The expansion of agriculture in the plains and in forest zones and the growth of industries on the basis of agricultural and other products and the surplus in both the fields of economic activity led to a spurt in internal and external trade. Trade being a rich source of state income, the rulers, the Rastrakutas and following them the Later Cālukyas encouraged trade and commerce, and Deccan once again, as during the time of Satavāhanas, began to bristle with commercial activities. The Rastrakutas are known to have encouraged Arab merchants to settle down in their kingdom and carry on trade. The Cālukyan inscriptions from about the beginning of the 11th century contain references to rich merchants - behāri and settī and merchant organisations like Ayyāvali 500 and Nānādeśī. Telangāna which formed part of the Rastrakūta and Cālukyan empires felt the impact of and made its own contribution to the growing mercantile enterprise.

Trade Organisations

From the eleventh century onwards epigraphs of Telangāna contain references to merchant organisations. But there is a marked difference between the eastern and western parts of the region. In the west, the records from places like Avanca and Gāṅgāpuram refer to Samayas. An inscri-
ption from Gaṅgāpuram (A.D. 1079) refers to Āśakasamaya among other merchant organisations. An inscription from Āvanca (A.D. 1104) records the remission of certain taxes by Kumāra Tailapadeva, payable by Paṭṭasāligam, Angadiseṭṭigar, Sālisettiṅgar and samaya. The virtual absence of the samaya in the contemporary epigraphs of the eastern Telangāna is striking contrast to the west. The inscriptions from Chilkur (A.D. 1067) and Anmakonda (A.D. 1090) in the eastern districts mention nakaram organisations. Kenneth Hall has pointed out that Samaya denotes an itinerant trade guild whereas the Nakaram denotes a guild of local merchants. It is therefore clear that in western Telangāna, a region adjacent to Karnāṭaka and ruled directly by the Čalukyan monarchs, local merchant guilds did not develop till the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Kannāda merchants formed into Samaya guilds and carried on local as well as itinerant trade. However, as the Samantas such as the Coḍas of Kandūr and Kākatīyas of Warangal became powerful, nakaram guilds began to grow all over the region. As the authority of the Čalukyas declined in the middle of the 12th century, the nakaram became the most significant basic unit that set the pattern as an agent of integration in the trade of rural markets in the entire Telangāna region. The trend continued with greater vigour in the 13th century. The samaya, as an organisation of traders, was probably integrated into the nakaram network as the latter organisation became diversified into several specialist trade guilds.
such as Ponkanakaram, Pañchalohala nakaram etc. Moreover, itinerant trade guilds like the Ayyāvalī and Mummūri-dandas played a dominant role in serving the royal centres and temple towns, meeting their demand for a variety of consumer goods. Thus, it may be said that the emergence of the nakaram network drew the itinerant trade linking the intraregional with interregional commerce.

Samaya

In Telangāna, during the early times of Cālukyan rule the organised commerce was carried on by samaya guilds. This is attested by the epigraphs of Āvanka, Gangāpuram and Patāncheruvu. The Kannada inscriptions from the Mahaboobnagar district refer to trade guilds with the suffix samaya and Samayam. The Gangāpuram inscription (A.D. 1079) refers to Samastasetṭikāraru and Asaka Samayagalu. The Āvanka inscription (A.D. 1124) mentions the remission of certain taxes by Tailapa on merchant guilds such as the Pattasāligam and the Samayam. The Patāncheruvu inscription (A.D. 1127) mentions that the settikārasamayas of four villages were entrusted with the execution of Bhūlokamalla Someśvara's charity to a Brāhmin Nannayabhaṭṭa. However, it may be said that with the disappearance of the Cālukyan hegemony and the rise of Kākatiyas, the Samaya type of trade organisations slowly disappeared. It appears that these samayas operating in the Telangāna region were mainly
composed of Kannada merchants and that the term Samaya
generally denoted an itinerant merchant guild. The epigraphical evidence quoted above from Telangāna supports Hall's definition of samaya. However, the Telugu word Pekkandru was in greater use to denote itinerant trade guilds. Thus, we may conclude that the samaya organisations of earlier times (before c 1126 A.D.) developed into (a) the Nakaram at the local level and (b) the Pekkandru as the supra local level.

Growth and Diversification

With the establishment of semi-independent sāmanta states at Koḍūr, Anakkonda and Polavāsa and with the expansion of trade, a number of guilds came into existence. These may be classified into (1) Nakaram network (2) Artisan-cum-mercantile guilds (3) Itinerant trade guilds.

Apart from these, there was another significant organisation frequently mentioned in contemporary epigraphs. That is Pekkandru. This organisation appears to be inclusive of the members of the above three types and was a corporation of the guilds.

Nakaram

The nakaram is the most frequently referred trade guild in Telangāna between the 11th and 14th centuries A.D. The word nagaram was also used in inscriptions with the same
import. In Tamilnādu in the age of the Colas, nagaram was the standard term. Hall defines nagaram as a "physically defined area inhabited by a group of people known as nagarattar", an assembly of merchants. Thus, nagaram of the Cola times denoted two things at the same time: (1) an area and (2) an assembly or guild. The nagaram organisation in the Cola domain represented town - hinterland relationship. The members of the body are known as a nagarattar and participated in the transactions of interregional, intraregional and overseas trade. They were closely associated with the temple institutions in the management of grants and gifts. Membership was secular in character. The nagaram organisation assumed the character of a local body maintaining local markets, supervising the flow of goods, and providing a regular link between nādus and itinerant traders. Increase of nagaram centres within the nādus and diversification in trading activity giving rise to guilds like sāliya nagaram, Śankarappādi nagaram was due to the spurt of commercial activity.

The sustained effort in agricultural expansion and growth of rural economy during the 11th-13th centuries in Telangāna led to the growth of nakarams. The distribution of nakarams listed localitywise in Table XI demonstrates the factors for such increase. Temple towns and royal and administrative capitals became the centres of growth for the nakaram organisation.
The diversification of nakaram in particular trade items is also evidenced where the richness of the merchandise was available.

After A.D. 1090, both the words nagaram and nakaram are used in the inscriptions only to denote a merchant guild and not a market town or a city. Two inscriptions from Katukūr of Khammam district include nagaram among the astādāsamaḥāpraṇa of the village along with the mahājanulu, kāmpulu and others. The nakaram organisations, as they are noticed in inscriptions, are given in Tables XI and XII.

As it has been pointed out, nakaram is the most basic trade guild of the medieval Telangāna. The basic definition of nakaram of this time can be given basing on the Khājīpet inscription (A.D. 1090). The inscription records that "Anumakondapurāda setṭi pramukha nakaramu" donated an oil-mill to Lord Beteśvara. This trade guild, as it is suggested by its name, is a group of leaders of trading communities (setṭi pramukha) of Anumakondapura. Pura means a capital city. Evidently, this nakaram consisted of the pramukhas or leading members of the trading community. As such, it was not a general body. It was like an executive council. Nakaram may therefore be defined as a small body of elders or leaders elected by the general community of traders.
The rural towns developed as a result of agricultural expansion as well as royal camps, administrative centres (head quarters of nādus sthalas etc.,) and temple towns witnessed the growth of nakarams. The 11th and 12th century epigraphs of Telangāna region reveal that Paṭāncheruvu, the secondary capital of the Čâlukyas of Kalyāṇī; Anmakoṇḍa, the early capital of the Kākatiyās; Pānagal and Kandūr, the capitais of the Kandūri Coḍas and Perūr as the main centres of commerce around which the trade network developed in the later centuries. The major temple centres like Alampūr, Vemulavāḍa and Bodhan were important nodal points in the trade network.

At the apex level, the urban centres where the most influential and wealthy nakarams were located played a dominant role. The nakaram organisation as revealed from the above-noted records of Anmakoṇḍa, Warangal and Paṭāncheruvu was a body of merchants of all categories known as pramukhāsettis. It was local in character integrating all the commerce. Although inscriptions from Anmakoṇḍa do not provide information on the organisational aspect, the data from Paṭāncheruvu shows that the nagaram was presided by a nagaramukhya.

