

**SOME ASPECTS OF TRADE RELATIONS IN GUJARAT;
800 A.D. To 1297 A.D.**

**BY
JAHNAVEE PHUKAN,
CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES**



**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY,
NEW DELHI - 110067**

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the following thesis entitled 'Some aspects of trade relations in Gujarat: 800 A.D. to 1297 A.D.', submitted by Jahnavee Phukan to the Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, is an original work. It has not been undertaken in any other university or been copied, in part, or in whole, from anywhere else.

Anil

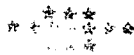
CHAIRMAN

~~Centre~~ For Historical Studies

B. D. Chatterjee

SUPERVISOR

~~Centre~~ For Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

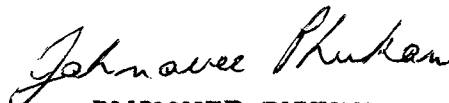


A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

This dissertation entitled 'Some Aspects of Trade in Gujarat : 800 A.D. to 1297 A.D.' is being submitted to the Centre For Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy - (M.Phil.).

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Prof. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Centre For Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for his unfailing patience and encouragement throughout the course of this work. I would also like to thank the Staff members of the Archeological Survey of India and the National Museum Library for the assistance they offered in my data collection.

I am grateful to all my friends at the University, specially, Prema and Pompei, for their assistance in preparing the final thesis and my typist Mr. Pandey for deciphering my handwriting.


JAHNAVEE PHUKAN

New Delhi

21.7.1988

ABBREVIATIONS

1. AKK - Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kutch.
2. APS. . . - Arabic and Persian Supplement (of E.I)
3. BG - Bombay Gazetteer.
4. CPSI - Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit
Inscription. Published by the Bhavnagar
Archeological Department.
5. DV - Dvyasakavya.
6. DN - Desinamamala.
7. EI - Epigraphia Indica.
8. IHC - Indian History Congress.
9. IA - Indian Antiquary.
10. JASB - Journal of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal.
11. JBBRAS - Journal of the Bengal Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society.
12. LARBP - Lists of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay
Presidency,
13. NIA - New Indian Antiquary.
14. PO - Poona Orientalist.
15. PCT - Prab-andhechintamani
16. SIKM - Sanskrit Inscriptions from Kathiawar
and Mewar.

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Certificate	
Acknowledgements	
Abbreviations	
Contents	
<u>Introduction</u> :	i - v
<u>Chapter I</u> : The Gujarat Littoral	1-28
Section I : General Physical Features	1-8
Section II: Factors involved in Location of Ports	9-28
A : Kutch	10-14
B : Kathiawar Peninsula	14-23
C : Coastal Regions of the Gulf of Cambay	22-28
<u>Chapter II</u> : Sectoral Importance of Maritime Zones: 8th to 10th Century A.D.	29-69
Section I : Maritime Zones and Commercial Centres in Kutch.	31-43
Section II : Maritime Trade in Kathiawar	44-63
Section III : South Gujarat or Latadesa	64-69
<u>Chapter III</u> : Items and Centres of Exchange	70-105
Section I : Commodity production and Distribution	73-91
Section II : Areas of Focus in Contemporary Sources	92-105
<u>Chapter IV</u> : Relative Positions of Trading Communities.	106-133
Section I : Position of Muslim Traders	107-119
Section II : Indian Merchants and Traders in Chaulukyan Age.	120-133
<u>Conclusion</u> :	134-138
<u>Bibliography</u> :	139-149
<u>Maps</u> :	
1) Physiography & Regional Divisions of Gujarat.	150
2) Ports & Inland Centres of Gujarat from 9th to 13th C. A.D.	151
3) Trade Routes Between 9th to 13th C. A.D.	152

I N T R O D U C T I O N

From ancient times the coasts of Western India were known for their commercial and maritime activities. The ports situated on this coastline had overseas trade relations with Persian Gulf areas and the Mediterranean region from 1st century A.D. or so.¹ Trade also existed between the West Indian ports and the countries of the Far East.² The sea-route to the west coast of India was open for trade throughout the year since it was serviced by convenient ports situated in good harbours in the Gujarat, Konkan and Malabar coasts. These ports rose and fell in prominence depending on the fluctuating nature of trade and political conditions existing at different periods.

The coasts of Gujarat offers suitable maritime facilities for the location of a number of important ports of India. These include Broach, known as 'Barygaza' to the ancient Greeks,³ which is an estuarine port situated at the mouth of the Narmada river. Another important estuarine port is Khambhat, which rose after the 9th century A.D. It gained prominence probably due to Arab invasions of the nearby ports of Broach, Thana or Valabhi,⁴ or was developed

-
1. M. Wheeler, Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, London 1954, Pg. 9-10.
 2. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, Chau-Ju-Kua, St. Petersburg 1912, P. 78. Quoted from Moti Chandra, Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India, New Delhi, 1977, P. 190.
 3. W.H. Schoff, Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Translation, New York, 1912, P. 88-89.
 4. Elliot and Dawson, History of India as told by its own historians, London, 1867, Vol-I, P. 115-116 & P. 415-416

as a rival to the port of Broach under the Gurjara - Pratihara rulers¹. There are other important ports like Veraval, Dwarka, Mangrol, Mandvi, Gogha and Navsari situated in Gujarat.

From the 7th and 8th centuries onwards the Muslim penetrations into India began. This took place not only through military invasions both by the land and the sea-routes, but ^{also} through the commercial networks as well. The Arab sources of this period, consisting of the accounts of merchants and travellers², show steady and peaceful penetration of Arab traders, sailors, professional groups and merchants into the ports and trading centres of western India. They monopolized foreign trade and shipping to a large extent. They profited from the fact that there was a decline in the land route through Central Asia in this period. This was cut off by the struggles of the Chinese and Muslims with the tribes of Central Asia till the 14th century AD.

The main aim of this work is to examine some aspects of the trade relations of Gujarat between the 8th century A.D. and the 13th century A.D. By 'Gujarat' we refer to the

-
1. A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Bombay, 1954, P.265.
 2. These accounts include those of Merchant Sulaiman (851 AD), Abu Zaid (before 916 A.D.), Ibn Khurdadba (before 912 AD), Al-Masudi (932-933 A.D), Al-Istakhri (about 951 A.D), Ibn Haukal (943 and 968 A.D), Alberuni (10th C. A.D) Al-Idrisi (12th C. A.D) etc. Their references follow in the subsequent chapters.

area covered by the modern state of Gujarat. The Chaulukya-Vaghela empire, which lasted from 942 A.D. to 1297 A.D., included the whole of the state within its dominions as well as parts of Marwar, Western Malwa and Kanak.¹ Between 750 A.D. to 942 A.D. however this country was divided among a number of ruling dynasties. From 740 A.D. to 975 A.D., the area south of the Narmada river including Broach and Surat districts were included in the empire of the Rashtraputas of Malkhed.² Saurashtra or the Kathiawar peninsula was under the rule of the Maitrakas of Valabhi between 500 A.D. to 770 A.D.³ The Saindhavas who ruled in Western Kathiawar (740 A.D. to 920 AD) were probably Maitraka feudatories who later asserted their independence.⁴

Northern Gujarat including Kutch was under the Gurjara-Pratihara rule in the same period.⁵ After the fall of the Maitrakas, the Chavadas established their control over Saurashtra and Central Gujarat. They ruled from Anhilwada-Patan from 786 to 942 A.D.⁶ They were ultimately overthrown by the Chaulukya or Solanki dynasty in 942 A.D.

-
1. A.K.Majumdar, *Op. Cit.* P. 82, 119, 208.
 2. M.R. Majumdar, Chronology of Gujarat, Baroda, 1960, P.220.
 3. R.C. Majumdar edited, The Classical Age, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay 1954, P. 132- 133.
 4. S.B. Rajyagor, History of Gujarat, New Delhi, 1982, P. 35.
 5. H.D.Sankalia, Archeology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1941, P. 31.
 6. R.C. Majumdar, edited, The Age of Imperial Unity, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay 1955. P. 116-117.

The examination of the trade system of Gujarat includes tracing the land and sea routes of this period, along the coasts and within the interiors of the state. It involves pinpointing the areas which were important for commercial purposes and the products which formed the main articles of trade. It also includes an examination of the position of the merchantile and trading communities, particularly the Muslim (Arab) traders and Jain merchants in the 12th and 13th century A.D.

It is well known that geographical factors play a major role in location of ports. An attempt has been made in this study to examine the advantages and dis-advantages of geo-physical features of the coastline where ports are located, in order to account for their importance. The reason for the dominance of particular ports in certain areas during the period of our study can be ascertained from various angles like : political patronage leading to encouragement of trade and commerce, & favourable physical features for location of ports like sheltered anchorage sites, deep water harbours or advantages of river estuaries. A fertile hinterland producing agricultural commodities on a large scale also helps in locating centres of production and exchange. A study of the inter connections between these factors and their influence on commercial and maritime activities are undertaken in the following chapters.

The primary sources involved in this study include the accounts of Muslim (Arab) merchants and travellers to India who wrote about this period. The accounts of Marco Polo also helps to supplement these sources. Among the indigenous sources are included the copper plate grants and inscriptions of ruling, dynasties. Jain literary sources like 'Prabandha-chintamani' of Merutunga and 'Dvyasrayakvya' of Hemchandra Suri throw considerable light in the conditions prevailing in Chaulukyan Gujarat. They are also used as source material for this study.¹



1. For the list of publications where these sources are available, See Bibliography.

C H A P T E R - I
THE GUJARAT LITTORAL

SECTION - I : GENERAL PHYSICAL FEATURES

The name 'Gujarat' which is applied to the Western peninsula of India, is of comparatively recent origin, being the name given by the Muslims when they conquered this area between 1295 and 1473 A.D.¹ Traditionally Gujarat consisted of three divisions : Anartta, Lata and Saurashtra or Surat. Anartta of ancient times, perhaps corresponded to modern north Gujarat² (including Banaskantha, Mehasana, Sabarkantha and Surendranagar districts).

South Gujarat from Mahi river to south of the Tapti river denotes Lata division.³

Saurashtra denotes the Kathiawar peninsula and narrowly defined, it included only the southern part of this area known as Surat. Both Lata and Saurashtra are frequently mentioned in inscriptions and literature from the ancient period onwards.⁴

Of these divisions only the names of 'Lata' and 'Saurashtra' survived till the early mediaeval period, which is also the period of our discussion. Between the 9th century A.D. and the 13th Century A.D. under the rule of first, the Gurjara-Pratiharas and then the Chaulukyas or

1. H.D. Sankalia, op.cit. P. 6

2. Ibid, Footnote 3, P.4.

3. Ibid., 'Larika' mentioned by Ptolemy (150 A.D.) is identified with Lata region.

4. Ibid. P. 5.

Solankis the names 'Gujjara-desh', Gurjarabhumi' and 'Gurjara-Mandala' was applied to this region.¹ Modern Gujarat does not correspond either to the 'Gujjara desa' of the Pratiharas or the 'Gujjara-bhumi' of the Chaulukyas, though parts of both are included within present Gujarat State.²

The Gurjara-Pratihara empire in about 900 A.D. included the whole of Central India and Rajasthan. In Gujarat it included modern Kutch, the Kathiawar peninsula and the districts of Banaskantha, Mehsana, Sabarkantha and Panchmahalas.³ South of the Narmada river Broach, Surat and parts of Baroda districts were under the Rashtrakutas and their feudatories the Parmaras, between the 9th and 10th century A.D.⁴ The Chalukyan kingdom between 1000-1300 A.D., corresponded more closely to modern Gujarat State but it also included some parts of western Malwa and Southern parts of Rajasthan including Jalor, Sirohi, Udaipur, Dungarpur and Banaswara districts.

