical Sketch* dealt with the various political and economic developments in Mangalore. In writing this work, he used several Portuguese documents and foreign traveller’s accounts which are useful for this thesis also.

A.R. Disney wrote *Twilight of the Pepper Empire, Portuguese Trade in South West India in the Early Seventeenth Century* and extensively surveyed the Portuguese 'fortress-factory' system and the fluctuations in trade in South Kanara. It gives a list of weights and measures that were followed in Kanara and Malabar. This work also refers to the ports of Basrur and Mangalore.

M.N. Pearson wrote *Coastal Western India* and analysed the Portuguese activities on the western coast with special reference to Goa and Gujarat. This work furnishes useful data with theoretical interpretation. Afzal Ahmad’s *Indo-Portuguese Trade in the Seventeenth Century* is primarily based on the Portuguese documents. It gives quantitative data regarding prices, trade fluctuations and examines the dominant position of some of the Kanarese
Sanjay Subrahmanyam has written several books and articles regarding the trade and commerce of India and South Asia. His article 'The Portuguese, the Port of Basrur and Rice Trade 1600-50' analyses the predominant position of Basrur due to its rice trade. He gives information regarding the volume of trade, merchant communities, settlement of *casados*, commodity composition and other details. His another work, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700 - A Political and Economic History*, includes information on the role of ports in Kanara in the Asian trade network, the characteristics of *Estado da India* and the *casados*. In *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500-1650*, Sanjay Subrahmanyam discussed about the coastal trade, overland trade, overseas trade, the trade relations between the Europeans and Asians, external commerce and political participation, models and methodological strategies of trade. This study gives us the perspective of global trade. It provides useful data and interpretation on the port of Basrur.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam edited the book, *Money and Market in India 1100-1700*. This work deals with various economic aspects like prices, weights and measures and the structure of market. It examines the problem of feudalism and proto-capitalist aspects of the economy.

S. Arasaratnam’s *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century* includes an analysis of the position of various ports in Kanara. He refers to the shipbuilding centres in Kanara, relations between the natives and Europeans, state intervention in trade, taxes imposed by the state, functions of merchants in
administration and development of maritime trade. This work provides information on the Kanarese merchants in other ports of India, merchant communities of South Kanara, categories of merchants in India, relations between ports and the ocean and the importance of geographical factors in trade.

Deitmar Rothermund authored *Asian Trade and European Expansion in the Age of Mercantilism* 50. He wrote about the typology of trade and the European demand for the Asian goods which led to the monetisation of the Asian economy. In this work some of the theoretical issues related to trade and its impact are delineated.

K.N. Chaudhuri wrote *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean From the Rise of Islam to 1750* 51. In this work Chaudhuri discussed the various issues such as evolution of communities of traders, urbanisation, craft production, the relationship between production and demand. He made a very interesting analysis of Asian economic experiences. He came out with models of market studies and examined the process and nature of urbanisation.

S. Jayasheela Stephen’s *The Coromandel Coast and Its Hinterland Economy, Society and Political System (A.D.1500-1600)* 52 reveals that the sixteenth century was an age of expanding production. The temples played a crucial role in enhancing demand for clothes. With the arrival of Europeans there were certain organisational changes in the system and techniques of production leading to the changes in the nature of the economy with the emergence of proto-capitalistic elements.
The above historiographical survey shows that a comprehensive and analytical study of craft production and trade in South Kanara from A.D. 1000 to 1763 is a desideratum. The purpose of this study is to examine the myriad aspects of craft production and trade in this region in proper historical perspective.

Sources:

The sources for the present study are copious. They include primary sources, published and unpublished, and secondary sources. They are inscriptions, kadatas, English, Portuguese and Dutch records, travelogues and folklore. There are also sources like Kaifiyats, sthalapuranas and legends which could be used carefully along with corroboratory evidences. Besides these, a large number of published works, both in English and Kannada could be used for an analysis of the data on South Kanara in a better and broader historical perspective.

Inscriptions give authentic information regarding various aspects of history. Many inscriptions of South Kanara throw light on craft production, trade, traders, markets, etc. Most of them belong to the period from 8th century to 17th century A.D. They are identified and published in the Mysore Archaeological Reports, Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia Indica, Karnataka Inscriptions and South Indian Inscriptions, Volume VII and Volume IX Part I and II. Besides these, there are many unpublished inscriptions which are discovered and used by scholars like P. Gururaja Bhatt, K.V. Ramesh, K.G. Vasanthamadhava, B. Vasantha Shetty and others. We have utilised the data
available in these inscriptions by referring to the works of these scholars.