The structure and functions of nakaram

Kenneth R. Hall gives an account of the nagaram as an administrative institution in the age of imperial Coḷas.
According to him, the naqaram was an assembly, having administrative functions over a physically defined area (nädu). The naqaram assembly collected tax revenues from its domains including market cesses and land taxes. The naqaram assigned parts of tax revenues to the local temples and held administrative rights over agricultural lands in the area. The guild administered the affairs of the market place.

Burton Stein holds the view that the nattär of the nādu assembly and the brahmasabha members of the brahmādeya villages held a large number of administrative responsibilities. However, Hall thinks that the three organisations—brahmasabha, nattär, and the naqaram discharged all the major administrative functions of a nādu. While the sabha administered a brahmādeya village and the ñurā, an agricultural village, the naqaram administered all the affairs of a market town.

During the period and in the area under study, it seems that naqaram or the nakaram lost most of its administrative functions and control on the agricultural lands. In only one inscription we find the nakaram donating agricultural land at the instance of the local ruler. The Bānājipet inscription (A.D. 1082) records that at the instance of Kākatiya Betarasa, a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI, the nakaram of Bānājipet donated wet land on all sides of the village and also residential plots and a flower garden to Vīrakamalajinālāaya. From this inscription it
appears that the nakaram was in possession of the land. Such large scale land grants by a nakaram organisation are not to be found in later inscriptions. It may therefore be inferred that after 11th century A.D., nakaram organisations lost exclusive control on agricultural land. The Kaṭukūr inscription (A.D. 1303) records a gift of land yielding two crops per year to Gopīnāthasvāmī temple by the āstādāśamahāpraja which included the mahājanulu, kāmpulu, bālaṇji-setṭigāndru, nagaram and others. This indicates that the guild nagaram or nakaram became a part of the village or local assembly, āstādāśamahāpraja which administered the lands of the village and gifts to the temple institutions. This might also suggest that there were no exclusive market towns in the area in the period under study. Srinivasachar has also expressed the view that nakaram of the period did not denote a market town but only an organisation of merchants.

The nagaram was generally composed of merchants from a small territorial division such as a town, a sthālam or a kampana. The Khājīpet inscription (A.D. 1090) cited above suggests that the nakaram was composed with the merchants from the city and as such its jurisdiction was confined to the city. Two inscriptions from Chilkūr (A.D. 1067 and A.D. 1096) record a nakaram of Chikurupalli and refers to Chilkūr as the chief town of Lombālika-70, a subdivision of Sabbi-1000. From these two inscriptions it may be understood that the jurisdiction of the nakaram at Chilkūr extended
all over Lombalika-70. An undated inscription from Maktal refers to the town as Magatala nagaram. The same inscription refers to it as Magatala sthalam consisting of at least eight villages. This indicates that Magatala was a trade centre having a nakaram operating in the sthala. Table XI gives a list of trade centres where nakaram organisations were functioning in a territorial unit consisting of a number of villages. It may be said that all the merchants belonging to that area were general members of the nakaram. Here it may be said that the guild functioned integrating the rural areas with the chief town.

The Chilkūr inscription (A.D. 1067) records that the chief of the local nakaram, Polisetti was granted certain amounts of money from three classes of shops. An inscription from Paṭāncheruvu refers to a Nagaramukhya. These suggest that a nakaram had a head or chief merchant. The Nagaramukhya collected the amounts from the members and used the money as directed by the nakaram. The chief coordinated the affairs of the guild with the ruling classes and other guilds. He presided over the guild meetings and implemented the decisions of the guild.

Classification of Nakaram

An examination of the records mentioning the nakarams shows that the guild can be classified into four categories as follows:-
1. Locality-wise nakarams
2. Commodity-wise nakarams
3. Composition based nakarams and lastly

Locality-wise nakarams

The growth of rural economy gave rise to emergence of several nakarams. The Table \( \chi ! \) gives the distribution of locality-wise nakarams. The Anmakondaapura nakaram cited above, as its name suggests, functioned in the city as a market locality. An inscription from Perur (A.D. 1119) mentions Peruri nakaram. Another inscription from Pannagallu (A.D. 1124) refers to Pannagallu nakaram. These nakarams must have been guilds of merchants belonging to either the town or a small territorial division such as a sthala or kampana. These, along with other nakaram organisations having no prefixes, traded in all types of commodities. For example, the nakarams of Vardhamanapuram (Mn. dist.), Sirikonda (Km. dist.), Alavinipalli (Mn. Dist.), Katakur (Km. dist.), Chilkur (Kn. dist.), Rachur (Mn. dist.) traded in almost all commodities like grain, oil, arecanuts, betal leaf, cloth and metals.

Commodity-wise nakarams

Another type of nakaram organisation was based on the commodity in which the merchants traded. For example, the Girmajipet inscription (A.D. 1228) mentions Chiramatti nakaram.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Name of the nakaram</th>
<th>Locality/territory</th>
<th>Ref. with date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Potlapalli</td>
<td>Karimnagar</td>
<td>Nakaramu</td>
<td>Lombali - 70</td>
<td>I.A.P.Kn.No.16, A.D. 1066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chilkur</td>
<td>(Rangareddi)</td>
<td>Nakaramu</td>
<td>Anmakondapattanasthalam</td>
<td>C.I.T.D.-IV, No.6, p. 39, A.D. 1067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Khajipet</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>Anumakondasetti pramukha nakaramu</td>
<td>Kallakelagunanadu</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. No.15, A.D. 1090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Alavaneppalli</td>
<td>Medak</td>
<td>Nagaramu</td>
<td>Koḍuru - 300</td>
<td>Tel.Ins. II, pp.57-59, A.D. 1110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Paṭāncheruvi</td>
<td>Medak</td>
<td>Nagaramu</td>
<td>Paṭāncheruvi town</td>
<td>C.I.T.D.- IV, pp. 18-23, undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Perūru</td>
<td>Nalgonda</td>
<td>Perūrinakaramu</td>
<td>Perūri Kampāṇam</td>
<td>C.I.T.D.IV, No.41, undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pāṅugallu</td>
<td>Nalgonda</td>
<td>Pāṅugallu nakaramu</td>
<td>Panugantisthalam</td>
<td>K.C.S.H.C. p. 146, A.D. 1124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Vardhamānapuram</td>
<td>Mahaboobnagar</td>
<td>Nakaramu</td>
<td>Attapi-90 in Vaddavana - 500</td>
<td>C.I.T.D. III, Mm.46, pp. 94-97, A.D. 1224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Magatala</td>
<td>Mahaboobnagar</td>
<td>Magatalanakaram</td>
<td>Magatala sthalam</td>
<td>Tel.Ins. II, pp. 161-162, undated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
traded exclusively in cloth. The Mattewāda inscription (undated) mentions Gandha aṣeṣa nakaramu which traded in sandal. The same inscription refers to Ponkanakaramu which exclusively traded in arecanuts. The Kushmahal inscription mentions Pāṇchalohāla nagaramu whose merchandise was evidently metals. The Govindāpuram inscription (A.D. 1122) mentions a guild of horse traders known as Ghotakabhyavyavahārulu of Vājikula. The inscription does not call it a nakaram though it was a trade guild exclusively trading in horses. The members of the Vājikula called themselves Vaiṣyakulavardhanulu which denotes that they were vaiśyas.

Another corporate body having a number of branches engaged in the trade of metals and alloys was the Pāṇchalohala nakaramu. This guild is also referred to as Pāṇchalohala behārulu. The Mattevāda inscription (undated, Ganapatideva's regnal period) records some gifts made by this nakaram to Mattiyawāda Somanāthadeva. The metals and alloys traded in by this nakaram might be copper, tin, iron, lead and zinc. The Warangal fort inscription (A.D. 1228) mentions tagaramvāru as a guild trading in tin and lead and mūsaravāru as a guild trading in Copper. These guilds might be branches of Pāṇchalohāla nakaram.