-
1. K.M.Munshi, The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Bombay, 1954, Pg. 5-7.
 2. H.D.Sankalia, op.cit., P. 6.
 3. K.M.Munshi, op.cit. P. 9.
 4. Ibid., P. 10.

From centuries past, the Gujarat coastline has been an area of commercial transactions and trade activities conducted on a maritime basis. This tradition received active support from the agriculturally fertile hinterlands lying behind the coasts and the interior regions of the Deccan as well as the Gangetic plains. The outlet for commodities from these areas to the Mediterranean and Central Asia, lay through the ports of the west coast like Broach, Sopana, Kalyan, Cambay, Thana etc.¹

A look at the geo-physical features and natural products of Gujarat reveals the commercial advantages which have earned for this coastline, the reputation of being the 'Gateway of Hindustan'.²

Gujarat is divided into three well-marked natural regions (i) the flat plains of the main-land extending from Surat district in the south to Banaskantha district on the north, (ii) ^{the} rocky peninsula of Gujarat covering Saurashtra and Kutch and (iii) the highland region of north-east Gujarat.³ The mainland of the state is mainly an alluvial plain formed by the rivers, Banas,

-
1. Moti Chandra, 'Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India New Delhi, 1977, P. 23.
 2. Jean Deloche : 'Geographical considerations of localization of ancient sea-ports of India, Indian Economic and Social History Review (IESHR), Vol. 20, 1983, P.442
 3. Census of India, 1971, Geoglocical evolution of Gujarat P. 1-3, Administrative Atlas (1972) P-XIII.

Saraswati, Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada, Tapti and their tributaries. The plain is about fifteen miles wide in the southern parts of Surat district, bordering the coastline and widens towards the north in Baroda, Kheda, Ahmedabad, Mehsana and Banaskantha districts.

The average altitude of Saurashtra or Kathiawar peninsula is between 75 to 150 metres and consists of coastal land, inland plains and central highlands. The river basins consists of Shetrunji (parts of Bhavnagar and Amreli districts) which is fertile and opens into the Palitana and Gir hills. The triangular area in the north, called Wadhwan-Dhangadhra plateau, is comprised of sandstone and links Saurashtra with the mainland. The Morbi plain is drained by rivers Aji, Demi, Machchhu and Brahmani. The Bhadar river basin lies in Junagadh-Rajkot districts to the south west. Central Saurashtra is dominated by Baroda (2000 ft.), Gir (2700 ft in Girnar near Junagadh) and Chotilla hills (1000 ft). The rivers flow from this central highland.

In Kutch there are three groups of hills situated on the northern, southern and middle regions. The Rann of Kutch with its salt marshes covers the northern and eastern regions. Rivers flow from the centre to the Rann in the north and to the Gulf of Kutch in the South.

The coastline of Gujarat is approximately 1,500 S.q.m. long and is divided into distinct sections due to the topography of the hinterland and the indentations made by the Gulf of Kachh (Kutch) and the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay), which represent the two arms of the Arabian Sea abutting inland. The coastal districts of Gujarat proceeding from the north-west respectively are;¹ the districts of Kutch (Bordering Gulf of Kutch), Jamnagar (Bordering Gulf of Kutch and Arabian sea) Junagadh, Amreli and Bhavnagar in Kathiawar peninsula touching the Arabian sea, Ahmedabad and Kheda (Kaira) at the head of the Gulf of Cambay and Broach and Surat districts on the eastern side of the Gulf of Cambay. Baroda district has an out-let to this Gulf through the Mahi Sagar river flowing on its boundary.

The coast of Kutch is broken by a number of creeks and inlets, some of which like the Kori creek, flow about 8 to 10 kilometers inland. Other creeks on this coastline are the Godia creek flowing 8 kilometres inland, Mandvi creek and Nakti creek. All these creeks are not of great depth and has varying levels of water seasonally.² Strong currents and waves are also frequent within the Gulf.³

-
1. Map source : Survey Map of Gujarat, Administrative Atlas, 1972.
 2. Kutch District Gazetteer, Ahmedabad 1971, p. 10.
 3. Ibid.

These creeks are useful as sheltered anchorages for coasting crafts and boats when the seas are rough and stormy.¹ Most of the ports in Kutch are therefore located on these creeks, avoiding the currents of the coast. These ports include Lakhpat, Jakhau, Mandvi, Mundra and Bhadreswar. Sindan was another port on this coast in early medieval times.

In Jamnagar district the coast abounds with only a few small creeks and there is no major inlet here. It also presents certain other disadvantages, so that only a few ports are situated on this coast. The coastline is flat and slopes from the central highland to its margins. It is lined with ridges of shore deposits, sand hills, extensions of the Rann marshes, mangrove islands and rocky buttresses which are interspersed with dead coral reefs. These pose a great danger to ships sailing in this area.² The promontory of Okhamandal and the island of Beyt, on the tip of Kathiawar peninsula offer deep shelter for ships and Okha port is the important all-weather port of Gujarat in this section. The fertile hinterlands of Kathiawar peninsula find outlets for goods and commodities through some other ports found in this coast viz; Salaya, Sikka, Bedi and Jodiya all of which are situated on small creeks.

1. Ibid.

2. Junagadh District Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1972, Pg. 6.

Balachadi has high shores facing sea and is only a fishing centre.

Facing the Arabian sea, the coastline from Okha mandal to Dwarka and beyond to Miyani port has some islands with good channels between them that are useful for coasting crafts.¹ Dwarka port is situated on the right bank of the Gomati Creek. Miani port is on the bank of the Vartu river near its confluence with the sea.

Along Junagadh district the coastline is flat and slopes gently to the Arabian Sea. The interior is hilly (Girnar and Barada hills) and intersected by the small river valleys of Bhadar, Fulzar, Hiran rivers. The plains near the coastline are open grasslands. Creeks and inlets give place to small estuaries of rivers which break the coastline of South-East Kathiawar. Some of the important commercial ports of Gujarat lie along this part of the coastline, viz, Porbandar, Mangrol, Veraval and Somnath-Patan.

Beyond Pattan, to the south, is the rocky island of Diu or Div followed by the Bhavnagar coast. It is intersected by the Shetrunji and Dhatavardi rivers and small creeks but there are no good harbours along this coast.² The coastline along this part is marshy, woody and lined with mangroves. There are several shoals or submerged sand banks along this

1. Ibid., Pg. 7.

2. Bhavnagar district Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1969, P. 5.

coast, particularly near Bhavnagar and Gogha ports. The passage for ships near these ports is difficult and navigation is dependent on tidal waters.

The interior regions surrounding the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay) is one of the most fertile agricultural areas of western India. The rich river alluvium, together with a pleasant climate and rainfall ranging between 60 to 80 cm. annually, makes it a suitable area for cultivation of such crops like wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, oilseeds, pulses and fruits like mangoes etc.

The coastline projects deep inland and is broken by the rivers Sabamati, Mahi, Narmada, Tapti, and their numerous tributaries. The major estuarine ports of the west coast of India like Khambhat (Cambay), Broach, Surat, Navsari etc. are situated around this Gulf. Navigation is made easy due to the fact that the tidal flow inside the Gulf reaches to a height of about 8.5 meters.¹ Ships and boats can therefore enter the major rivers through their estuaries and sail inland for many miles due to the extra floatage.

The next section deals with area specific details of the hinterland together with geo-physical advantages which contributed to the localization and development of these ports.

1. Jean Deloche, op.cit. P. 443.

SECTION-II : FACTORS INVOLVED IN LOCATION OF PORTS

Agricultural, forest and mineral products formed the volume of goods and commodities which were exchanged for import-export purposes from the early centuries of the Christian era. Between the 8th and 13th centuries accounts of travellers and merchants give description of the modes of exchange and the commodities involved within each specific region of the peninsula. These accounts give us an idea of the relative maritime importance of certain trading centres, located in the Gujarat coastline, in comparison to others which were not so prominent. Thereby we can estimate why certain centres gained in pre-eminence within the trade network of this area. Prominence gained by such ports and commercial centres is due, not only because of their advantageous location on the coast, but also due to the goods and commodities involved in trade transactions depending on the products of their hinterland.

In order to examine the area-specific advantages and disadvantages of the situational points of ports along the coastline, it is necessary therefore, to take a look at the coastal area in detail. Geographical factors played a major role in the considerations for localization of ancient Indian sea-ports. This was particularly so because, modern methods of improving port shelters, facilitating access to ports by deepening channels, passes and moorings, constructing embank-

ments, break-waters or jetties on the sea front, dredging and de-silting of harbours etc., could not have been undertaken by the state during the ancient period.¹ Therefore merchants and sailors had to take into account convenient natural features within the coastline in order to develop anchorage points & facilities for ships and boats. They also had to pay heed to the natural products of the hinterland which would constitute the main items of exchange in trade relations. A well-developed overland transport network, serving the hinterland and connected to the coastal regions is necessary for smooth transactions of commodities from their areas of production & manufacture to the areas of distribution. These factors were the main considerations involved in the priority given to the ^{LOCATION OF} maritime centres on the Gujarat coast between the 8th to the 13th century A.D.

A. KUTCH :

The pronounced aridity of the district of **Kutch** makes it, with ^{THE} exception of its southern coastal region, extremely unfit for agricultural purposes. Rainfall in **Kutch** averages 322.2 Millimetres annually.² The soil consists of sandy alluvium on the south and is marshy and saline in the areas occupied by the Rann of **Kutch**. Natural vegetation along the Gulf of **Kutch** consists mainly of mangrove thickets and in the cultivable stretches, the main crops grown are **Jewar**,

1. Jean Deloche, op.cit. Pg. 444.
 2. Kutch district Gazetteer, P. 44.

bajra, some wheat, pulses, fruits like dates, coconuts, citrus and mangoes. Cultivation takes place in the southern and south-western talukas like Mundra, Mandvi, Anjar, Bhuj and Abdasa. Rivers like Kankavati, Khari, Mithi, & Naiero flow through the southern talukas to the Gulf of Kutch.

The Rann of Kutch in the north and north-east, is devoid of all vegetation or human habitation. Its marshy, saline waters are a source of salt. The arid country is noted for its live stock breeding, specially of horses and camels.¹ They form the main mode of transport for crossing the Rann.

The early settlers of this area were known as Kathis and Ahirs or Abhiras. The Abhiras or Ahirs were well known as herdsmen and pastoralists.² They tended sheep, goats, camels and made woollen blankets. By 10th century A.D. the Abhiras seem to have moved to western Saurashtra.³ The Kathis entered Kutch from Sindh in about 750 A.D. and established a small principality in South central Kutch.⁴ The port of Bhadreswar was under their control before the Solankis occupied Kutch.⁵

-
1. O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, - India and Pakistan ; A general and regional geography, III Edt. 1967, P. 648.
 2. K.M. Munshi, Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954, P. 168.
 3. S.B. Rajyagor, History of Gujarat, New Delhi 1982, P.47
 4. J.N. Campbell, Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. V. Kutch, Palampur and Mahikantha, Bombay 1880, P. 214.
 5. Ibid.