*Kadatas* form another major category of original sources used here. *Kadatas* or black books are unpublished Kannada records. These are written by the court writers on the command of the rulers. They generally deal with the topics like sale and purchase of land, accounts of the business families, accounts of trade, etc. These are found in the custody of some private individuals and also in the Karnataka State Archives, Bangalore, where they are microfilmed and preserved. Some of the *kadatas* are like unpublished account books and give details of internal trade of the region. A few others refer to the different communities like goldsmiths, potters and other craftsmen. In the *kadatas* there are references to *karkhanas* (workshops) where there was the production of goods which were purchased by both the traders as well as the people by directly approaching the producers. They also inform the prices of goods like rice, jaggery, coconut, arecanut, grocery and other items.

Some of the English documents preserved in the Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai, are useful for the present study. They include volumes of Public Department Diary, Carwar Factory Outward Letter Book, Secretariat Inward Letter Book and Secretariat Outward Letter Book. The series of volumes edited by William Foster under the title *English Factories in India* furnish important data regarding trade activities in South Kanara.

The Portuguese sources furnish much information on their activities in the Asian ports. They provide quantitative data which are very useful to know the system of weights and measures, factories, volume of trade,
fluctuations in trade due to intervention or changing political relations or market conditions of the state and the trading communities of South Kanara. For example, the *Livro do Cartazes* \(^5\) mentions the ships of traders of South Kanara, quantity of goods traded by them, places where they traded and commodity composition. Similarly *Livro do Correspondencia do Kanara* \(^6\) is also a very useful document for the present study. There are certain Portuguese works like *Archivo Portuguese Oriental* \(^1\), *Asia Portuguesa* \(^2\) and *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes....* \(^3\) P.S.S. Pissurlencar edited works like *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India* \(^4\), *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India* \(^5\), *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*. \(^6\) F. C. Danvers wrote the work, *Report of the Portuguese Records Relating to the East Indies* \(^7\). These works are useful to reconstruct the Portuguese commercial activities in South Kanara.

The Dutch records used by us are in the form of translations of a few pages from the *Dagh Register* which are given in the Journals of Bombay Historical Society. \(^8\)

Accounts of foreign travellers constitute a major source of information for this study. The activities of Jewish traders are recorded by S.D. Goitien in his *Letters of Jewish Traders*. \(^9\) The notices of the Arab travellers on South Kanara are seen from the work, *The Knowledge of India Possessed by Arab Geographers Down to the 14th Century A.D. With Special Reference to Southern India*. \(^0\) This book covers the views of Arab travellers like Abul Fida, Ferishta, Yaqut and Damishqi regarding the trade centres of South Kanara. It is said that Mangalore was one of the biggest trade centres in the Malabar coast.
The views of Ibn Batuta can be seen in the book *Travels in Asia and Africa*. Ibn Batuta described the land route from Kanara to Malabar. To him Mangalore was a place where pepper and ginger were available in large quantity.

*The Book of Duarte Barbosa* edited by Mansel Longworth deals with aspects like the status of the province of Tulunadu which was a part of Vijayanagara, ports of South Kanara, their geographical location and importance. *The Suma Oriental* of Tom Pires provides information on the trading activities in the ports of Kanara. Pietro Della Valle noticed the political developments and described the relations between the native chieftains of South Kanara, the Keladi rulers and the Portuguese. H.L.Nage Gowda edited the volumes of *Pravasi Kanda India* (in Kannada). They provide the accounts of foreign travellers like Nicolo Conti, Dom Duarte Menezes, Pyrard Delaval, Linschoten, Tom Pires, Thomas Herbert, Mandel Sella, John de Tevno and others.

Alexander Hamilton’s work *A New Account of the East Indies* informs us about the trade between Basrur and Muscat. From Muscat the traders brought horses, dates, pearl and other merchandise of the products of Arabia to South Kanara. He also speaks about the trade routes between South Kanara and other regions.