The trade in gold and silver appears to have been carried on by the Bacchumatte nakaram discussed below.
Miscellaneous nakarams

There are certain other nakarams which discharged specific functions. The inscriptions from the Warangal Fort (A.D. 1228), Mattewāda (undated) and Kushmahal (undated) mention santanagaram or Santanakaram. Santa in Telugu means a fair held periodically. It appears, therefore, that the function of the Santanakaram was to make arrangements for the holding of such a fair. The Warangal Fort inscription (A.D. 1228) mentions Matteasēsha-nakaram. Another inscription from Ujjili (A.D. 1097) mentions aśeshanakaram. The phrase "aśeṣha" might mean "all inclusive". It might be either a general body of all nakarams existing at the place or an apex body of all the nakarams. The matteasēshanakaram of Warangal fort was entrusted with the maintenance of a clock at the market place. The Kushmahal inscription refers to one bachchumattenakaram. The Mattewāda inscription mentions bacchumāda nagaram whose functions were not specified. This bacchumāda may be a mistake of the scribe for bacchumatte nakaram. This nakaram finds mention in one of the inscriptions at Pāñem (A.D. 1319) in Kurnool district. The function of this Bacchumattenakaram is considered to be exchange of money of different types.

Composition of Nakaram

An inscription from Perūr (A.D. 1119) refers to Aruvanakaram and Telugunakaram. These names indicate the
## TABLE XIII

**Commodity-wise & Function-wise Nakarams**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Commodity/Function</th>
<th>Ref. with date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panugallu</td>
<td>Nalgonda</td>
<td>Nibaramanakaram</td>
<td>Cloth of fine variety</td>
<td>Tel.Ins. I, pp.169-172 A.D. 1132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Girmajipet</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>Chiramattinakaram</td>
<td>Cloth and silver</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 61, A.D. 1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gandhyaaseshanakaram</td>
<td>Sandal</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 62, undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mattewada</td>
<td></td>
<td>1) Panchalohala-beharamadenedi nakaram</td>
<td>Metals</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 68, undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td></td>
<td>2) Gandhaas'esha nakaram</td>
<td>Sandal</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) Pomkhanakaram</td>
<td>Arecanuts</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td></td>
<td>1) Panchalohalaanakaram</td>
<td>Metals</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) Gandhahaseshanakaram</td>
<td>Sandalwood</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) Pomkanagaramu</td>
<td>Arecanuts</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nünebehärulu</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63, A.D. 1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kūragāyabehärulu</td>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63, A.D. 1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Mattewada</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Santanagaram</td>
<td>Administration of weekly market</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 68, undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Santanakaramu</td>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63, A.D. 1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Matteaseshanakaramu</td>
<td>Charged with maintenance of clock</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63, A.D. 1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mettewada</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bachchumadanakaram</td>
<td>Exchange of money</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 68, undated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bachchumattenagaramulu</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 68, undated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
composition of the guilds, the former consisting of the merchants from Tamilnad and the latter of Telugu speaking merchants. The samayamupânta mentioned in the same epigraph might indicate a market conducted by Kannâda merchants.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, the nakaram guild appears to be composed of a number of communities as it replaced and substituted for the samaya organisations. But, as the trade guilds became diversified in industrial centres and metropolitan cities like Warangal, the rural nakaram guilds appear to have been dominated by the komâti community. While mentioning the components of the astâda-samahâpraîja, some records note the nakaram along with sâlevâru, akkasâlevâru, telikavâru but not komâtîs as a caste. This leads to the conclusion that the nakaram was composed of one homogeneous community i.e., the komativâru.

Artisan - merchant groups

The second kind of trade guilds operating in a locality are the artisan-mercantile groups such as the Telikivevuru and Dharmasâliyajanulu.

**Telikivevuru**

An undated inscription from Anmakonda during the time of Vikramâditya VI records the gift made to the local temple by Telikivevuru setâlis on the day of Uttarâvana sankrânti. An undated Sanskrit inscription from Maktal refers to the gifts made
An undated inscription from Konakanchi\(^{58}\) of Krishna district of the time of Potaraju (Konakanchi is in the present Jaggayapeta-Nandigama region which was known in medieval times as Natavadi and is contiguous with Telangana and was ruled by the subordinates of Kakatiyas) mentions one Kurrisetti of teliki community who presented two lamps to the local temple. This inscription also mentions Bejawada telikivevuru. Two inscriptions from Nādendla\(^{59}\) also mention Bejawada Telikivevuru. In these inscriptions Telikivevuru are referred to as Bejawada śāasanulu. The Teki inscription\(^{60}\) mentions the Teliki community as having thousand branches with names like Velumanuka, Pallipalu Narillu, Kumudallu, Marrullu, Povandlu, Svavakulu, Undrallu, Anumagundalu and Addalanulla.

From the above account it is understood that the Telikivevuru were a corporate body consisting of a number of branches whose main occupations were manufacture of oil and wholesale and retail trade in it.

The Nādendla inscription refers to the Telikivevuru as Bejawada śāasanulu. Sundaram remarks\(^{61}\) that the members of the community had met at Bejawada and gave themselves a charter of trade and a code of conduct.
Sālevāru

Another important corporate body who were engaged in both manufacture and trade was the sāle community. The Girmājīpet inscription (A.D. 1228) mentions that on instructions from Dharmasāliyajanulu, Nijarangāla Mallisetṭi and his son Venisetṭi built three temples for Sāleśvara, Gaṇapeśvara and Sakalesvara. The Dharmasāliyajanulu directed that one visa in each gadyānām on sales of cloth be donated to these temples. They also directed the Chiramatti nakaram to grant some amounts to Lord Nakareśvara in Chiramatti from each cloth shop.

The sāliyajanulu mentioned in the above inscription are same as the sālevāru mentioned as one of the 18 communities of a village or town and were engaged in production and trade of cloth.

An inscription from Āvana (A.D. 1104) and another record from Ālavānipalli (A.D. 1110) refer to Pattasāle community. This appears to be a branch of the sāle community. This community appears to have engaged themselves in the manufacture and trade of silk cloth.

From the above, we may say that in the period there functioned organisations which were engaged both in trade and industry. The Telikivevuru and Sāliyajanulu were such organisations. It is also interesting to note that each of these organisations had several branches.
Itinerant trade guilds

Itinerant trade guilds played an important role in the trade activity of medieval Telangāṇa. Although the trading activity individually and collectively by the early organisations like Ayyāvali 500 was in evidence before the eleventh century, the growing needs of royal and temple centres in different agrarian regions and political expansion of the Colas and the Cāluṅgas brought the region into larger commercial net-work.

The Telangāṇa region was noted for its iron and steel products, textiles and diamonds. The growth of rural economy was a significant feature of this period. Being a land-locked country, it depended for many commodities such as salt on the itinerent merchants. As the local production was mainly agricultural, it depended for many non-agricultural commodities on the neighbouring lands such as Karṇāṭaka, coastal Āndhra and Tāmilnāḍ and therefore itinerent trade existed from very early times. Some of the members of this itinerent merchant communities slowly settled down at various market centres. But they referred to themselves as affiliates of the original communities in many inscriptions.65

The itinerent merchants were generally called pānādēṣi, which means that the members of the guild belonged to several countries or regions. An early inscription from Polasa (A.D. 1108)66 records gifts made to Lord Polestesvara of
Polavasa in the Jagityal taluk of Karimnagar district by three merchant guilds namely Virabalanja Ayyavali 500, Mumuridanda of 36 bidus and Samasta Ubhaya Nandasati Pekkandru. These three appear to have different origins and different compositions. A Kannada inscription from Perur (A.D. 1119) refers to nine trade guilds meeting at the temple of Lord Svayambhu Somanatha and gifting two Hahas in every hundred Hires of all the varieties of articles traded at that centre. These are

1) Gangaramuvvatar (Gangaras of 36 towns)
2) Ghataraharu Padunenti bidu (Ghatarahus of 18 towns)
3) Tulila Sandavaru
4) Allavajjiyavaru
5) Balanjiyavaru
6) Ramaduvaru
7) Nallarumaduvaru
8) Sankarapadivaru
9) Maudavalavaru

These merchant guilds appear to have been coming from the neighbouring Kannada country. The Govindapuram inscription (A.D. 1122) records the gift of an itinerent guild of horse-traders known as Ghotakahhyu vyavaharulu to Jaina Parsvanatha. They remitted one pair of China silk cloth per each horse they sold. The Warangal Fort inscription (A.D. 1228) refers to Desi, Paradesivadalavaru and
Svadesi paradeśi behārulu engaged in the trade of indigo and betel leaf.