Kutch has a coastline of 352 Km., flat and broken by innumerable creeks and dotted with sand bars. Both creeks and rivers flowing into the Gulf are not always permanent. Water may stay in the larger creeks like the Kori and Godia, but only in times of high tide in the creeks like Nakti, Malirdi, Mandvi and Boacha creeks. The Kori creek runs inland for about 8 to 10 Km. It houses two important ports of **Kutch**, Lakhpat and Koteswar. Jakhau port is found on the Godia creek 8 Km., inland from the coast. Mandvi port is also situated on a river, while Sandhan port was situated on the Kankavati river. It is clear therefore that the semi-permanent anchorage facilities offered by these creeks and inlets are sufficient for a landing site to spring up along its banks. However other factors are also involved before a landing site becomes a port or ^atrading centre.

The port of Mandvi lies on the right bank of the Rukmavati, a perennial river, flowing into the Gulf of **Kutch**, about one kilometre from the sea. ^{The} Inland country in this region, is low-lying and has rich rice-fields. Cotton is also grown in this region. Mandvi was an important centre for ship-building in the past. The Vadhas of Mandvi were ship-builders.¹ Grapes, dates, cotton and rice were the chief items of trade from this port. Teak trees were perhaps used for ship-building. These trees are men-

1. Kutch district Gazetteer, P. 611.

tioned as growing in the area of Sandhan in 10th C. A.D.¹ Sandhan was also an important trading centre: mentioned by the Arab writers in the 10th century A.D.² The area around Sandhan was fertile and grew mangoes, coconuts, lemons and rice. These must have been the main items of trade from this port.

A fertile hinterland together with an advantageous landing site, offering rudimentary shelter, are two basic requirements for the location of a trading centre along any section of a coastline. This is applicable to all the ports of Gujarat. But due to certain other physical drawbacks, a landing site with a rich hinterland may not always develop into an all-weather port capable of handling overseas shipping and imports and exports on a large scale. In **Kutch** these disadvantages are of a non-perennial nature on creeks and river beds. Most of the water dries up or falls to very low levels within the creeks and inlets in the dry season.³ The range of tides on the Gulf of **Kutch** was also a deterring factor to the development of large ports in this area. The magnitude of the ebb and flow at the highest tide on this coast is between 2 to 6 metres.⁴ This prevents heavy ships from entering creeks and rivers, indenting the coast. Coasting crafts and small boats carrying

-
1. Ibid, P. 321.
 2. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol-I, Pg. 129.
 3. Kutch District Gazetteer, P. 9.
 4. Jean Deloche, op.cit. Pg. 443.

a minimal amount of goods, may have sailed to ports which had no direct access to the sea. For.e.g. Lakpat and Jakhau situated on the Kori and Godia creek respectively lie 6 to 8 Km away from the coast. Bhadreswar and Mandvi lying about a kilometre from the coast had better opportunities for trade as ships and boats could have direct access to commodities produced on their hinterlands. The transfer of goods from ships and boats directly to the trade marts of these cities are also made easier with direct access to ports, since this reduces the cost of transportation.

B. KATHIAWAR PENINSULA :

Jamnagar district lies to the north-western side of Kathiawar, bordering the southern side of the Gulf of Kutch. Along the coast the soil is saline, being a continuation of the Rann of Kutch, which runs for about 26 km to the south-west of the district. This coast is built up of rocky buttresses, marshes, sand bars and mangroves, and small islands lie scattered off-shore. From Jamnagar westwards, the coast is fringed with dead coral reefs and pearl fisheries thrive on these reefs, locally known as 'Kada'¹. Mangrove thickets lining this coast and the off-shore islands yield good firewood and timber. The low-lying marshy tracts of Jodiya, Jamnagar, Khambhalia and Okhamandal talukas

1. Jam Nagar district Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1970, P. 10.

are covered with water during high tides. Some interior regions are hilly; they are covered by the Barada hills in Banvad and by the Alech, Dalasa and Gop hills in Jamjodhpur, Kalavad and Lalpur Talukas respectively.

Marginal agriculture is practised in these regions where the rainfall is low and lands infertile. Bajra and Jowar are cultivated in the sandy soils around Dwarka. The Halar coast (around Jamnagar), grow millets and oilseeds. Pastoral activities tend to be more important than tillage. We have referred earlier to the Abhiras who were pastoralists of Kutch found in Kathiawar in the 10th century A.D. They established a small principality in the Barada hills around Vamanasthali (Buntulea) by this period.¹

There are no rivers of note in this section of the coastline and the creeks are few and small. Salaya and Bedi creeks are the waterways of Salaya and Bedi ports while the Dabar creek leads to Jodiya. Sikka is found on the Sikka inlet which is navigable for 6 to 8 Km., at high tide, making it possible for ships to pass to this port.²

The disadvantage of insufficient or shallow water is a major problem for ports situated on the Gulf of Kutch and the Arabian sea coast in the Kathiawar peninsula. The materials that sea and river currents carry in their wake, are

1. S.B. Rajyagor, op.cit. P. 42.

2. Jamnagar district Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1970. P. 11.

deposited wherever the water movement decreases. Sand banks and bars are thus formed against shallow coasts where ocean surf beat with increased intensity. Ports situated along such areas of the coasts, on a river or creek thus find their entry points cut off during stormy weather, which causes great waves to beat against sand bars and shoals forming at the mouth of the river.

Near Rozi the sea bottom is soft and muddy and the Pirotan Island, north-west of Rozi obstructs navigation in this area. Near Jodiya creek the coast is marshy and its entrance is among mangroves. Boats coming to Jodiya run around the east of Mongra reef and can come up only after floods. Near the Baral reefs, which is 10 kilometres west of Nora, there is an excellent shelter for vessels from the north-west wind where the anchorage is four fathoms deep. The islands of Chanka, Nora, Bhaider and Chusra are surrounded by the Baral reef¹ but to north of these are sheltered anchorages, five to eight fathoms deep, used by boats plying between Dwarka and Daybul (on Karachi coast)². In days when boats depended entirely on a favourable wind for sailing, it was difficult to reach the anchorage east of Beyt Island. The safer passage was to Chanka and Nora but these also could be reached only with difficulty and in high water. Large vessels from Malabar and Konkan coast used to take shelter on the

1. Jamnagar district Gazetteer, P. 11-13.

2. Jamnagar district Gazetteer, P. 14.

leeward side of Chanka island after the beginning of the monsoons and discharge their cargo into smaller boats which used to take the goods to the ports of Kutch. In olden times the chief trade route by means of water communications followed the coast from Gogha, south-west to Somnath-Patan and then north-west to Dwarka.¹

The Arabian sea coast off Junagadh district is the site of some of the most important ports in Gujarat. Its physical disadvantages are mainly the formation of shoals and sand bars along the coast. However small boats can be dragged over any beach at the mouth of a river or be hauled over sand-bars and can be anchored at water-spaces that are closed to sea currents and swells.² The coast is flat, sloping towards the sea and abound with 'vidis' or grass lands. Most of the natural cover is dry thorny scrub. The Barada hills and Girnar forests are covered with deciduous trees like teak.³ Other trees like acacias and bordi (Zizyphus Jujuba) abound in the grasslands.⁴ In former times this whole tract was covered by a vast forest, supplying Saurashtra with its timber. The particular wood locally known as 'vankia' is exported to as far as Arabia for ship building purposes.⁵

-
1. See Map. P.152
 2. Jean Deloche, op.cit. P. 444.
 3. Junagadh district Gazetteer, P. 42.
 4. Ibid., P. 47.
 5. Ibid., P. 10.

The climate is pleasant and the rainfall from the South-west monsoon is sufficient for the growth of such crops as wheat, Jowar, paddy, cotton, sugarcane, mangoes, oilseeds (groundnuts, sesamun and coconut), pulses, betelnuts¹ and so on. These products are also mentioned in inscriptions of the 9th to the 13th century A.D.

The productivity of the hinterland and the favourable coastline allows for the location of ports like Veraval which is on a bay open to the sea. The water at anchorage is 8 fathoms deep making it a comfortable port for large ships to load and unload cargo.² The presence of large rocks near the harbour is one disadvantage of this port.

Porbandar port has been prominent since ancient times.³ It is on a sheltered creek but is inaccessible in the absence of tidal water. However the natural harbour compensates for these disadvantages. Mangrol is another small port on this coastline and seems to have been familiar to the Muslims.⁴ Dwarka on the tip of Okhamandal peninsula, stands on the Gomti creek. It is a port and pilgrimage centre with a history dating back to hoary antiquity.⁵ It was the stopping

1. Ibid. P. 355 - 359.

2. Ibid., P. 504.

3. E.I., Vol XXXI, P. 129,

4. I.A., Vol VIII, J.W.Watson, "Ballad of the Fall of Patan" An unconfirmed ballad, refers to the port of Mangalur (Mangrol) as a bad one which boatmen avoided. P. 153.

5. A.S.Altekar, 'Ancient Towns op.cit. P. 25.

place for Arab sailors, sailing between the West coast of India to Sind and Makran in the early medieval period.¹

In the Bhavnagar district, the coastline changes. It has marshy swamps and mango thickets upto Gogha port, then beyond to the Shetrunji river, it becomes sandy and more open. Several points from Gogha to Gornath point used to be land marks for sailors right upto the modern times.² The passage from Broach to Gogha was clear for ships, but due to the sandbank or Gogha shoal, lying east of the town, sea-farers had to be particularly careful when entering the port. Off Gogha there was a little deep gut which was a safe anchorage, but due to the shoals, heavy vessels had to anchor in 5 to 10 fathoms clay bottom about three and half miles outside Gogha.³ Yet Gogha was a famous port in ancient and early medieval times.⁴

At the mouth of the Shetrunji river is the small trading port of Sultanpur. This was the first landing place for sailors from Gogha. Close to the landing, is a well with fresh water. Between Sultanpur shoal and town small boats could anchor in three fathoms of water. Upto Diu island the coast line has bold headlands and rocky islands strewn offshore. Talaja port, situated below a hill, was a resort

-
1. See Map P.150 and P.152.
 2. Bhavnagar district Gazetteer, P. 7.
 3. Ibid, P. 6.
 4. A.S. Altekar, A history of Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar, IA, Vol. 1111, Supplement 1925, P. 24.

of sea-going Indian merchants and a centre of pilgrimage for the Jains, on the confluence of the Shetrunji and Talaji rivers.

Numerous small ports along the coast came into existence, not solely as a consequence of advantageous position and site, but they also grew due to the deficiency of overland transport¹. Thus, it is not possible to concentrate maritime activity in a few big settlements since the roads on the coastal plains did not facilitate the distribution of commodities. The traffic in coastal areas existed from creek to creek, shore to shore and village to village. Hence there were maritime settlements which acted as overland stopping places spaced every 20 or 30 kilometers. These rural markets stayed active seasonally. Ports like Chhaya near Porbandar², Sultanpur, Mundra, Bahuloda³ on the Narmada river, Kavi (Kapika)⁴ in Broach district near the Gulf of Cambay, Gogha and Bhadreswar, are all examples of once prosperous maritime centres which have now deteriorated into mere fishing villages, either due to development of better ports in the vicinity, the closing of trade routes or because of geo-physical reasons like silting up of the mouth of the rivers, low water level in harbours etc., leading to considerable hindrance in navigation.

-
1. Jean Deloche, *op.cit.* P. 445,.....
 2. A.S. Altekar, *Ancient Towns op.cit.* P.6.
 3. *Ibid.* P. 33.
 4. *Ibid.* P. 18.