*The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and the Near East* bears testimony to the existence of the English trading agency in Kanara as early as 1672. Further it mentions the trading links between Mangalore, Persia and Arabia. *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies* gives an account of the trading activities in the ports of South Kanara. His work is
particularly useful to understand the competition between European powers like the Portuguese, English and Dutch. Ludovico de Varthema left his accounts in *Itinerario*[^2]. He mentions about the existence of craft producers in the bazaar of ‘Olala’.[^3] Francis H. Buchanan’s *Journey From Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*[^4] gives useful information on the different communities, agricultural and craft production.

Another category of source available for the present study is folklore. The folklore of South Kanara consists of *paddanas, kabitas, legends* and proverbs. The *paddanas* are anthologies which are sung by the agriculturists and mostly these are related to the religious life of the people. *Paddanas* give details on the day to day life of the people. They refer to the different communities producing agricultural and craft goods. Places of production and trading centres are mentioned in them. *Kabitas* are poems sung by people and they refer to their living condition. *Aitihyas* or legends are traditional stories or narratives which could be used only with the support of reliable historical data. Proverbs describe the attitude of the people towards different professional communities like artisans and traders.

Some of the Kannada literary works can be used for the present study. Kavi Chandrama wrote *Gomatesvara Charitre*[^5] which describes the different streets of Karkal and gives references to artisanal and trading activities. *Linganna Kavi’s Keladi Nripa Vijayam*[^6] helps in studying the relations between the Chieftains of South Kanara and the Keladi rulers. It also refers to the activities of the Portuguese in South Kanara.
Geographical Setting:

According to the tradition, Parashurama ksetra is known for the fertility of soil, abundant rainfall and wealth. South Kanara has a variety of flora and fauna. It has mountains, valleys, rivers and ports. South Kanara has Arabian sea as its western boundary. This coast line is about 80 miles. It is almost straight, but in some places it is broken with rivers, rivulets, small streams, etc. The Western ghats are situated on the eastern side of the District. Some of the peaks in the ghats rise about 6000 feet above than the sea level. The average altitude of the ghats is about 2000 feet. This has separated the coastal strip from the upghat regions of Karnataka. It made large scale contact between the two regions difficult till modern roads and transport system developed. However, there was no total isolation of South Kanara from the rest of Karnataka. From early times, these contacts were established through the routes of Kollur, Hosangadi, Agumbe, Shiradi and Sampaje ghats. North Kanara and Kerala are situated to the north and south of South Kanara respectively.

The rivers of South Kanara run from the east to the west. With the heavy rainfall of south-west monsoon and the broken nature of the country, the rivers and streams are innumerable. Since the volume of water is very great at times, they do not facilitate transportation. In the dry weather, owing to rocky character of their beds, the rivers are not usually navigable. However, within these limits they are very extensively used for bringing products to the coastal ports and towns. The backwaters and salt water lagoons provide great facilities for traffic.
The principal rivers of South Kanara are Netravati, Gurupur, Gangolli, Sitanadi and Suvarnanadi. The Netravati originates in the ghats to the east of Kudremukh and flows down the Bangadi valley. At Uppinangadi it meets another larger river called Kumaradhare which comes from Kumara Parvata near Subrahmanya. From Bantwal onwards the river is navigable to boats of a capacity of 3 tons and as it approaches Mangalore, the channel assumes wider proportions.

Gangolli river consists of several streams which fall into the sea at Gangolli. Haladi is navigable even at the driest season by boats containing one corji or about 1½ tons of rice. Chakranadi is navigable for boats of small burthen as far as Wandse.

The Sitanadi takes its rise in the ghats beyond Someshwar to the north-east of Udupi taluk, while the Suvarnanadi flows from the hills situated at south-eastern boundary of the same taluk. Both fall into the sea at Barkur or Hangarakatta, nearly eight miles to the north of the town of Udupi and a large backwater being formed by their junction. The Sitanadi is navigable as far as Kokkarne, 11 miles inland. The Suvarnanadi is navigable upto Baje about 12 miles from the coast. The above survey shows that South Kanara consists of some important rivers which on the one hand facilitated transport and on the other provided fertile land for agricultural production.