Table XIII gives a list of inscriptions recording the itinerent trade guilds operating in Telangāna. The areas to which their operations spread and the commodities in which they traded are also given in the Table wherever such information is available.

Ayyāvalī 500

Among the itinerent trade guilds, the vīrabalānja community affiliated to Ayyāvalī 500 is the most significant in Telangāna. The Ayyāvalī 500 was perhaps the largest and the most powerful and richest itinerent trade guild of south India whose operations extended to entire Deccan and south India. The Ayyāvalī stands for "Aihole", a town near Badāmi in Karnātaka. However, the Ayyāvalī 500 was not a single body and the headquarters did not remain at Aihole permanently. Subsequent to the 9th and 10th centuries, Ayyāvalī 500 represented various mercantile groups of different regions and communities. In the inscriptions of 11th century, we come across the terms nānādesi, ubhaya nānādesi, svadesi and paradeśi vīrabalānjas, mummūridandas along with Ayyāvalī 500. The later two terms denote the militant character. Thus the common interests and unity of the guild are reflected in their prāṣastis and naming several towns as southern Ayyavoles in the 11th and 12th centuries.
### TABLE XIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Place/Teritorial division</th>
<th>Name of the trade guild</th>
<th>Articles of trade</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>Ref. with date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Alampūr (Yēje-300)</td>
<td>1) Āyyāvālī - 500</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>Tel. Ins. II, p. 87. A.D. 1182.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) Mummūridandhas of 36 bīdūs</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) Nālsāsī Renum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gangāpuram (Kodur-300)</td>
<td>Settis of 36 bīdūs</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Tel. Ins. pp-105-106. Mahabcobnagar dt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gangāpuram (Kodur-300)</td>
<td>Samastasetṭikāra samaya</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>Tel. Ins. I, pp. 118-119.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Āvanca</td>
<td>Samaya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Tel. Ins. II, pp. 60-62, (A.D. 1124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Paṭāncheruvu</td>
<td>Setṭikāra samaya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>C.I.T.D. IV, No. 21, (A.D. 1127).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) Hataraahas of 18 towns</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) Tūlīla Sanduru</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4) Alavajji</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5) Bālānjīgas</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6) Rāmāgūs</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7) Nallas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8) Maḍuvas</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9) Sāṅkaṛapādiś</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Peddakadumür</td>
<td>1) Ayyāvalī - 500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tel. Ins. II. p. 87, A.D. 1181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Mummūridanḍas of 36 bīḍus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) Kannāḍanālkusāsirā</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Mummūridanḍas of 36 bīḍus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Govindapuram (A.D. 1122)</td>
<td>Ghoṭakabhya-vaharibhiḥ Horses</td>
<td>The guild donated one pair of China Silk per each horse</td>
<td>I.A.P. W1. No. 26 A.D. 1122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Pedapariyāla (Chinapariyāla sthala, Karimnagar dist., (undated)</td>
<td>Vīrabalāṇja Ayyāvalī-500</td>
<td>Paddy, betel leaf, Areca nut, oil.</td>
<td>(An itinerant merchants guild that settled down at Pariyāla) (Undated)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I.A.P. Kn. No. 38 (Undated)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sundaram, Champakalakshmi and Hall have said that this guild first met at Aihole and gave themselves a code of mercantile conduct known as virabalanja samaya. The word Samaya means a code of conduct to be followed by the members of the community. The phrase virabalanja is a corrupt form of viravanija meaning a heroic merchant. Their prasasti contains phrases like virasahasra, virajitamunasahasa, etc. It may be said that this trade guild was well-armed. The members were ready to fight to protect their caravan and merchandise. Most probably, they had a small division of an army following them. Hall finds similarities between Ayyavalai Ainnurvar and "Ticaiyaveraattainnurvar", an itinerant merchant organisation operating in the Tamil country during Cola times. Ticaiyaveraattainnurvar means the 500 merchants of the thousand directions. It may be said that the original founders of this corporation numbered five hundred. The Ayyavalai organisations had members from the four linguistic groups of south India. Their territory of operation was divided into two zones of 18 cities each—(1) north of the Kaveri river and (2) south of the Kaveri.

The inscriptions of Telangana region reveal that Ayyavalai-500 were associated with Alampur, a temple town, and Peddakačanur, Polasa, Peddapariyala, the market centres in the Godavari valley. From the 11th century or even prior to that, the presence of Ayyavalai-500 was in the Telangana region controlling the trade that connected the hinterlands...
of Krishna-Tungabhadra valleys from Alampur, Gangāpuram, Peddakaḍumur, Kūcimanchi in the central part of Telangāna on the trade route connecting Warangal, Vādapalli was another important centre in the Mūsi valley.

The merchandise of Ayyāvali-500 included elephants, horses, precious stones, diamonds, cardamom, cloves, sandal, musk, camphor, salt and perfumes and drugs.

It was necessary for the itinerent merchants to have cordial relations with the local merchant guilds like the nakaram and therefore some members of this community appear to have settled down at various trade centres throughout the Āṇdhra country including Telangāna. Moreover, they forged alliances with local merchants and formed bigger organisations known as the pekkandru. The pekkandru organisations such as the sthalamū samastha pekkandru74 and the cálumūla samasta pekkandru75 were associated with vīrabalāṇja community of Ayyāvali-500. Thus it may be said that this community formed bigger organisation with local merchants as well as itinerent merchants from other countries.

Mūmūridandōs, 36

The Kannāḍa inscription75a from Peddakaḍumur of Kālachūri Āhavamalla (A.D. 1181) mentions the trade guild Muvvattār Bīdu Mūmuṛidanda along with Vīrabalāṇja Dharma Ayyāvali Ainnūruvāru svāmī. The inscription records a number of
injunctions for the welfare of these guilds. Another
Kannada inscription from Alampur\textsuperscript{76} of the time of the same
monarch refers to the grant of certain taxes to Lord
Gauresvara. The inscription mentions the areas in which
these guilds traded which was styled as mahānāḍu. These
are Tumbula Sthalavu, Gobbura Sthalavu, Nayikalla Sthalavu,
and Dakshinavāraṇāsi (Alampūr). Here mahānāḍu
denotes groups of villages of different localities as they
are referred to as sthalas. The Gangāpuram inscription of
Jagadekamalla's time\textsuperscript{77} mentions the grants made by some
settis belonging to muvvattāra bidanasetti kararu. The
Polasa inscription\textsuperscript{78} in Karimnagar district (A.D. 1107)
refers to the Mummūridandas of 36 bīdus.

The word bīdu means a market town. This muvvattā-
rūbidu mummūridandas must have been an itinerant trade
guild having an army of its own, called Mummūridandas. It
may be said that this trade guild had its major mercantile
operations in 36 market towns of South India. Somasekara
Sarma expresses the view that the Mummūridandas were an
advance guard of the trading caravan and bore the flag
staff with three bands. The trade guild might have got
its name from its army.

Thus the south-western part of Telangāna particularly
the Krishṇa-Tungabhadra Valley formed an agrarian zone in
which several markets were organised. The supralocal
character of Murmūridandas-36 is revealed by an inscription from Alampūr according to which its activities extended from Gobbūru in the west to Alampūr which constituted the main zone of the integrated market. Their spread from this zone to places like Polasa in the north Telangāṇa in the Godāvari valley further reveals the extended activities of the guild.