Geographical processes like erosion, deposition, siltation, floods, earthquakes, and so on causes great changes in environment and physical features of any region. The day-to-day working of such processes can be seen in mud-banks formation, erosions by river currents, siltation of estuaries due to deposition and formation of sand bars and alluvial islands along the coast. Such instances of physical configuration seems to have taken place in Kathiawar peninsula along the Arabian Sea Coast. Historical evidence reveals that ports and trading centres which flourished in ancient periods of history, have now deteriorated into less important ports or fishing villages.



TH - 3016

There is a legend that the original site of ancient Dwarka of Lord Krishna, was engulfed in an oceanic configuration¹. Three successive cities, one after another, are said to have existed and submerged beneath the ocean near the present site of Dwarka². If the results of recent archeological excavations carried out on this site are fully analysed, this theory could very well be confirmed.

Ancient Valabhi, the capital of the Maitrakas of Gujarat, is identified with modern Vala which lies 18 miles

-
1. Ibid. P 25 ,
 2. R.S. Sharma, Urban Decay in India, New Delhi, 1987, P 74.

DISS

381.3095475

P568 So



TH3016

north-west of Bhavnagar city. Modern Vala is not a port. But Alberuni¹ records that the town was destroyed by a naval expedition from Sindh and hence must have been a port in the 9th century A.D. This discrepancy does not make the above identification untenable; for the creek which once united Valabhi to the sea, has since been choked up with silt².

The island of Div or Diu, which is identified with ancient Dwipa, was probably a peninsula. Legend has it that it was a principality of the Parmara Rajputs in the 7th century A.D. Sudden changes in geographic and oceanic configuration caused an inundation and as a result Dwipa became an island.

Similarly the entire alluvial tract of Ahmedabad District, abounding along the Gulf of Cambay seems to have been covered by the sea at a remote period.³

C. COASTAL REGIONS OF THE GULF OF KHAMBHAT

A distinctive geographical feature of the ports lining the Gulf of Khambhat, (or Cambay) is that they are all situated at the mouths of major rivers, i.e., they are all estuarine ports with openings into the Gulf through the rivers. Two of the most important estuarine ports of India are located on this part of Gujarat, viz., Khambhat or

-
1. E.C. Sachau edited, Alberuni's India London, 1910, 1914. Reprint, New Delhi 1981, Vol. I, P 192.
 2. A.S. Altekar, op.cit. P 39
 3. Kheda district Gazetteer. P. 18.

Kambayat,¹ situated at the mouth of the Mahi river in Kheda district and Broach or Baruj,² situated on the Narmada estuary in Surat District. These two ports serve a hinter land which is agriculturally one of the most fertile areas of the India. Industrial production in this region also began in very early times³ since the cotton textile industry has its main area of concentration in this belt.

The districts of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Broach and Surat lie around the Gulf of Khambhat. The alluvial plain comprising Kheda and Ahmedabad districts is watered by the Mahi and Sabarmati rivers. The plain is called "Charotar" and is the main region of cotton production in India. Other crops include millets, wheat, groundnuts, bajra, rice and tobacco. The town of Ahemdabad, known as Asapalli⁴, in ~~the~~ early medieval period, is one of the major manufacturing centres of such articles as silk and cotton textiles, steel, articles of gold, silver, enamel, mother-of-pearl, laquered ware, fine wood work, brass work, copper ware and leather work.⁵

Broach and Surat districts have hilly interiors. The major rivers flowing through these districts are Narmada,

-
1. Elliot and Dowson, op.cit., Vol I. Ibn Haukal refers to Khambhat as Kambaya (10th C. A.D.) p.60
 2. Maqbul Ahmed, At Shariq Al-Idrisi, India and the neighbouring countries, Leiden, P. 59 (1968)
 3. W.H. Scholff, Periplus.....op.cit., Cotton cloth was exported from Broach since 1st century A.D. P 181-182.
 4. Maqbul S. Ahmed, op.cit. P. 59.
 5. Ahemadabad district Gazetteer, Ahemadabad 1972, P 412.

Tapti, Kim, Mindhola, Purna, and Ambika. The coast line is influenced by both sea and riverine deposits. In Broach district, the coastal plain may have been an extension of the shallow stretches of the Gulf of Cambay. Under the influence of marine action the river mouths have developed sand bars and alluvial banks. Tidal waters cover low-lying regions. Extensive areas of marshes, threaded channels of tidal streams, salt surfaces and poor vegetation are present here¹. The alluvial zone lying behind the coast are influenced by rich laterite soil of the Deccan traps and grow cotton, wheat, rice, jowar, pulses, oilseeds, fruits etc. The forests of the interior hills, consists of teak, shisham, bamboos and other timber wood and aromatic grasses and medicinal herbs are also found in these regions. Agates and carnelians of Rajpipla sub-division of Broach district are used by the lapidaries of Khambhat to make decorative articles and jewellery.

The Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada, Tapti, and their tributaries empty into the Gulf. These are all tidal rivers so that navigation along their course is possible only upto the point where the incoming tide raises the water level to such an extent as to accomodate boats and ships of a limited tonnage.² But these rivers derive advantages from the ebb and flow of tides sweeping through their channels. They help to clear up the silt and sand bars formed by deposits at the estuaries which are brought down by the river currents. However navigation is still difficult due

1. Surat District Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1962, P 3.

2. Ibid P 7.

to the lack of depth in the river mouths and because of the dangers posed by shifting sand banks, obstructing the channels. By using moorings within the zones where the alternating tides fetch and carry boats, these estuarine ports offered perfect shelters and facilitated the linking of the water way with inland navigation and with land routes.

Around the Gulf of Khambhat, the coastline is sandy and irregular and projects deeply inward, through the estuaries of the rivers pouring into it. The river Mahi flowing between Kheda and Broach districts, has been referred to by Arab traveller, Alberuni as "Mahindri"¹. This river is crossed at many places. The chief fords are at the mouth of the river, between Khambhat and Kavi. Thirteen miles above Khambhat is Dehvan ford crossed only at neap tides and five miles further up, is another crossing at Gajna. The fierceness of tidal waves makes the mouth of the Mahi dangerous for any, but flat bottomed boats².

The Sabarmati, flowing on the western boundary of Kheda district, is prone to floods during the monsoon season in its catchment area. In the vicinity of Khambhat in the western direction on the bank of Sabarmati, the Dholera Creek is situated, having a sand bank on its mouth. On the opposite side the portion between the mouth of

-
1. J.M. Campbell, Gazetter of Bombay Presidency, Vol I, History of Gujarat, Bombay 1896, P 539
 2. Kheda district Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1973. P. 11.

rivers Dhadhar and Mahi is also covered with sand bars. Between the western and eastern banks there is a deep channel called the Khambhat Channel through which all ships pass. Between this Channel and the Creek of Dholera lies the Bor Rock formed on account of tides. Due to this, the passage for ships near Khambhat has become difficult and is rendered considerably narrow.¹

The Sabarmati river is heavily silted up and due to this, navigation becomes futile in the Gulf of Khambhat, till the tidal bores take a hand in clearing the channels. The port of Khambhat relates to a rich hinterland and has been one of the most prosperous maritime cities of early medieval and modern India. Since the 9th century A.D. reliable historical information about this city has been supplied by excellent records left by merchants, travellers and geographers like Ibn Khurdadba, Al-Masudi and Ibn Haukal² and Al Idrisi³ all writing between 9th and 12th centuries A.D.

The river Narmada passes for about 70 miles through the district of Broach where it moves between rich, flat plains. Below the port of Broach it widens into an estuary whose shores, where they fall away into the Gulf of Cambay, are more than thirteen miles apart.

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol.I, Pg. 1-78,
 3. Maqbul Ahmed op.cit. P. 57.

Navigation on the Narmada is confined to that part of its course which lies within Gujarat state.¹ The navigable portion is divided into two sections. The first portion is from the mouth of the river upto Broach which is navigable for vessels of 95 tons.² Vessels of lesser tonnage, upto 35 tons, can safely go upto Shamlapitha near Jhagadia.³ Off Jageshwar near Ambetha there is twenty four feet of water at dead low tide so that the largest vessels could lie there safely at all times of the tide, well water-borne. The presence of various sand bars, again at the estuary, is a constant danger to safe navigation. Broach port is open for ships though out the year,⁴ due to tidal springs constantly at work in clearing the river mouth of marine deposits. During monsoons however some of the traffic gets diverted to Gogha and other coastal ports in the form of smaller vessels. During fair seasons, vessels of various sizes call at Broach port from Malabar coast, ports of Kutch and Saurashtra and Sind and Persian Gulf shores.

The upper navigable part of the river commences at Jhagadia and ends at Gora. This section is navigable for small vessels and boats of less than 10 tons during floods. Dahej port on the right bank of the Narmada, 26 miles west of Broach has a convenient approach but does not admit boats of more than 53 tons and that too, only in times of high tides.⁵

-
1. Broach District Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1961, Pg. 7,
 2. Ibid. Pg. 8.
 3. See Map Pg. 151
 4. Broach District Gazetteer, P. 8.
 5. Ibid. Pg. 9.

On the Dhadar river the ports of Jambusar, Gandhar and Kavi slightly to the north also find openings into the Gulf and are able to carry on maritime activities.



C H A P T E R - II

SECTORAL IMPORTANCE OF MARITIME ZONES : 8th TO 10th CENTURY A.D.

In the first chapter we have noted how the immense suitability of the Gujrat coastline with its gulfs, bays and rivers estuaries together with favourable tides, gave rise to a number of important sea-ports and trading centres along its length. Ports like Bhrgukaccha (BROACH) and Prabhas are of great antiquity and were flourishing trade centres from the early centuries of the Christian era.¹ Others like Cambay, Mangrol and Baroda came up gradually due to rise in political pre-eminence of the regions where they are located and encouragement to trade and commerce by ruling kings. Factors such as favourable locational points together with the advantages of safe anchorage, agriculturally productive hinterlands and a socio-economic milieu inclined to commercial activities tended to transform inactive areas into productive regions and small coastal hamlets into large towns and trading centres. Between the 8th and 10th century A.D. this process which had already set in under the Maitrakas of Valabhi, was given further impetus by such dynasties as the Rashtrakutas of Malked. The policy of this dynasty was to maintain friendly relations with

1. 1 A. I. III, Supplement, 1925, A.S. ALTEKAR, 'Ancient Towns and Cities of Gujarat and Kathiawar'. P.29 and 33.

the Arab traders. This gave a fillip to commercial activities, within the Rashtraputa kingdom, which included South Gujarat. Commercial activities reached their zenith after the 10th century A.D. when the whole of Gujarat was united under the Chaulukyas.

Overseas trade in this period was carried on from the ports and coastal centres of Gujarat. Trade by the sea route was given more importance in this period. One reason for increase in overseas traffic and trade contacts was because the land route through central Asia was cut off from about 750 A.D. by the constant warfare of both the Chinese and Muslim forces with Central Asian tribes. This route was to be reopened only by the 14th century A.D.¹

The evidence for this period shows that overseas commerce and trade, was present in the south western regions of Gujarat, though not on a large scale. New ports like Khambhat, and interior trade centres like Baroda, rose in prominence. The early notices of Arab settlements are found in the West Coast of India from this period onwards.

1. V.K.Jain, Role of Arab Traders in Western India, in B.D. Chattopadhyaya, edited, Essays in Economic History of Ancient India., New Delhi 1987, P. 165.

SECTION-I : MARITIME ZONES AND COMMERCIAL REGIONS
IN KUTCH.