**Nature of the Economy:**

Being located on the western coast, South Kanara had the advantage of several ports. The ports of South Kanara are mentioned in the writings of
Greco-Roman scholars. Pliny and Ptolemy mention the trade centre Nitrias and Nitra respectively. This can be identified with a town located on the banks of Netravati river, namely, Mangalore. The Roman scholar Arrian in his book *Indica* called Mangalore as Mandegora. A 6th century work, *Christian Topography* by Kosmos Indikopluestes mentioned Mangarout. One second century Greek drama mentioned the port of Udyavara. The Alupas ruled from the beginning of the Christian era to the fourteenth century. Udyavara was their capital and it was a flourishing trade centre till 12th century A.D. The Udyavara inscription of Chitravahana II mentions the cities of Udyavar and Mangalore. The Udyavara inscription of Prathvisagara which belongs to 9th century A.D. mentions that custom duties were collected both in land routes and water transport. The king donated half of the custom duty to the Patti Pombuccha Nagara. For this he had to take the permission of traders of Udyavara. This reveals that Udyavara and Patti Pombuccha had trade connections and that in Udyavara the traders organised themselves into guilds. Vijayaditya's Udyavara inscription also mentions that half of the tax collected was given to the city of Patti Pombuccha. This inscription mentions about *nakharadavaru* of Udyavara.

Another inscription mentions the following taxes that were collected by the state:
The above details show the kind of craft production and trade that existed till the end of the 10th century A.D. The major trade centres of this period were Udyavara, Patti Pombuccha and Mangalore. There was the existence of towns, traders and trade guilds. Sources indicate the existence of regional trade. In the historical period, Barkur, Basrur and Mangalore were the important ports. New Mangalore harbour continues to be the rendezvous of South Kanara today.

The economy of South Kanara was predominantly agricultural in nature. The surplus production in the primary sector led to the development of trade. Thus the agrarian production catered to the needs of the natives and met the demand from outside. P. Gururaja Bhat stated that South Kanara in the pre-modern period was essentially an agricultural district and 75% of the population depended for their livelihood on cultivation.\(^98\) Land was divided into rice and garden lands. The garden lands consisted of coconut and arecanut plantations. It is said that 22 kinds of agricultural implements were used.\(^99\)

The brahmans, their agraharas and temples were the prominent land owners of South Kanara. The brahmanical tradition, Gramapaddhati, speaks about the existence of 32 brahmana villages. It is suggested that these villages were situated on the river valleys and fertile zones of the western coast.\(^100\) The
land was granted to temples and brahmans by the kings and traders. This enhanced significantly the economic position of the brahmans in South Kanara.\textsuperscript{101}

There were merchants who tried to own land. K.V.Ramesh stated that organisations such as \textit{Settikaras}\textsuperscript{102} and \textit{Halaru}\textsuperscript{103} guilds and the \textit{Mahajananas} also owned land in their collective capacity.\textsuperscript{104} The inscriptions refer to \textit{Halara gadi}\textsuperscript{105} and \textit{halaru} as land owners.\textsuperscript{106} The artisans mostly owned non-agrarian lands which could not be cultivated.\textsuperscript{107} We find reference to \textit{madivala bettu} or land of washermen, \textit{bestara bettu} or land of fishermen, \textit{kumbara adi} or land of potters.\textsuperscript{108} But there are also references to artisans who owned cultivable land. For example, we come across phrases like \textit{badagiya bayala gadde} and \textit{Accu Kottariya gadde}.\textsuperscript{109}

These land owners cultivated only a part of their land and leased out much of their land to the tenants for cultivation and collected a part of the produce from them. Sometimes they hired labourers (\textit{kuliyatugatu}), and also used bonded labourers (\textit{muladalugalu}) for the purpose of cultivation.\textsuperscript{110} We do not get much information regarding the agrarian relation and the ratio in which agricultural produce was shared.

Some of the chief agricultural products included rice, coconut, arecanut, horse-gram, black-gram, ragi, gingily, pepper, cardamom, chillies, sugar-cane, tobacco, betel-leaf, castor, turmeric, cotton and ginger. The Mudubidre copper plate inscription of Chauta Abbakkadevi refers to coconut plantations.\textsuperscript{111} Coconuts were grown not only for domestic consumption but also to export on large scale. Sometimes coconut gardens were leased out for
cultivation. Another profitable cash crop. An inscription from Basur refers to taking of areca tree in procession to a temple. Other crops produced were savute and other vegetables, mavu (mango), halasu or jack, kadali (one variety of banana) and chikku (sapota) Most of the peasants were sudras. However there are references to some brahmanical groups which participated in agricultural pursuit.