Another itinerent guild mentioned along with Ayyāvali-500 and Murmūridandas of 36 bīdus is the Kannada nālkusāsira. This trade guild may be called Kannada-4000. It was perhaps composed of Kannada merchants. The Ganga-puram inscription mentions another guild known as nālva-rusetti. Among these various guilds, it was the Ayyāvali-500 which existed till recent times. The last epigraphical reference to the guild comes from the inscription from Bangalore dated in the year A.D. 1706. It is said that the other itinerent trade guilds got incorporated into the Ayyāvali-500 and the latter became a federal corporation of itinerant trade and overseas commerce.

The Pekkandru

Generally the members of itinerant trade guilds settled down at different places with a view to have cordial relations with the local guilds such as the nakaram. Such settlements are found in various trade centres throughout the Andhradesa including Telangāṇa. The itinerant merchants forged alliances
with local traders and formed bigger organisations known as the pekkandru. These are given in Table XIV.

The term pekkandru in Telugu means many. As such, the pekkandru organisation constituted by a large number of merchants from the local and itinerent merchants. It was a joint corporation comprising the local guilds, artisan organisations and itinerant guilds. The pekkandru served as a supralocal organisation. The itinerent merchants brought several kinds of merchandise from far-off lands and exchanged them with local guilds. In turn, the itinerent merchants purchased the locally available surpluses. Thus, the pekkandru organisation provided the means for exchange of local goods for non-local goods and vice-versa.

The pekkandru organisations are found with a variety of suffixes. These suffixes define the nature of the corporation. The hierarchy of Pekkandru organisations as mentioned in inscriptions of Andhradesa as pointed out by R. Narasimha Rao are: (1) Town based Pekkandru, (2) Sthala Pekkanḍru (3) Nadu pekkandru, (4) Nānādesī Pekkandru, (5) Udbhavanāna Desī Pekkandru, (6) Calumula Udbhavanānadēsi Pekkandru (7) Mahānādu Pekkandru.

Sthalamu Pekkandru

The Yanamadala inscription dated in the year A.D. 1269 mentions Yanamadala sthalam pekkandru as an affiliate of...
### TABLE XIV

**Pekkandru Organisations in Telangāna**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Prefix of the Pekkandru</th>
<th>Other guilds mentioned</th>
<th>Articles of trade/remarks</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Polasa</td>
<td>Samastha Udbhayanādeśī</td>
<td>1) Ayyāvali-500 &lt;br&gt;2) Mummūridanḍas of 36 Biqūs</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>I.A.P. Kn. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>Udbhayanādeśī</td>
<td>1) Śvadēśiparadesi-bhārulu &lt;br&gt;Camphor, Sandal musk, silk thread, Ivroy, precious stones, pears, many agricultural products and industrial products</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ubhayananädesi pekkandru of the virabalanja dharma and were the chiefs of Pakanaçu 21,000, Vençî 16,000 and Anmakonda Patçana sthala. The pekkandru collected a fee from its members called “magama”. The Alampür inscription (A.D. 1299) records the grant of 5 marturs of black soil by the sthalamu samastha pekkandru, who were associates of Ayyâvalî-500 of the virabalanja samaya dharma. The prefix sthalamu indicates that the jurisdiction of the pekkandru was over a sthala in which the pekkandru undertook exchange of goods.

Sthalam pekkandru are mentioned in inscriptions from places of great commercial importance like Anumakonda and Alampûr. Therefore, it may be taken that the pekkandru functioning as a unit at the sthala division, must have existed at the temple and administrative centres where several nakarams existed. As the inscriptions describe pekkandru as the prabhumukhyas i.e., the royal favourites, they had a dominant role in the commercial transactions of the area, as buyers and sellers of a region. In the epigraphs of Telangâna, the town based pekkandru appear only at Anumakonda.

Nañadesi pekkandru

Two inscriptions from Tripurântakam (A.D. 1270) and A.D. 1292 and one from Gaṅgâpuram (undated) refer to Nañadesi pekkandru trading in rice, greengram and other agricultural
products. The nanadesi directed the members that magama at the rate of 2 visas per mada of all articles sold at Tripurāntakam penta be remitted to Lord Nagaresvāra.

The prefix nanadesi means that the merchants belonged to or coming from several countries and they formed a pekkandru corporation including local guilds.

Udbhayanānadesi

Udbhayanānadesi pekkandru was the most prominent of the pekkandru organisations. The Peddakadumūru inscription and the Alampūr inscription of the time of Kālachuri Āhavamalla mention the Udbhayanānadesi as consisting of the Ayyāvali-500, Mummūridandas of 36 bidus and Kannada nālkusāsīra guilds. The Warangal fort inscription (A.D. 1228) mentions that a variety of luxury articles like sandal, musk, silk thread, silk cloth, wool, pearls etc., besides agricultural products like turmeric, vegetables, wooden furniture and cotton thread in which the guild traded. Trade in indigo and other articles by desi, paradesivādala-vāru, svadesi paradesi behārulu is mentioned along with the trade by the ubbayanānādesi.

The name ubbayanānādesi pekkandru indicates that this organisation consisted of the stationery local merchants and itinerant merchants. It was composed of virabalaṁjjas of Ayyavole, nanadesi, tisayvārattainnūruvar and the
wealthy merchants like Desi-paradesi-vaadalavuru, paradesi-beharulu might also be members of ubhayananasini.

From a comparison of the inscriptions available in Telangana region and those in coastal Andhra and Rayalasa, it may be said that the pekkandru corporations were more active in the latter regions. The Tunguturu inscription (A.D. 1315) refers to the donation of magama to Lord Somanatha by Calumula samastha pekkandru. This guild was mentioned in the Utukuru inscription of the same district (A.D. 1370) as affiliated to Ayyaval-500 along with Utukurinagaram and virapurantakulu. This calumula samastha pekkandru might mean a guild of merchants coming from various countries from all directions. An inscription from Tangeda, a river port in Guntur district, mentions a guild called a Calumula ubhayananasini pekkandru with titles virabala shija dharma partishthapaka, garudadhvaja virajita, kadanaprapanchand, Ayyavali puravaradhiwar. This guild might have included armed intinerent merchants coming from all the directions and the local merchants. The Motupalli inscription (A.D. 1358) mentions paradesi vyavaharulu and dvipantara-vyavaharulu. Evidently these were merchants from countries across the ocean.
State Policy Towards Trade

Though the entire trade was conducted by the guilds which enjoyed considerable freedom, the state exercised its power through the bureaucratic machinery.

Contemporary or near contemporary literary works such as the **Vijnanesvaram** and the **Sakalanitisammatam** describe the policy of the state towards trade. It was a policy of encouragement and control. The **Vijnanesvaram** states that it was the responsibility of the state to see that the correct weights and measures were used by traders and take measures against hoarding and arbitrary pricing. Again, the king was to take steps to coordinate the activities of merchants, collect taxes and punish the mischievous traders. The **Sakalanitisammatam** states that the king should encourage foreign merchants by giving them permission to trade in his kingdom.

Inscriptional evidence shows that the textual injunctions were followed to the possible extent by the rulers of the period. There were officers functioning at the trade centres. Some of the officers had troops under them. This was perhaps necessitated by the fact that itinerant guilds had armed men accompanying them. The Goluikyas had officers like **vaddaravula dandanayaka**. Two tax officers at Jadcherla as mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1162 were **dandanayakas**.
While following the same policy, the Kakatiyas took great interest in improving trade. Ganapatideva's *abhayasasana* at the port town of Motupalli\textsuperscript{105} is an ample evidence for the same. Most of the trade centres became the capitals of mandalikas and nayankaras. Tax officials like sunkadhikari,\textsuperscript{106} sthala karanam\textsuperscript{107} and tirpari\textsuperscript{108} functioned at these towns. The names of the officers reveal that they not only collected the levies but settled disputes between probably different trade guilds and between the officers and guilds.