The overland route through the Kachh peninsula was the shortest route between Sindh and Gujarat. It was used by invaders, conquerors and travellers in all periods. However, the salty marshes of the Rann of Kutch made this route a difficult one for travellers and merchants and the desert of Sind added to their difficulties. The main forms of transport used in crossing this desert are camels and bullock-carts.¹ This is done during the night with the help of stars² because in the day time the intense heat of the desert and white glare from the salt marshes made this route impassible. Conquerors like Mahmud of Ghazni, in order to find a short passage from Saurashtra, is known to have used this route through Sind and Kutch³. According to the Navsari Copper Plate record, Arabs were defeated by Chalukya Avanijanasraya Pulakesin in 738-39 A.D.⁴ Arabs advanced into Saurashtra as far as Navsari possibly by way of the Rann of Kutch.

-
1. Kachh District Gazetteer, Gujarat, Ahmedabad, 1971, P.123.
 2. Moti Chandra, Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India, New Delhi, 1977, P.60.
 3. A.K.Forbes, Ras Mala, or the Hindu Annals of Gujarat, London, 1924, p. 79, Mohammad of Ghazni, while attempting to return home after the plunder of Somnath in 1026 A.D. chose a new route through the deserts of Sindh & Kutch. But his Hindu guide misled him and most of his army died of thirst and heat before reaching Multan.
 4. B.G.I., (i) P.109, See also, R.C. Majumdar 'The Classical Age Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954. P.173.

The most convenient route between Sind and Gujarat was by way of the sea. This time-honoured route has been used by merchant-men and sailors from ancient times. In the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. this route was used by the Arab traders for their operations with Gujarat. Several accounts are given of the route to Gujarat by way of Kachh by the Arab Writers. Al-Idrisi, writing in the 12th century A.D., has given a detailed description of towns and ports lying on this route.¹ He based his information on works of earlier Arab writers like Ibn Haukal (977 A.D.), Iba Knuradadba (9th century A.D.), and Ahmad Jayhani.² The merit of Idrisi's account lies in the fact that it gathers together all the varied information on India provided by Arab accounts from 9th to 12th century A.D. Al-Idrisi writes, "between Baniya which lies to the north of the Rann of Kutch in the neighbourhood of Umarnkot in Sindh, and Mamuhai (identified with Bhinimal) and upto Kambaya (Cambay), is a continuous desert with no inhabitants and little water. Nobody traverses it because of the desolation of its

-
1. 'Al Sharig Al-Idrisi', India and neighbouring countries' - translated by S. Maqbal Ahmed, Leiden 1968 P. 55-58. Also see Map attached, p. 152.
 2. Ibid., p. 6, Although Idrisi's book was written in 12th century A.D., he also writes of an earlier period from 800 to 1150 A.D. (S. Maqbal Ahmed, op.cit. p. 3) We have therefore used his account as source material to reconstruct trade routes in Kachh and Kathiawar between the 8th to 10th Century A.D.

land and its great vastness".¹ This area is identified with the region to the South West of the Thar Desert stretching between Karachi and Cambay, including the Great and Little, Rann of Kutch.²

Al-Idrisi gives the names of towns adjoining Sind as Mamuhul (Bhinmal), Kambaya (Cambay), Subara (Sapara), Khabirun (Kapadvanj), Sindan (Sanjan) and Saymur (Chaul). Among the islands in Gulf of Kutch he names Oykman and the island of Al-Mayd.³

Idrisi further goes on to state that from the town of Mamuhul (Identified with Bhinmal in South Rajasthan)⁴ to Kambaya (Cambay), is five marhalas, from the town of Kambaya by sea to the island of Oykman is two and a half Majras⁵ from Oykman Island to the island of Daybul is 2 Majras, from here to the island of Al-Mayd is 6 miles and from there to Kuli is 6 miles.⁶

-
1. Ibid, P. 43, No: 21.
 2. Ibid. P.110, In times of emergency this desert was crossed by invaders such as Mahmud of Ghazni.
 3. Ibid p. 54.
 4. Ibid P. 92,
 5. Ibid, P.55, Footnote 3. Also Elliot and Dawson, (History of India as told by its own Historians), Vol. I, P. 85.
 6. Ibid. P. 55.

According to the conversions given by Maqbul Ahmed, Idrisi's distances measure like this:¹

- 1 Marhala - 1 day's march (25 to 30 Arabian Miles)
- 1 long Marhala - 40 Arabian Miles
- 1 Farsakih - 3 Arabian Miles
- 1 Majra - 1 days journey by sea
- 1 Arabian Mile - 1 1/15 Geographical mile

These distances given by Idrisi also correspond to those given by Ibn Khurdadba² and indicate that Oykman islands were located along the north Western coast of the Kathiawar peninsula, midway between Cambay and Daybul (The latter^{is} identified with a site near Karachi at the mouth of river Indus).³

The north-western tip of the Kathiawar peninsula, where it turns inwards and forms a tiny peninsula, called "Okhamandal" is identified as Idrisi's 'Oykman'.⁴

Port Okha lies on the northernmost tip of this peninsula.

Idrisi also states that this formed the first limits of Indian territory and that the island grew rice, grains and bamboo, while its inhabitants were idol worshippers

-
1. Ibid. Pg. 76.
 2. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit., Vol-I, Pg. 6.
 3. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit., Pg. 82.
 4. Ibid. Pg. 120.

(budad).¹ The area has been identified with the islands of Beyt and Sankhoda on the southern side of the Gulf of Kutch, and² the temple town of Dwarka, which stands at the western coast of the Okhamandal peninsula.² The Arab boats coming from Daybul and sailing along the coast made this area their first port-of-call.

From the description given by Idrisi (12th C.) the island of 'al-Mand' or 'al-Mayd' would lie 6 miles north of Oykman. The port of Mandvi on the southern coast of Kutch lies 25 miles north east of Okhamandal and there is another place further to the east of his called Mundra. Maqbul Ahmed considers Mandvi as one of the possible sites for Al-Mand.³ The place 'Kuli', mentioned by Idrisi, is identified as corresponding to the Kori Creek in western Kutch district.⁴ It forms a waterway through the Rann of Kutch and the port of Lakhpat is situated at its head.

The 9th century account of Ibn Khurdadba contains a similar, though less detailed description, of the areas of coastal Sindh, Kutch and Kathiawar peninsula.⁵ A

-
1. Ibid., P. 35.
 2. Ibid., P.120.
 3. Maqbul Ahmed, Ibid, p.118. This identification seems to be at variance with the fact that Mandvi dates from 16th century or earlier, rose into prominence as a trading centre in this period. It could not have been important as early as the 10th or 12th century A.D., Kutch district Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1971, P. 214.
 4. Ibid, P.90.
 5. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol-I, P.23.

comparison of the accounts of both these travellers reveal details of the trade links between Kutch coast, Sindh and Gujārat in this period. According to Ibn Khurdadba¹, from Sindh were brought costus, cane and bamboo. In Bakr (unidentified), said to be the first place on the border of Hind, according to Ibn Khurdadba², canes grew in the hilly tracts and wheat in the plains. This description of Khurdadba (9th century A.D.) tallies with that of Al-Idrisi (12th Century) who makes Oykman Island (Okha) ~~is~~ the first limits of Indian territory and remarks that grains and rice grow here while the Indian bamboo grows on its mountains³. While the town, mentioned by Al-Idrisi in his accounts of Sindh, beyond Oykman, is Daybul, Ibn Khurdadba mentions (9th century) the Mihran river, which is identified with the lower course of the Indus⁴. It corresponds to the same area where Daybul was situated.

Both Ibn Khurdadba and Idrisi give the distance between Daybul and the mouth of Mihran as 2 farsakh or 6 miles⁵.

Again Ibn Khurdadba mentions that from Bakr to Meds is 2 parsangs⁶, (probably the 'al-Mayd' of Idrisi),

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid, P.24.
 3. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit. P. 55.
 4. Ibid, P.82
 5. Ibid, P. 82
 6. 1 Parsang was equal to 8 Miles, Elliot & Dawson, op.cit. Vol-I, P.82.

and from Meds to Kol is 2 parsangs (Kuli of Al-Idrisi) and that the inhabitants of these areas are wonderers and robbers.

According to Idrisi¹ ^{the distance} from Mansura to Baniya (near modern Umarmot in Sindh) was 3 mar^halās, from Baniya to Mamuhul (Bhimmal) was 6 mar^halās and from Mamuhul to Kanbaya on the sea coast (Cambay) was 5 mar^halās. Travellers entering India from Sindh generally followed this route to Mamuhul² in the early medieval period.

The flat plains along the southern shores of Kutch have a few cultivated areas where date, coconut, mango, guava, chikoo, banana, payaya and citrus fruits are grown. The area around Mamuhul is also mentioned as cultivating some fruits. It is possible that these products together with minerals like salt and ochre colours foundⁱⁿ these areas³ were transported through the seaports of Mandvi, Mundra, Bhadreswar etc. to Daybul and other cities in Sindh by Arab and Indian merchants during our period. Due to unsettled political conditions of the time, Kutch was used by the Muslims, who conquered Sindh in 712 A.D.⁴

-
1. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit. Pg. 81.
 2. Ibid, Pg. 54.
 3. Kutch district Gazetteer, Ahmedabad, 1971, P. 33.
 4. Sindh was conquered by Muhammad-bin-Kasim, K.M.Munshi, Op. cit. P. 79.

to launch expeditions into Gujarat and Marwar, as a passage-way. Various local groups established themselves in ~~Kutch~~ like, Chavadas of Vagad in east, between Gujarat and Kutch¹.¹ Meds along the coast and Ahirs who were probably local groups, were ruling in 10th century A.D. or were feudatories under the Chalukyas² and Rashtrakutas.³ These local dynasties had to face the threat of Arab attack under Junaid in 728 A.D.⁴

The Arab historians of this period, viz., Ibn Khurdadba (912 A.D) and Al-Biladuri (840 A.D.) records that the Arabs had settled on the coast of the Kutch.⁵ This might have taken place after the Arab invasion of 8th century probably by groups of traders and merchants. The settlement of some Muslims even if true, could not have extended over the whole of Kutch, but only to the coastal tracts of the north and west.

A curious archeological remnant of this period comes from Rakanauj, which is a place four miles to the north east of Amara, lying on the north bank of the Kinnar river. Remains of ruined tombs, which are undated, are found here. To the west of Amara is the ruin of a tomb of one Kara Kasim, who has been identified as Muhammad-bin-Kasim conqueror of Sindh in 712 A.D.⁶

1. R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age* - P. 145-152.

2. *EI*. Vol. V, P. 138, Copper plate grant of Govinda III (806 A.D.) refers to Kutch as 'Kathika'.

3. K.M. Munshi, *op.cit*, P.76.

4. Elliot and Dawson, *op.cit*. Vol-I, P. 14 & 129.

5. Campbell, *op.cit*. P.131.

6. RLARBP, Vol-VIII, Bombay 1977

The Kankavati river bank is the site of the city of Sandhan, known as Sindhan in 9th century A.D., which was the earliest settlement of the Arabs in Kutch.¹ One Fazl built a Jama Masjid here in 820 A.D. In 838-841 A.D. another, Mahan, sent a teak tree to the Khalif Mutesimbi-Ilah.² He also sailed with 60 vessels to punish the Med pirates at Dwarka who harassed traders and defeated them. In 912 A.D. Sindhan is mentioned as a place where teak trees and canes grew,³ and by 968 A.D. it is said to be a great city with a Jama Mosque where Muhammadan precepts were openly observed. This area also grew mangoes, coconuts, lemons and rice in abundance.⁴

The port of Bhadreswar was probably known as Bhadravati Nagari in this period. Bhadreswar was under the Chavadas, was invaded by Muslims and finally taken over by Solankis in 9th century A.D.⁵

Mandvi⁶, lying on the sea coast, is situated in an area of low lying rice fields. This port may have developed by 12th century A.D.⁷

-
1. V.K.Jain, op.cit. P.167
 2. Elliot and Dawson op.cit. Vol-I, P.129.
 3. Elliot and Dawson, Ibid, Ibn Khurdadba mentions that Sindhan grows teak trees and canes but Maqbul Ahmed identifies Sindhan with Sanjan on Bombay coast (op.cit. P. 102).
 4. Kutch District Gazetteer, P. 620
 5. J.M.Campbell-Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency Vol-V, Cutch Palampur, Mahikantha, 1880, P. 214.
 6. Identified as the 'al-Mayd' of Idrisi by Maqbul Ahmed, Op.cit. p.118.
 7. Kutch district Gazetteer, P. 611.