The above survey shows that agriculture was the major occupation of the people in South Kanara. Craft production or industries remained subordinate to agriculture. Obviously people largely depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Craft production was agro-based in nature and it brought revenue to the artisans. Agriculture and industries were interdependent because agriculture provided raw materials required for craft production such as coir, jaggery, sugar, etc. The land owners and labourers undertook artisan activities also and they could devote more time when they did not have much work in their fields. The traders traded both in agricultural and industrial goods. Many of the traders (Settis) belonged to the agricultural community and they carried out both these activities simultaneously. Trade and the resultant profit led to increased wealth and accumulation of capital. This enhanced the economic and social status of traders. Most of the artisans lived in the rural areas and did not migrate in large scale to the urban centres.

Political Background:

The political history of South Kanara, beginning from the 7th century A.D. to the conquest of the region in 1763 by Haidar Ali of Mysore, saw
South Kanara during the Alupa period
the rule of the Alupas, the kings of Vijayanagara and the Nayakas of Keladi. The
Alupas who ruled as the feudatories of the different ruling dynasties of Karnataka
such as the Chalukyas of Badami, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, the Chalukyas of
Kalyana and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra had South Kanara under their control
till the end of the 14th century. Mangalore, Udyavara and Barkur were the political
centres of the Alupas at various periods of history. During the rule of
Vijayanagara (c. 1345 A.D. to 1550), the Governors were the connecting link
between the Empire and South Kanara. There were two rajyas, namely Mangalore
and Barkur, each under a Governor. The kings of Vijayanagara gave considerable
importance to South Kanara, for, its ports - Barkur, Basrur, Mangalore, etc.-
facilitated trade and brought revenue to the Government.

By 1554 South Kanara came under the control of the Keladi rulers.
It was a part of their kingdom until 1763. In that year Haidar Ali conquered
Bidanur and along with that annexed the coastal districts of Karnataka to his
kingdom.

During the last days of the Alupa rule and in the immediate post-
Alupa period (between the 12th and 15th centuries), there came into existence a
number of local ruling families in South Kanara. They were the Savantas of Mulki
(c. 1411 to 1700), the Choutas of Ullal or Mudabidre (c. 1160-1801), the
Bhairarasa Odeyas of Karkal (c. 1240 to 1650), the Ajilas of Venur (c. 1418 to
1800), the Tolaharas of Surala (c. 1139 to 1800), the Bangas of Bangadi or
Bangavadi (c. 1410 to 1800), the Rajas of Kumbla (c. 12th century to 1800), and
the Rajas of Vittal (c. 1436 to 1800). The territory of the Rajas of Nileshwar was
South Kanara under the Vijayanagara empire.
annexed to South Kanara in 1737, and they too continued their rule up to 1800. These local chieftains except the Rajas of Nileshwar, continued to enjoy their position as the feudatories of the Vijayanagara, Keladi and Mysore rulers. The Nileshwar Rajas ruled under the Keladi and Mysore rulers.  

After the 15th century, Europeans like the Portuguese, Dutch and the English arrived in South Kanara and they tried to establish their factories in ports like Mangalore, Basrur and Gangolli. The European element considerably influenced the economy, trade and commerce of South Kanara. The Portuguese signed treaties with the native rulers and tried to obtain supply of necessary provisions to their factories in different parts of India and abroad. During this interaction there were military encounters and political negotiations. This led to proliferation of trade in items like rice, pepper, ginger, iron, saltpetre, etc. The Dutch and the English attempted to compete with the Portuguese. The Dutch established their factories in Mangalore and Basrur. The English also appointed their agents in Mangalore to procure necessary supplies of rice to their settlements in Tellicherry and Bombay.

The above survey of the political history shows that there were significant changes in the political scenario in South Kanara during the period of our study. The changes in political scene affected the economy as well. While agriculture prospered, industrial activities could not grow well due to the absence of continued patronage. Further these changes did not affect trade adversely as almost all rulers showed interest in its promotion as it brought revenue to the state. The rule of the kings of Vijayanagara and Keladi led to expansion of trade.
South Kanara during the Keladi period
The contact with Europeans further expanded the trade network of South Kanara. Now the traders of South Kanara took part both in coastal trade and long distance overseas trade.