**Articles of trade**

The tables XI & XIV show different trade organisations and the items of trade that entered the markets. The items of trade can be classified as:— (1) agricultural products, (b) industrial products (c) forest products and (d) minerals and metals. The Warangal Fort inscription classifies trade articles as Ettubhandalu, Busibhandalu and Manibhandalu.

a) **Agricultural Products**

Grain, mostly jowar, paddy, rice and wheat and among pulses greengram were the agricultural products that made their way into almost every market. These are called as the busibhandalu. Cotton, pepper, betel leaf and arecanuts, were the other agricultural products that entered the markets. Cotton and betel leaf were produced locally. It appears that
pepper and arecanuts were imported into the Telangāna markets from Karnātaka. Turmeric, gingelly, indigo are the other important agricultural products that were marketed. Wool is another item sold in the market.

b) **Industrial Products**

Among the products of agro-industrial activity, cotton and silk textiles, cotton and silk thread and jute articles found their way into markets. Oil was the most marketed agro-industrial product. Salt was an important product marketed in Telangāna by itinerant merchants.

It is significant to note that metallic objects like measures, plates, lamp posts, tools and utensils are not found at trade centres. Perhaps they were made to order or sold and purchased locally.

c) **Forest Products**

Among the forest products, sandalwood and its powder are the most significant items sold and purchased. The Gandha aśeṣha nakaram specialised in their trade at Warangal. Woodcrafts such as carts, cots, boxes and caskets were sold at many markets.

Tamarind is another forest product sold at many trade centres.
d) **Metals and Minerals**

The *Pañchalohāla nakaramu* was the guild that traded in metals. The metals that were traded included copper, tin, zinc, iron and lead. It is not certain that gold and silver were traded at markets. The *mūsaravāru* mentioned in the Warangal Fort inscription might be making and selling metal moulds as suggested by the word "musa" which in Telugu means a mould. Alloys such as brass, bronze and steel were also articles of trade as suggested by the mention of articles made of them in inscriptions and literary works.

The trade in precious stones is mentioned in the Warangal Fort inscription.¹¹⁰ These precious stones included *ravva* (diamond) and glass beads.

Other items of trade are camphor, musk, ivory, and pearls. It is probable that these were imported and carried into the area under study by itinerant traders.

The Motupalli charter of Gaṇapatideva (A.D. 1244)¹¹¹ mentions several items of trade and the rates of duties levied on them. However, the items included both exports and imports. But the items of import are clear in the list. The articles mentioned in the epigraph are sandal, camphor, pearls, rosewater, ivory, civer, copper, zinc, mercury, lead, silk-thread, corals, perfumes, pepper, silks, cotton textiles and arecanuts. Most of these items are imports except cotton textiles, pepper and arecanuts. Elephants and horses
were imported whereas gems were among the exports. Some of the items mentioned in the Moṭupalli charter are found at the markets in the Telangāṇa area.

Trade Centres

The surplus agricultural production and industrial activity gave rise to a large number of trade centres all over the Telangāṇa region. Table XV gives a list of trade centres and the commodities that entered the markets there. The Table makes it clear that many of the trade centres such as Warangal, Sirikonda, Vardhamānapuram, Alampūr, Gaṅgāpuram and Pānugallu were also political headquarters of either the Sovereign or a sāmanta chief. Warangal became a large trade centre with three trading places viz., Warangal, Anmakonda and Mattewāda. The Warangal Fort inscription (A.D. 1228) refers to specific markets like nuvvulapēmṭa and uppuṇpēmṭa.

In addition to the trade centres that developed at the centres of political power, each sthālam had its own market place. These were known as sthālamuṇpēmṭas. As has been discussed earlier, the sthālamu is a territorial unit of a group of villages. Some of the sthālam mentioned in inscriptions are market towns like Anmakonda pattana sthālam, (Anmakonda) Magatala sthālam (Magatala) China Parīyāla sthālam (Peda Parīyāla).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Trade centre</th>
<th>Guilds trading at the centre</th>
<th>Articles of Trade, $^\text{4}$</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bānajipet</td>
<td>Savaṭunakaram</td>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hanumakonda</td>
<td>Telikivevuru</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Girmājipet</td>
<td>Dharmaśāliyajanulu</td>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chiramaṭṭinakaramu</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Warangal Fort</td>
<td>Gandhya Āśeshanakāramu</td>
<td>Jute Bags, Cotton thread</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 62.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Warangal Fort</td>
<td>Maṭṭiyananakaram</td>
<td>Cloth</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Desiparadesī vāḍalavaru</td>
<td>Indigo</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ponkamaṭṭiya</td>
<td>Arecanut, Betel leaf</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Swadeśī Paradesī)</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kūragāyabehārulu</td>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvulapēṃta</td>
<td>Pulses, Paddy etc.</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uppupēṃta</td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nūnebehārulu</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aśeshanakāramu</td>
<td>Maintenance of clock</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Santhanakāram</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gandhyamvaru</td>
<td></td>
<td>I.A.P. Wl. 63.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Pomkanagaram</td>
<td>5. Santhanagaram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ākunūru</td>
<td>No Nakaram is mentioned.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Measures like Ettu-bhandam, Koluchu Bhandam and Gadyāgamu, Rūka, Māda, Cinnamū are mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>But it appears to be a trade centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pedapariyāla</td>
<td>Virabaliṇja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paddy, Arecanut, betel leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Polasa</td>
<td>1. Virabalāṇja</td>
<td>2. Mummūridāṇḍa</td>
<td>(Belonging to 36 biqūs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Samasta Ubhayanānādesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Chilkūr</td>
<td>Nakaram</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dramma and Angaḍī Siddhāyamu is mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uttama, Madhyama and Kanishta Angaḍī are mentioned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

195
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(4)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Ghatarahu of 18 towns</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Tulila Sanduru</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Alavajjiyalu</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Balanājigas</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Ramaḍuvaru</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Nallarumaḍuvaru</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Sankarapadivaru</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Fānugallu</td>
<td>Nibarama nakaram</td>
<td>Salt, Jowar, betal, leaves Areca nut, ginger, tumeric, cotton, jaggery, pepper, Nibaramasrees - Angadi Sidhayamu is mentioned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sunkavergede.</td>
<td>Tel.Ins. pp.20-21</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Maktal</td>
<td>Vaiśyās, Tailikas, Vārtākas</td>
<td>The chieftains of Maktala are mentioned - pp. 49-50; Mentioned Maktala is a Sthalam headquarters pp. 56-58.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Vardhamānapuram</td>
<td>Nakaramu</td>
<td>Grain, oil, Betel leaf, C.I.T.D. III Devamānika, Gidda are mentioned (Nakaramu- Vandana Inīsattīgim</td>
<td>Mentioned) Mn. 46.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Āvanca</td>
<td>Sāmarasa, Setṭis are mentioned</td>
<td>Removal of Aputrika Tel. Ins. pp. 60-62 Settiya tax is mentioned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Peddakaḍumūr</td>
<td>Ayyovole Inīrvārsvāmi, Muvvattārubidū mummūridanda, Kannaḍanālkuṣāsira Ubhayanānādesi</td>
<td>Injunctions for the welfare of the guilds are mentioned Tel. Ins. II, p. 87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Gangāpuram</td>
<td>Samastaseṭṭikāraru Āsakasaṃsāyāmgaḷu</td>
<td>— Tel. Ins. I, pp. 118-119,</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An itinerant trade guild associated with a capital town ruled by a chieftain.

<table>
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<th>(1)</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 25. Kaṭukūr | Nagaramu  
Kāmpulu  
| 27. Paṭānceru | Seṭṭikāra Samayas of four villages | The king donated to Jyotisgām the income on Kōḷaṅga) | C.I.T.D. IV, pp. 36-39. |
Trade centres also developed at places where a good number of temples came up. Some examples are Alampūr, Gangāpuram and Govindāpuram.