Kotheswar situated on the Kori creek, was a port and important place of pilgrimage for Buddhists in 6th and 7th century A.D. Hieun Tsang refers to it as "Kie-tsi-fa-lo" in 640 A.D.¹ Lakhpat is another port situated on this creek while Jakhau lies on the Godia creek. Both have existed as centres of trade, but there is no evidence for this till the 11th & 12th century when the town of Bhuj nearby became an important pilgrimage centre of the Jains. Consequently commercial activities of nearby ports may also have increased.²

Towns and inland centres of Kutch were therefore linked by trade routes which had connections with Kathiawar and Sindh both by land and sea by the 10th century A.D.

Archeological evidence, as well as the Arab accounts, point to the settlements of Muslims as traders along the sea ports and towns on the south and south-west of Kutch in 7th C.A.D. The penetration of Muslims into the interiors of Kutch and / Kathiawar peninsula as itinerant traders or merchants before the 10th century cannot be ruled out.

-
1. Samuel Beal, translated, Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western world London, 1884, Vol-II, P. 259.
 2. Discussed in Chapter IM.

Teak trees of Kutch were perhaps used to build ships by the Vadhas of Mandvi after the 12th century AD.¹

Commercial and maritime activities of the ports of Kutch may have been inclined to coastal and short distance trade mainly for re-sale of commodities brought from other parts of western India and Arab countries. Coastal trade of the products of the interiors of Kutch may also have taken place in this period. However, the Arab settlement at Sindhan in 9th century points to an increased impetus given to commercial activities in this area from this time.²

The accounts of merchant Sulaiman (857 A.D.)³ and Al-Masudi (956 A.D.)⁴ both mentions that the kingdom of Balhara had a wealth of horses, Camels and elephants. The Balhara is identified with the Rashtrakuta rulers of the Deccan whose kingdom extended to south of Gujarat (Lata), Kaira and parts of Kathiawar.⁵

-
1. Kutch District Gazetteer, p. 611, The Vadhas of Mandvi were important shipbuilders and are referred to as building ships which sailed to England in 1780.
 2. Elliot & Dawson Vol-II, P. 42.
 3. Elliot & Dawson Vol-I, P. 11-23.
 4. Ibid, P. 30-42.
 5. H.C.Roy- Dynastic History of North India, Vol-I, Calcutta, 1931 Maqbul Ahmed op.cit., P. 6.

The sea route between Kutch, Sindh, Kathiawar and South Gujarat was well marked. From Daybul, boats sailed to Okhaport and Dwarka on the Kathiawar peninsula and from there rounded the peninsula and sailed to Gogha, Cambay, Broach and other southern ports. During rough seas the creeks and inlets along the Kutch coast provided safe shelters for merchant-ships¹. From Okha ships passed to Mandvi, Mundra on some other ports on Kutch coast probably as ports-of-call, on to transfer goods to and from the interior areas.

From the ports of Kutch ships may have also passed directly to Sopara & Saimur on the Konkan coast or to Broach.²

The main items of trade handled by these ports were probably local produce. Rice from low lands near Mandvi, wheat, sugarcane, cotton, bamboo, cane, teak trees, fruits like mangoes, coconuts and lemons may have been articles of trade between Sindh, Kutch and perhaps Gujarat. Luxury items like ivory,³ pearls,⁴ aromatics and perfumes⁵ perhaps originated in the ports of Cambay and Broach and Malabar.

-
1. Kutch district Gazetteer, P.9.
 2. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit. P.81.
 3. Elliot & Dawson, Vol-I, P. 12, Sulaiman mentions that ivory was produced in Kiranj (probably Kalinga coast).
 4. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit. P.55, Pearls are mentioned by Idrisi as produced off the coast of Subara (Sopara).
 5. Ibid., P.57, It was produced in the Kingdom of Balhara in Thana.

Further, Al-Idrisi mentions that the two humped camels were bred in the region between Mansura and Multan, West of the Indus river by a tribe called, 'al-Buddha', who possessed an agile breed of camels.¹ Hence we can conjecture that camels in Gujarat may have been brought through Sindh and Kutch to Kathiawar. Horses may also have been brought by this route, but the more important route of horse dealing by the Arabs, were by ships from Persian Gulf to the Konkan ports of Kalyan and Thana.² These horses could have been brought into the ports of Broach and Cambay during the Rashtrakuta rule.



-
1. Ibid., P. 52
 2. H. Yule edited, Travels of Marco Polo, Book-III, 1916 Pg. 395 also Elliot & Dawson Vol-II, P.28, Al. Beruni's account of 10th to 12th century, copied by Rashiduddin, refer to the horse trade between Malabar ports and the islands of Persian Gulf-Kish, Hormuz, Baharein etc. 10,000 horses imported annually

SECTION-II : MARITIME TRADE IN KATHIAWAR

The study of trade ramifications in the regions of Kathiawar and Gulf of Cambay coast is made easier as both foreign (Arab accounts) and indigenous sources refer to such activities along the coast line and in the interior during this period. The indigenous sources referring to commercial, activities are the copper plates of the Saindhavas,¹ who ruled at Bhutambilka (Ghumli), between 740 A.D. and 920 A.D.

They seem to have been implacable enemies of the Arabs from the beginning. The Arab invasion of 738-739 A.D. mention the defeat of the Saindhavas, who were Maitraka feudatories, among the other kings of Gujarat.²

In 760 A.D., and 780 A.D., Arab invasions were again repeated but successfully repulsed by Sindhavas³. After the fall of Maitrakas, the independent Sindhava kingdom probably extended to Girinagara (Junagadh) on south & south-east, Man-chandra hills in the north-east and the Gulf of Kutch and Arabian sea on the north and east of Kathiawar.

Copper plate grants of the Saindhavas refer to them by the title 'Apara Samudradhipati' - 'Masters of the Western

-
1. For reference to inscriptions of Saindhavas see: E.I. Vol. XXVI, P. 185-203, I.A. Vol. XII, P. 155 & 274, Vol. XXXVIII, P. 145 and 151, Vol. II, P. 257.
 2. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol-I, op.cit. P. 109,
 3. E.I. Vol- XXVI, P. 189.

Ocean.¹ Arab historians admit that they were a great maritime power in Kathiawar during the 8th and 9th century.² They had an excellent navy and retained command over the Arabian sea from their fortress like capital of Bhutambitika (Ghumli) from where they could watch the movement of any invader from the seas.

This part of the Gujarat coastline has a number of small ports situated in the inlets from the sea.³ With the exception of Dwarka and Okha (Oykman of Idrisi), there are no large harbours which are prominently mentioned as centres of commercial activity in the Arab sources of the 8th and 9th century A.D. The Arab invasion of 780 A.D. destroyed the town of Barada.⁴ which was under the rule of the Saindhavas. It may have been the naval station and the port of the Saindhava kingdom.⁵ There is no mention of trade links with Barada or nearby ports like Miyani in the Arab sources. Oykman or Okha port was a stopping place for the Arab ships sailing between Sind, Kathiawar and Latadesa (South Gujarat) according to Idrisi's accounts but this could^{be a} reference to the 12th and 13th centuries also.

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Elliot & Dawson, op.cit., Vol-I, P. 114 and P. 519ff.
 3. Chapter I, earlier.
 4. E.I. Vol-XXVI, P. 188.
 5. E.I. Vol-XXVI, P. 188, Altkar identifies Barada with village Bardia now 10 miles to the north-west of Porbandar or with Ghumli lying on the Baroda hills. But V.K.Jain in 'Role of Arab Traders....op.cit. P. 166, identifies Barada with Vala on Valabha and says that this was the expedition which ended the Maitraka rule and destroyed the city.

The Saindhavas were the implacable enemies of the Arab invaders, as referred to in their charters.¹ Trade contacts directly with foreign merchants may not have taken place within the Saindhava kingdom. But another reason for avoidance of these ports by the Arabs was, ^{possibly} due to the existence of pirates. Idrisi (12th Century A.D)² refers to the 'al-Mayd' or 'al-Mand' as brigands, along the Kutch coasts upto Sind and also in the Arabian sea. Alberuni (10th & 11th century A.D)³ refers to the pirates infesting the coasts of Makran, Kutch, Dwarka, Somnath upto Diu. He refers to them as 'Al-Bawarij' since they rode on ships called 'bira' or 'baura'. Both these evidence could be a reference to the Meds or Mehrs and Kohli people who sailed in these waters and were known to be plunderers and pirates.⁴ Perhaps the Arab merchant ships tended to avoid those ports and waters which were infested by these pirate gangs. The smaller centres like Miyani, Porbandar etc. escaped the notice of the Arab writers in the 8th and 9th century A.D. probably due to this reason.

The indigenous sources, like the Saindhava copper plate grants however, have a lot of references to trade and commercial activities carried on within their kingdom. The Saind-

-
1. E.I. Vol-XXVI, P. 187.
 2. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit. P. 55 (Idrisi).
 3. E.C.Sachau op.cit. P. 109.
 4. Elliot & Dawson, Vol-I, Al-Biladuri (9th century A.D) refer to Meds as pirates. P. 129.

havas were also a powerful maritime dynasty commanding the seas with the aid of a strong navy¹. The official emblem on the Saindhava characters was the fish. This is another reminder of the fact that the Saindhavas were very much at home on the seas. The presence of a strong fleet indicates that sea-trade also formed a part of the commercial activities taking place under Saindhava rule.

In 886-887 A.D., a copper plate grant of Agguka I² records the donation of the revenues of a village, Harishenanka, (identified with Hariasana in Jamnagar district) to two brahmins. The charter has a large number of fiscal terms mentioned in connection with the revenues granted. Of these, the word 'dāni' denotes a 'customs officer' while there is a reference to terms³ denoting octroi duties on articles imported. Another term (potrā) refers to a tax on articles imported on boats.

These taxes clearly indicate a well-developed commercial system in this region between the 9th century A.D. to 10th century A.D. A network of roads must have existed for transporting goods both in the inland and in coastal

-
1. E.I. Vol. XXVI, Naval invasions launched by the Arabs from Sind were defeated by the Saindhava fleet between 754 A.D. and 780 A.D. the last invasion around 780 A.D destroyed the town of Baroda. P. 185-187.
 2. E.I. Vol. XXVI, P. 189.
 3. Ibid. The Sanskrit terms used are 'Sarvvapāt-abhyāgami-dānyū'.

areas, connecting the ports and harbours to interior towns and administrative centres. The term 'potra' clearly indicates that trade activities took place by sea. Whether these were in the nature of coastal trade or long distance overseas trade can only be speculated upon. The reference to tax on articles imported in boats particularly, and not on ships, may provide a clue to our question. Boats could have been used only for short distance trade on the seas.