**Nature and Scope:**

This thesis attempts to study the history of craft production and trade in South Kanara from A.D. 1000 to 1763 A.D. Both original and secondary sources in different languages are used. These data on the history of South Kanara are analysed and used by us as far objectively as possible and in a broader historical perspective. For this purpose we have consulted notable publications in the area of economic history. Statistics available on production, trade, etc. are used and presented in the thesis. The statistical data enabled us to prove our arguments in the areas of industrial production, trade, migration and urbanisation. The dynamics of craft production, artisan communities, production centres and their products, guilds, etc. are examined. In the field of trade, both agricultural and non-agricultural goods are considered. This had to be so due to the dominant agrarian character of the economy of South Kanara. We have included trade in spices as well as victuals. In other words, both 'big trade' and 'small trade' are examined. Most of the economic activities had to be analysed in the context of a caste-stratified society. The socio-economic transformation of the region due to the growth of trade, the process of urbanisation and emergence of socio-economic elites are considered. The role of the state, rulers, merchants, temples and *m mathas* and the influential classes of the society is studied.

1000 A.D. is taken as the starting point due to the availability of
ample sources from this period onwards. It was after A.D. 1000 that more changes could be seen in the economy of South Kanara. The year 1763 marked the fall of Nayakas of Keladi and the annexation of South Kanara to the Mysore kingdom by Haidar Ali.

This thesis consists of the following six chapters:

1. Introduction
2. Craft Production
3. Aspects of Trade and Urban Centres
4. Transport, Market and Currency
5. European Traders in South Kanara
6. Conclusion

The first chapter deals with the introductory details like historiographical survey, sources, the geographical setting, nature of the economy, political background, and nature and scope of the study. In the second chapter, craft production, the question of migration, industries and their products like textiles, salt, jaggery and sugar, metal, wood and leather works, oil, umbrellas, hat and mat works are considered. The aspects of trade and urban centres are examined in the third chapter. It includes a study of tolls, customs and transit duties, trade centres, traders, trade network and urban centres. In the fourth chapter we discuss about transport, market and currency. The means of transport, trade routes, land and river or sea traffic, internal trade centres, fairs and festivals and currency are included here. In the fifth chapter, the arrival and the role of the Europeans like the Portuguese, Dutch and English in South Kanara are analysed.
The sixth chapter presents the conclusion of the thesis.

The thesis has a few maps, tables, charts, list of abbreviations, glossary and bibliography.

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23 K.D. Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, Madras, 1957. The Nayakas of Ikkeri, also known as the Nayakas of Keladi, had their capital at Keladi first, then
at Ikkeri and finally at Bidanur or Bednur.


26 Hanjamanas, the trade guild of foreign merchants particularly the Muslims, existed in Coastal Karnataka in the beginning of 12th century A.D. and continued to flourish till the Keladi rule. They were itinerant traders who traded in horses and perhaps other commodities of long distance.

27 Nakharas existed in South Kanara from the earliest times. They were probably the local traders who maintained their connections with itinerant traders since sometimes there is reference to nakhara-hanjamanas. Nakharas can be compared with nagarattar, the itinerant trade guilds of the Chola country.


33 Meera Abraham, Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India, Delhi, 1988.


40 The fortress-factory system meant the establishment of Portuguese posts in the strategic locations where the Portuguese established the trade centres to sell and purchase commodities. This served both the purposes of controlling important trade centres and defending these posts.

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44 *Casados* were the Portuguese who had married the native women and settled in
India. They participated in trade.


46 It meant the State of India, which included the Portuguese possessions from East Africa to the Far East.


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71 The Arab travellers did not make a distinction between the Kanara coast and the Malabar. Hence they considered Mangalore as a part of Malabar.


74 Ibid, P. 234.

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83 Presently it is known as Ullala.


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87 Tradition mentions that Parashurama ksetra consisted of the western coastal region from Maharashtra to Kerala.

88 See the traditions of South Kanara, namely, *Gramapaddhati* and *Sahyadri Khanda*.


94 *Ibid*, PP. 33-34.
Nakharadavaru means people belonging to Nakhara, the trade guild.


This was a trade guild active in Barkur and Mudabidre.

This was another trade guild of South Kanara.


*SII*, VII, No. 346.

*SII*, VII, Part II, No. 655


*SII*, VII, No.344.


*Ibid*.

*Ibid*.

Gramapaddhati refers to some of the fallen brahmanas working in fields and
gardens. We also know that Kota, Havyak and Karhad brahmans themselves produced the goods with both kin labour as well as extended labour.