The following Table XV (A) illustrates the classification of trade centres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type of trade Centre</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sthalam markets</td>
<td>Chilkūr, 113 Tekumbedda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Rural trade centres)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Temple towns</td>
<td>Alampūr, 115 Govindāpuram 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Administrative Centres</td>
<td>Patāncheruvu, 117 Panugallu 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Industrial Centres</td>
<td>Alavānipalli, 119 Māttewāda 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Cantonment towns</td>
<td>Ujjīli, 121 Magatāla 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>River ports</td>
<td>Vadapalli, 123 leswaram 124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These trade centres are connected by roads used not only by trading caravans, but also by armies and pilgrims.
Trade Routes

The frequent military operations and the increased trade led to the development of means of transport. But sources are silent about the interest shown by the state in improving and maintaining roads. Nor is there any evidence that the trade guilds took special measures for maintaining the local roads.

The chief means of transport was the cart drawn by bullocks or buffaloes over long distances. For short distances, animals such as the donkey were used. The perika community supplied not only the gunny bags but also the pack bullocks (perike eddlu) to carry them. 125

The existence of a few long distance highways is mentioned in some literary works of the age. These routes were not only used for trade but also became pilgrim routes. These roads therefore connected market towns, capital cities, sea and river ports and pilgrim centres. They were known as bandi teruvu or śakata mārga (cart tracks). 126

These routes were used for the movement of armies in times of war and are therefore popular as dandubata. The Andhrabhāsabhūshanam of Ketana refers to a high way from Kāñchī to Ayodhya through Vikramasimhapuram (Nellore) and Orugallu (Warangal). 127 As Warangal was the capital city
of the Kakatiya kingdom it must have been connected by a number of routes. The *Kridabharam* describes a route from Palnad to Warangal through Nalgonda and Nakrekal. This route must have extended up to Tripurantakam as the latter was an important provincial headquarters and a temple town. The *Palnativiracharitra* refers to a route from Macherla to Panagal through Chityala and describes the thick jungles of Chityala which was a riverport on the Krishna. However, it is doubtful whether this Panagal is the Panagal in Nalgonda District or the one in Mahaboobnagar District. Generally, people crossed the river Krishna at the ports like Chityala, Eleswaram, Vadapalli, Amaravati and of course, Bejawada. In the *Panditaradhyacharita*, Somanatha describes the journey of Mallikarjuna Pandita from Amaravati to Kalyan. Pandita left Amaravati crossing the river at Amaravati and visited Nirugudumula which is identified by Prabhakara Sastry as Nadigudem in the Nalgonda district and by Lakshmana Rao as Vaddigudem in the Nandigama taluq of Krishna district. From there, the Pandita proceeded to Panugallu, the capital town of Choodayya. There is a difference of opinion about Panugallu also whether this is the Panugallu in the Nalgonda district or the one in the Mahaboobnagar district. As the Pandita was travelling towards the west, Panugallu must be the one in the Mahaboobnagar district. From Panugallu, the Pandita went to Vanipura, the present Vanaparti in Mahaboobnagar district. At Vanaparti he received the news of Basava's death. From Vanipura he
turned south towards Srisailam and reached Vellatūr where he died. Thus, there must have been a route from Amarāvati across Krishṇa to Kalyāṇ, the capital of the later Čālukyas through the present Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar districts. If we put these pieces of information from Panditaradhya Charitra and Kridabhīrāmam together, we understand that there was a highway between Warangal and Kalyāṇ through Nalgonda and Mahaboobnagar districts. Parabrahma Sastri mentions another route from Warangal to Kalyāṇ through Kolanupāka, Pattancheru and Bīdar. During the period of later Čālukyas the route between Raichur in Karnāṭaka and Kolanupāka in Telangāna was a highly traversed route. There must have been a road from Warangal to Devagiri (Daulatābād) through Vemulawāḍa, Polasa (Polavāsa) near Jagityala and Bāsar which was used for the movement of army and by traders and pilgrims. The river Godāvari was crossed at Bāsar, Manthena and Mahādevapūr.

Inscriptions also refer to several small routes. The Āgāmotakuṟu inscription (A.D. 1282) of Rāmanātha Coodadeva refers to a road to Pānugallu (panuganti teruvu). Āgāmotukuru is near Māduvula on the Nalgonda-Miryālaguḍa road.

Perūr is a big trade centre where merchants from Karnāṭaka, Tamilnādu and Āndhradesa carried on brisk trade. Moreover, Perūr is on the Ahalya (present Hāliya) river which is a tributary of the river Krishna. Inscriptions
refer to Perūr as a meeting point of several routes. The trade centres and trade routes are shown in Map III. A list of trade centres is given in Table XIII.

The rivers Krishṇa and Godāvari must also have served as arteries of trade. But definite information is not available about the Godāvari as a trade route. But the Krishṇa had a number of ports on its either side, which are mentioned in inscriptions and literary works. Bejwāḍa, Amarāvati, Vādapalli, Boppūdi, Eleśwaram, Chiṭyāla are some of the ports. **Means of Transport**

The chief means of transport was the bullock cart. More often peasants and petty traders carried the merchandise on head in bags known as perka or perika made of coarse jute thread. Peraka, Ettaperka, Talamopu (head load) are referred to in a Perūr inscription. Bamboo cane baskets were also used. Kāvadi with two loads suspended at the two ends of a bamboo stick and supported on the shoulder of a person was another common means of transport. Loads were also carried on the backs of beasts like oxen, bullocks, horses and donkeys. Inscriptions refer to traders dealing in horses and at times they were known to have belonged to Vālikula. Carts drawn by bullocks or buffaloes were also used for transport, cotton, oil-seeds and paddy are transported in bags (peraka) by carts. The palanquin was another
means of domestic transport used by richer sections of people. These were carried by the Boyas.

It is interesting to note that carts and beasts of burden were available for merchants on rental basis. An inscription from Tripurantakam (A.D. 1245) registers the remission of sunka on 300 Perika Eulu (bullocks used for transport) in the town of Tripurantakam. These animals belonged to the temple of Tripurantakesvara. The kampus (Kapus) that lent these beasts for hire were known as Perikavaru. It is clear from this that big temples maintained carts and beasts of burden not only for temple services but also for lending them to the needy merchants by collecting rent from them.

Taxes on Trade

Like industries, trade was an important source of state income and there were different taxes on trade which were generally known as Sunkams. During the rule of the Calukyas of Kalyan, tax on trade was called Vaddaravula Sunka, which term during the Kākatīya times, was replaced by addapatu, or addavettu or addagattu sunka. It was also called angadi sunkam. But the sources are not clear about the rate of sunka levied on different items of trade. However, inscriptions from Guntur and Prakasam districts belonging to the Kākatīya period give us some information about the general rate of sunka. The Tangeda inscription
(A.D. 1300)\(^{140}\) records the gift of mādabadvīsamu i.e. at the rate of one vīsa per māda of sales by the Udbhayānānādeśī pekkandru of the Tangeḍa-sthālam. The Tripurānta-kam inscription\(^{141}\) (A.D. 1296) records the gift of Udbhayānānādeśī pekkandru to Śrī Tripurādevi, the uppusunkam (tax on salt) at the rate of mādabadvicinnamu. Another inscription\(^{142}\) refers to vilchuvīsālu. Vilchu in Telugu means purchase. An inscription from Perūru (A.D. 1130)\(^{143}\) records the remission of two sunkas on salt bags payable by the local nagaram.

The inscriptions cited above make it clear that sunka was levied both at the time of purchase and at the time of sale. The terms vīsām and cinnam help us to calculate the rate of sunka. Vīsa is a fraction equal to 1 in 16 whereas the value of cinnam varied from 1 in 8 to 1 in 14. Thus, the sunka comes to about 6 to 7 percent.\(^{144}\)

**Pemta Sunkamu**

The Uppunūtala inscription (A.D. 1149)\(^{145}\) refers to the diversion of pemta sunkam, among other taxes, by Kandūri Śomanāthadeva to Gods Kedāreśvara and Keśavadeva. From this, it may be inferred that in addition to the general sunka levy, a market cess was also collected. An inscription from Jadcherla (A.D. 1162)\(^{146}\) mentions sthalamu sunkam. This might be the same as pemta sunkam collected at the sthalam pemta or the weekly market held at the headquarters of a sthala. The rate of this tax is not clear.
Madiqa Sunkamu

The *madiqa sunkam* or *maliga sunkam* is another tax levied on traders. The word *madiqa* or *maliga* means a shop with stores. An undated epigraph from Perur ¹⁴⁷ classified the shops into three types as *uttaram*, *madhyamam* and *kanista*. An inscription from Rachur (A.D. 1157) ¹⁴⁸ also classifies the shops at the market into three classes whereas the Jadcherla ¹⁴⁹ inscription cited above mentions *madiqa sunkam*.