Ports like Miyani on the Arabian sea and Salaya, Sikka and Khambhalia on the Gulf of Cutch might have been important as trading centres under the Saindhavas². This area is fertile and the hinterland of these ports is a rich, cotton growing area.³

In two other Saindhava charters there is a reference to merchants and traders within their kingdom. In the first grant⁴ traders and merchants figure in the list of commoners, together with brahmins and officials, to whom the grant had been announced.

In the second grant⁵ the revenues of a village were to be spent for the upkeep of a 'mathika' (a temple or edu-

-
1. E.I. Vol. XXVI, P. 190.
 2. Jamnagar district Gazetteer. Ahmedabad, 1970, P. 627, 633.
 3. Ibid. P. 180.
 4. E.I. Vol. XXVI, Grant of Agguka II dated 832 AD, P.190.
 5. Ibid. Grant of Jaika II, dated 915 A.D.

cational institution), named 'Nanna-mathika' which had been founded by a merchant named Nanna hailing from Bhillamala.¹

These grants provide evidence for the fact that merchants and traders were an important section of the society occupying high positions and possessed of enough wealth to make their presence felt in the official records of the period. The migration and settlement of a merchant from Rajasthan in south Gujarat in Junagadh and the official recognition of his position, points to the fact that these rulers must have realized the importance of commercial activities contributing to the revenue resources of their kingdom. Trading classes were probably protected by the Saindhavas. No restrictions were made on their movements from one region to another in the interests of trade and they seem to have been free to settle down in any region which offered maximum advantages of markets, transport and produce, to carry out their activities.

Articles of trade are not mentioned in our evidence but one can conclude that local products available in this area formed a part of the commodity trade. These include cotton, oilseeds, millets, mangoes, coconuts, salt etc.²

1. E.I. Vol. XXVI, This place is identified with Bhinmal in Rajasthan, P. 187.

2. Jamnapur district Gazetteer, P. 172.

Pearl fisheries are found off the coast of Jamnagar in the coral reefs of the Gulf of Kutch. The mangrove islands along this coast also yield good firewood and timber which could have been transported to ports like Veraval and Mandvi for shipbuilding purposes.¹

Two other ports of historical and possible commercial interests in the 10th century A.D. are mentioned in the indigenous sources. One is Pindara, located on the Gulf of Kutch and the other is Porbandar on the Arabian sea coast. Pindara is said to have been a flourishing port in ancient times.² The Ghumli plates of Ranaka Baskaladeva (989 A.D.)³, who was probably a feudatory under the Chaulukyas, record a grant made by him after bathing in the holy place called Pindataraka, which is also, referred to as a 'Yajna-tirtha' in the grant. The place is identified with modern Pindara. There is a 'Kunda' near the temple at Pindara and this may be the 'Yajna tirtha' mentioned in the inscription.⁴ Since Pindara was a place of pilgrimage on the sea coast, it could have been an added factor which aided coastal traffic to and from this port in the 10th century A.D. Evidence of trade activities

-
1. Both these ports were centres of shipbuilding in the 13th and 17th century A.D. It could be true for the earlier period also. Ibid. R. 422, Kutch district Gazetteer, p. 207 and 628.
 2. Jamnagar district Gazetteer, P. 131.
 3. E.I. Vol. XXXI, P. 129-136.
 4. Ibid.

from this port is missing but we can be sure that trade in local products for short distances must have taken place to supply the pilgrims visiting the 'tirtha'.

The same inscription¹ also refers to Ranaka Baskala donating the village of Karali to a brahmin donee. The south and western boundaries of this village are named respectively as 'Chhima' and 'Paura-velākula'. This 'Paura-velākula' is identified with the port of Porbandar. (Pauraper ; velakula-harbour or Bandar)². This evidence in a 10th century A.D. inscription is the first reference available of the existence of Porbandar as a harbour. It therefore must have developed into a maritime centre from this period onwards. As the Saindhavas claimed to be a maritime power it is possible that they had their naval base at Porbandar, or at the port of Miyani which lay close to their capital, Bhutambilika (Ghumli). But no reference is made in their charters to a naval base.

The Arab accounts give few detailed descriptions of the towns and ports of the south west parts of Kathiawal peninsula before the 10th century A.D. The only details we get are references to the port of Prabhas or Somnath

1. Ibid. P. 130.

2. Ibid. P. 133.

Pattan and the port of Mangrol. Prabhas or Somnath was a port and a place of pilgrimage for Hindus from early times.¹ Its immense wealth has been remarked upon by Ibn Asir² who comments that the temple of Somnath was assigned 10,000 villages for its upkeep. This was supplemented by maritime commerce taking place in Somnath port. According to Alberuni³ the reason why Somnath became so famous was that it was a convenient station for ships plying between Sofala (in Zanzibar) and China. Merutunga also confirms the fact that Somnath was a port-of-call for foreign ships under the Chavadas in the 9th century A.D.⁴ Maritime trading from this port must have started from the early centuries of the Christian era when Somnath became a place of pilgrimage. The immense wealth of the temple attracted plunderers like Mohammad of Ghazni in 1026 A.D., and in subsequent periods thereafter, till the Muslims ultimately destroyed the temple. The port of Mangrol was known as 'Manglur' by the Arabs⁵ and it seems to have become prominent after the Rashtrakutas took over Saurashtra in the 9th century.

-
1. Sachau, op.cit. P. 109.
 2. A.S.Altekar, Ancient Towns..op.cit. P. 49.
 3. Ibid.
 4. A.K.Forbes, RASMALIA ^{LONDON} 1924, P. 42, During the reign of Chavada king Yog Raja at Anhilpattan (806-841A.D) certain foreign ships arrived at Somnath laden with valuable merchandise. The traders were attacked and their ships plundered by the heir to the throne, Prince ~~Khem~~ Khem Raj.
 5. C. H. Tawney, PCT ^{CALECUTTO} 1901, According to PCT the ship was carrying 1000 ~~horses~~ and 150 elephants and was driven off course by a cyclone, so it took shelter in Somnath - Patan., P. 18.
 5. Junagadh district Gazetteer P. 826.

The coastal area of Gujarat bordering the Gulf of Cambay has been the scene of commercial activities since very early times. This situation remained unchanged throughout the period of our study. However political exigencies and religious factors combined during different periods to bring to prominence new areas and trading centres. As new areas rose in prominence the earlier trading towns and ports lost their importance and fell into odious.

Till the 10th century A.D. the Rashtrakutas of Malked (Mankir of the Arabs)¹ had control over south Gujarat (Lata region) and also included Kaira or 'Khetaka' mandala as a province of their kingdom. Rashtrakuta land grants and accounts of Arab writers record prolific commercial activities within their kingdom. The west coast of Kathiawar peninsula, in the same period, was under small ruling groups like Valas, Chapotkata or Chavadas and Chudasamas after the fall of the Maitrakas in 785 A.D.

Beginning in the 8th century, Arab sailors, and merchantmen steadily took control of the trade routes in the Persian Gulf, so that other foreign merchants including Indians, were slowly reduced to middlemen or inland traders² thereby becoming cogs in the wheel of the Muslim trading system. In the same period the Arabs attacked Broach and

1. A.S. Altekar - Rashtrakutas & their times, Poona, 1934, p. 357.

2. V.K. Jain, op.cit. pg. 164.

Thana¹ but met with little success. In the 9th and 10th century we find the Arabs establishing friendly relations with the Rashtrakuta kings who are referred to as 'Balhara' in Arab accounts of this period.²

The destruction of the capital of the Maitrakas, Valabhi, is assigned to 775 A.D.³ ^{and was} due to an Arab expedition from Sind by sea. This incident is also mentioned by Alberuni⁴ who writes that the Arabs sent ships from Mansura to Valabhi between 750 & 770 A.D. or 780 A.D. The town of Barada mentioned in Arab accounts is identified with the port of Barada near Ghumli lying on the Barada hills or with Vala or Valabhi.⁵

Valabhi seems to be an important commercial centre and sea-port before the 8th century but declined after the Arab invasions. The Arab accounts relate that Ranka, a disaffected merchant prince of Valabhi, financed the Muslim expedition from Sind which invaded Valabhi. This historical fact is mentioned by Alberuni.⁶ It emphasizes the commercial importance of Valabhi before the 8th century A.D.

-
1. Ibid. In A.D. 636, P. 166.
 2. E.I. Vol. XXXII, Sulaiman, Al-Masudi, Ibn Khurdadba. Al-Istakohri, Ibn-Haukal, P. 50.
 3. A.S. Altekar- History of Towns op.cit. P. 40.
 4. E.C. Sachau op.cit. P. 193.
 5. P. 20. earlier see foot note 2.
 6. Sachau, op.cit. P. 192.

Dandin's "Dasakumarcharita" refers to Valabhi as a prosperous centre of trade and commerce also, where private traders possessed their own ships. They had trade relations with nearby port of Mahuva and sailed as far as Surya (probably this was Assyria).¹ After its attack by the Arabs, Valabhi lost its commercial importance. There is no reference to it in sources of our period.

A look at the contemporary sources reveals that in this period the main groups involved in foreign and overseas trade were the Arabs. References to Indians indulging in overseas trade is conspicuously missing from these sources.

Indian traders are seen engaged in trade pursuits in the interior regions of Kathiawar.² It is clear that between the 8th and 10th century the Arabs after attacking Sind, Saurashtra and the ports of Broach and Thana, had cleared the sea routes of any obstruction and established their commercial dominance in Western India. Probably Indian traders were pushed into overland and interior commercial activities.³ By the 10th century A.D. the Arabs had friendly relations with south Gujarat and began establishing

-
1. M.R. Majumdar - Chronology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1954, P. 233.
 2. A.K. Forbes, Rasmala, op.cit. Jain tradition says that after the Arab attacks of Valabhi the Jain merchants went to Somnath, Patan, Sri Malapura, Panchasur and other cities. P. 13.
 3. V.K. Jain, op.cit. P. 164, 165.

semi-permanent colonies first in Lata coast¹ and Kutch² and then in the Kathiawar peninsula. By the 11th century A.D. the Arabs spread all over the coastal and inland cities of Gujarat and hence the character of their trading activities also included local and regional trade together with foreign trade. These events gave Indian traders an opportunity to reassert themselves in commercial activities. During the Chalukya period we have evidence of Indian merchants again engaging in overseas commerce. The suggestion³ that after the 8th century Indians took more interest in internal than in foreign trade is therefore only partly correct. An examination of the evidence in Chapter-IV will serve to illustrate the position of Indian traders in the 12th and 13th century.

The pre-10th century trade routes within Gujarat tended in the first place, to follow the coastline between the shore and the margin of forests and hills of the interior. Secondly, routes also connected the important Jain (Śātrunjaya) and Hindu (Somnath and Dwarka) pilgrimage centres and administrative capitals like Anhilwara-Patan, Valabhi, Dhdka Junagadh etc. The chief trade routes in Kathiawar peninsula followed the coast from Gogha south-west to Somnath or Prabhas-Patan via Mahuva and Talaja ports.⁴ It turned

-
1. E.I. XXXII, P. 43, 66,
 2. Sindhan in Kutch, earlier, Section I, P.39
 3. V.K. Jain op.cit. P. 166.
 4. Bhavnagar district Gazetteer, P. 333.

north-west to Dwarka via Mangrol and Porbandar. In between, the road must have forked inland to Palitana and Satrunjaya, which were Jain centres near Junagadh.