The Perur epigraph makes it clear that the rate of the tax as two *rukas*, one and a half *ruka* and three quarters of a *ruka* on the first, second and third classes of shops respectively.

Kolaga

The Bairanipalli inscription ¹⁵⁰ mentions the tax named *Kolaga*. It might be a tax levied on articles measured and weighed such as oil and sandal. The rate of this tax also is not known.

Prattimalaga

The Uppunutala inscription (A.D. 1148) ¹⁵¹ mentions a tax called *Prattimalaga*. The name indicates that it was a levy on cotton bales.
Machinery of Tax Collection

There was an efficient machinery of officers for the assessment and collection of taxes. The inscriptions of the Gālukyan times refer to Sunka.vergada and Vaddarāvula Dandanāyaka. The Perūr inscription (A.D. 1130) records that the māndalika of Perūru Kampanam, Ambanāthadeva Pānda-nāyaka, diverted several sunka levies to God Kesāvadeva and entrusted the execution of the grant to the Sunkādhikāri. From this record we can deduce that at Perūr, a big trade centre, a Sunkādhikāri, an officer in charge of commercial taxes was stationed. Further, the record makes it clear that the māndalika of the place enjoyed the right of diverting the levies through the officer. The Sunkādhikāri might be responsible for remitting the levies to the royal treasury.

Most of the taxes appear to have been collected at the market place itself. Such of the taxes were known as addavattu sunkam. Parabrahma Sastri interprets the word as to mean 'to hold at the place'. Parabrahma Sastri finds support to his view in the words Sunkari and sunkanāya gāndru of the Tripurāntakam inscription (A.D. 1296) and concludes that there was the practice of auctioning the right of collecting levies to contractors. But, the Telugu word Pattu has another simple meaning i.e. at. Accordingly, the term "Addapattu sunkamu" means only "the tax collected at the market". The compound "addavattu" becomes meaningful if pattu is taken to mean only 'at the
If pattu is to mean to hold, the compound that would form out of the two words Adda (addan) and Pattu is addabattu. Moreover, the term Addagattu sunkamu means only the levy payable at the place. It may further be added that the collection of tax through contractors was very rare during the Kākatīya period.

When taxes were diverted as gifts to brāhmaṇas or temples by a member of the ruling class, the local merchant guild was entrusted with the responsibility of executing the decision. Somesvāra III made a grant to a brāhmaṇa, Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, and directed the Settikārasamayas of Pātancheruvu to implement the grant. We have many instances when the merchant guilds like the Samaya Nakaram and Pekkandru made grants to temples out of the taxes payable by them to the royal treasury either with the consent of the king or his local deputy. Hence, it may be said that the guilds themselves collected the taxes from the members and paid the king's share through the Sunkādhikāri.

During the Kākatīya period, the machinery for tax collection became more elaborate. In addition to the Sunkādhikāris, we find the mention of such officials as karaṇām and tirpari at trade centres. Evidently, Karaṇām was a tax accountant. The tirpari resolved any disputes that arose between officials and traders. These officers assisted the Sunkādhikāri in the discharge of his duties.
In view of the existence of well-organised trade guilds and elaborate state machinery, tax contractors appear to be superfluous. However, the sunkamānyagāmdru are mentioned only in a single inscription of Tripurāntakam and therefore they might have been connected with the sunkas payable to the temple.

The levies were collected both in cash and in kind. It may be of interest to note that the levies on agricultural products were mostly in kind. The taxes on most of the industrial products were collected in coin.

From the Čalukya phase (A.D. 973-1126) to the Kākatiya imperialist phase (A.D. 1199-1323) there is thus a gradual increase in taxation on agricultural goods and artisan products. The machinery for tax collection also became more elaborate with a number of officials. Moreover, there are numerous references to the markets, to the classification of shops and to a variety of levies. This reveals the growing marketisation of rural economy as we move into the 14th C.A.D. This is well-borne out by the evidence of inscriptions from places like Rāchūr, Bairānipalli, Uppunūtala Duddēda etc., which were mostly rural centres. These were gradually brought into the net-work of market economy. It is also noticed that the growing tendency of donors gifting the revenues from commercial levies to temples suggest that the state was receiving substantial revenue from commercial taxes.
References

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3. Tel.Ins., II, pp 60-62.
5. Ibid., p. 118-119.
6. Ibid., II, pp. 60-62.
8. I.A.P. Wl. 15.
10. I.A.P. Wl. 71.
11. I.A.P. Kn. 75.
12a. Ibid.
13. Ibid., I, pp. 118-119.
16. Ibid., pp. 118-119.
19. Table XV.
21. Ibid., p.52.
22. Ibid., p. 130.
23. Ibid., pp. 141-146.


26. I.A.P. Wl. 50.

27. Hall, Kenneth, op. cit., p. 61.


31. Ibid., II, pp. 201-212.

32. I.A.P. Wl. 15.

33. C.I.T.D. IV, No. 6, Ibid., No. 10.

34. Tel. Ins. II, pp. 161-162.


36. Ibid., No. 9.


41. Tel. Ins. II, pp. 57-59.

42. C.I.T.D. III, pp. 16-17.

43. C.I.T.D. IV, Nos. 6, 10.


45. I.A.P. Wl. 61.

46. I.A.P. Wl. 68.

47. I.A.P. Wl. 71.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 68.
51. Ibid., 63.
56. I.A.P. Wl. 28.
57. Tel.Ins., II, pp. 161-162.
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62. I.A.P. Wl. 61.
65. I.A.P. Kn. 38, Ibid., 75.
66. I.A.P. Kn. 75.
67. P.I., No.4.
69. K. Sundaram, op.cit. p. 69 ff.
72. I.A.P. Kn.38.
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76. Tel. Ins. II, p. 88.
77. Ibid., I, pp. 105-106.
78. I.A.P. Kn. 75.
79. Tel. Ins. II, p. 83.
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81. Ibid., I, p. 108.
82. M.A.R. 1927, pp. 33-34.
83. Narasimha Rao, R. Corporate Life in Medieval Andhradesa
   (Secunderabad, 1967) p. 11 ff.
84. S.I.I., IV, No. 935.
86. S.I.I., IV, No. 935.
87. S.I.I., X 429.
88. Ibid., 473.
89. Tel. Ins. I, p. 128.
90. Ibid., II, p. 87.
91. Ibid., p. 88.
92. I.A.P. Wl. 63.
93. Ibid.
95. Ibid., Part II, No. 13.
97. Ibid., 556.
98. Ketana, Vijñānesvaram (ed) C.V. Ramachandra Rao,
    (Nellore, 1977).


101. Ibid.


103. Tel.Ins. I, pp. 113-114, P.I. No.4.


105. E.I. XII, p. 188 ff.


107. S.I.I., X 521, Ibid., V 211.


109. I.A.P. Wl. 62, and 68.

110. Ibid.

111. E.I. XII, p. 188 ff.

112. I.A.P. Wl. 62.

113. C.I.T.D. IV, No.6 and No. 10.


115. Ibid., pp. 113-114.


120. I.A.P. Wl. 68.


122. Ibid., pp. 126-127, pp. 161-162.


124. Ibid., 43.
132. P.I. No.3.
133. Ibid., No.6.
137. P.I. No.4, C.I.T.D. IV, No. 12, 27.
140. S.I.I. X, No. 495.
141. Ibid., No.480.
143. P.I. No.9.
144. See Appendix for Fractions of Vīśa and Cīnnaṃu.
147. P.I. No. 6.
149. Ibid., pp. 202-204.