The chief interior land routes were those joining the peninsula with the mainland. Of these the most frequented was the northern route that passed from Bhinmal to Anhalwara Patan, then Jhinjhuwada and Patdi to Wadwan.¹ The routes from Cambay via Dholka to Dhanduka and Wadhwan to Valabhi were also frequented by travellers. There was another road joining Valabhi with Junagadh and Vanthali.² Idrisi (12th century)³ writes that there was a route between Bharuj (Broach) and Nahrwana (A hilwada) which was 8 marhalas across continuous plains. In this route, between both cities, lay Dolka / ^{Dhavalakka} and Janwal (Chunwal, old name of Viramgam district) and near Janawal was Asawal (Ahmedabad).⁴ Another road led directly from bhinmal in North, via Anhilwara to Cambay port, via Dholka or Dhavalakka. Dholka city became important as a capital and commercial emporium in 10th century.⁵ There is no mention of Dholka before this period in Valabhi records. It lay midway between Anahilapattan and Cambay. In the 12th and 13th century it became

-
1. Jamnapar district, Gazetteer, P. 315.
 2. Ibid., 316.
 3. Maqbul Ahmed op.cit. pg. 58.
 4. Ibid. P. 57-58.
 5. P.O., Vol III, Girnar Inscription, P. 120.

one of the important cities of Gujarat and the centre of financial transactions. The industrially and agriculturally productive region of the west coast of Gujarat peninsula is the area of a number of small and large sea ports. But only a few of these are mentioned as being commercially important in the 9th century A.D. Mahuva known as 'Moherak' in ancient times¹ was under the Valas of Talaja in the 9th century A.D.

Another historical port of importance along this coast line was Gogha. It traded in spices, salt and cotton and was a safe port for sailing boats. It had suitable anchoring grounds, and was protected by an out-ward bend of the land on the south. No mention of Gogha as a port is found in inscriptions of pre-Chaulukyan and Chalukyan period but under Valabhi kings it could have been a port of the town of Gandigadh.² According to J.W.Watson,³ Gogha was a famous port under the Gehlots, feudatories of Valabhi. Its hardy seamen, called 'Goghars' or 'Gogharis' were daring pirates. During the rule of the Chavadas an entire quarter of the town of Patan housed these Goghars who were merchants trading by ships with Arabs.⁴ After the

1. Bhavnagar district Gazetteers, p. 597.

2. Altekar - Ancient towns... op.cit. identifies Gundi-gadh as old name of Gogha p. 23.

3. I.A. Vol. III, P. 278.

4. Ibid.

After the 10th century A.D. this port was unimportant except as a nursery for sailors.¹ Later it came to be controlled by Muslims in 14th century.

Hathab, now a fishing village, was formerly another port near Gundigadh. It is identified by Bhuhler with Hastakavpra² In Maitraka period, (6th & 7th century),³ it was ruled by Valas and the region around it upto Gopnath point was covered with mangrove, teak and other dense jungles⁴ probably the source of timber for ship building in early medieval period. However there are no records of its importance in this period.

Talaja near the sea-coast on the Shetrunji river, was a place of pilgrimage for Buddhist. The Vajas ruled here from 8th century and were replaced at some period by the Baria Kolis who were known to be pirates, in Chaulukya period.⁵

There is no lack of historical evidence for Cambay (Khambhat/Kanbaya) in both foreign and Indian sources. The history of this port lying at the head of the Gulf of Cambay on the Mahi estuary can be traced from 8th century A.D. when it first rose to prominence. According to A.K. Majumdar⁶

-
1. Altekar, Ancient Towns.... op.cit. P. 23.
 2. I.A., 1876, P. 120
 3. E.I., XXXVII, P. 168.
 4. Bhavnagar District Gazetteer, P. 587.
 5. S.B.Rajyagar, op.cit. P. 63.
 6. A.K.Majumdar, op.cit. P. 265.

this port was developed by the Gujara-Pratihara rulers as a rival to the port of Broach since the latter was under the control of their deadly enemies the Rashtrakutas. V.K.Jain¹ however, says that the Arab attacks on Valabhi in the 8th century A.D. compelled the Indian merchants to look for an alternative port protected from Arab raids.

The estuary of the Mahi offered navigational advantages like high tidal flows and regular de-silting of river mouths by the currents ^{and was} protected from direct approach from Arabian Sea.² This led to the rise of Cambay inside the Gulf. Both these reasons could have been equally important factors for the rise of this port by the 10th century A.D. Political protection from ruling kings were necessary to carry on trade activities. The Pratihara domains upto Narmada river included Cambay in their kingdom but their rule lasted only for a short while between 868 and 910 A.D. in the region. Thereafter the Rashtrakutas recovered this area.³

The great advancement of trade made under Rashtrakutas as well as the friendly relations which they established with foreign merchants ensured that commercial activities were carried on smoothly in the regions which they controlled.

-
1. V.K.Jain,op.cit. P. 166.
 2. See chapter I.
 3. E.I. Vol. I. P. 52.

Therefore the port of Cambay rapidly gained prominence as a centre of trade, industry and manufacture rivalling Broach further to the south. This prosperity was to be continued under the Chalukya kings of Gujarat after the 10th century A.D. Khambat was known as Stambhatirtha during the Chavada rule in Anhilapattan. Its earliest indigenous reference is found in an 8th century Rashtrakutas record.¹ It records that Sthambhatirtha was under a local dynasty led by king Stambha. The Chaulukyias of Gujarat made Cambay their base and port for import and export of commodities.² The accounts of Sulaiman and Abu Zaid (851 A.D)³ have no reference to Kambaya or Khambat (as it was known to the Arabs) but reference to it is made by Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadba in 865 A.D.⁴ Al-Masudi (913 - 914) reported that Khanbayat enjoyed great fame for its precious stones (manekas) which were very popular in the island of Aden.⁵ This could be a reference to diamonds brought from the mines of Golconda via Mankir (Malked), the Rashtrakuta capital.⁶ It was also famous in Baghdad for shoes and had well-developed tanning and

-
1. I.A. Vol. V, p.119 ff.
 2. Altekar, Ancient Towns op.cit. P. 47.
 3. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol. I, P. 1 to 23.
 4. Elliot and Dawson, Vol.I, P. 26.
 5. Ibid. P. 31.
 6. Altekar, Rashtrakutas.....P. 354.

leather industry.¹ Ibn Haukal (968-996 A.D)² names Kambaya (Cambay) as one of the important cities of India. In 12th century Idrisi also gives a description of this place. Industries like stone polishing, ivory bangles and wood work, leather work, perfumes, coral, inlaid shields, carpets, clay pottery, copper and iron vessels, ropes and weaving of Jari brocades are the crafts named as flourishing in this city in 12th and 13th century.³ Possibly these industries were flourishing in the 9th and 10th century A.D. Its location on the agriculturally fertile Doab between the Sabarmati and Mahi river (river Mahindri of Alberuni's accounts)⁴ ensured that agricultural products like rice, wheat, cotton were also traded probably with nearby regions. Cotton, the chief crop of this area ensured a flourishing cotton textile industry. Thus a rich hinterland and a protected location near the seacoast ensured that Cambay rose and flourished as an important maritime trading and industrial centre. It had links with Broach across the estuary and further south with Seara, Sanjan, Chaul and Malabar and Ceylon(Sarandip).⁵

In the hinterland of Cambay was located the city of Asapalli on the site of modern Ahmedabad. It was called

-
1. "Hudad-i-Alam" on anonymous Persian marks of 10th century quoted from I.A. Khan - 'Trade of Med. Guj.' IHC-1950, P. 282.
 2. Elliot and Dawson Vol. I, P. 33.
 3. A.K.Majumdar op.cit. P. 216.
 4. J.M.Campbell 'Gazetteer of Bombay ... op.cit. Vol.I, P. 539.
 5. Elliot & Dawson, Vol. I, op.cit. P. 24.

Yessaval by Mahammadan writers (Idrisi, 12th century) and as Karnavati in 11th century A.D.¹ Asawal was celebrated for its manufacture of cloth of gold and silver, fine silk and cotton fabrics, articles of gold, silver, leather goods and shoes² and ivory bangles³. From Sojitra near Petlad, indigo and textiles were taken to Cambay.⁴

Besides being connected to North and Central Gujarat Cambay was equally well connected by numerous routes with southern Gujarat (Lata) especially under the Rashtrakutas, whose far-flung kingdom was intersected with well-travelled trade routes. Probably the forest products of Panchmahal hills like teak, timber, medicinal herbs, aromatic grasses etc. were brought for export to Cambay port. A necessary passage would also be the port of Broach. Another route lay through the town of Kapadvanj.⁵ It was on a road connecting central India and the west coast^{and} became an important trade centre by the 9th century A.D.⁶

-
1. Altekar - Ancient towns ... op.cit. P. 16
 2. Ahmedabad district, Gazetteer, P. 307.
 3. Elliot and Dawson, Vol. I, op.cit., Ivory was perhaps brought from Malabar in the raw & manufactured here. Also from East coast of India in 9th century. Sulaiman describes the amber and elephants both collected from the Kingdom of KIRANJ. P. 29.
 4. Ahmedabad Gazetteer, P. 310.
 5. E.I., Vol. I, P. 55.
 6. Altekar - Ancient Towns op. cit. P. 18.

SECTION III : SOUTH GUJARAT OR KATADESA

The trading centres lying on this section derive advantages from the coast line dotted with bays, inlets and river estuaries which offer opportunities for location of maritime points with advantages of navigation facilities. The alluvial plain on the margin of the sandy coast stretches in fertile strips with its agricultural wealth consisting of cotton, rice, wheat, fruits, oil seeds and pulses. On this coast was located the site of one of the most flourishing commercial and trade centres of ancient India, i.e. Broach. It was known throughout history by such names as Bhrgupura, Bhrgukachaka and Bhrgukshetra. It was also known as Barygaza to the Greeks ¹.

The Arab accounts of our period refer to it by various names ². Its importance came from being both a holy place and the port of export and import for the whole of North India-till the early centuries of Christian era. Arab invasions along the coast in the 7th century A.D. led to attacks on Broach and Thana ³. It led to a slight

-
1. Altekar - Ancient Towns.....op. cit p. 33
 2. Elliot and Dawson, Vol. I, Broach is referred to as 'Barus' by Al Biladuri (892 A.D.), 'Baruh' by Ibn Khurdadba (912 A.D.) and al-Idrisi (1100 A.D.) p. 26, 42, 129.
 3. Elliot and Dawson Vol. I, p...116

decline in its maritime activities ^{1 of Broach} and the rise of Cambay. But Broach soon recovered its prosperity and from the 10th to the 13th century it remained the premier emporium of trade in the West Coast. Its one disadvantage was its dependance on the tidal flow of the Narmada river for navigational purposes. Ships anchored at the mouth of the river and goods were transferred by small boats at ebbside to the harbour. Most of the products of Gujarat such as cotton textiles, silk, indigo, timber, betelnut, herbs, aromatics, rice, wheat, oil and were brought to Broach and exported. ². It had trade relations with Konkan coastal ports of Saimur, Sopara & Thana from where sandal wood, aloes, teak, coconuts, perfumes were brought. Cotton yarn and cloth were brought here from Khandesh and Berar ⁴. Most of the goods passing through Broach in the 9th and 10th centuries were probably in the nature of imports and re-exports by foreign traders. These goods included sandal wood, teak, ebony from Mysore, Pepper, ginger, cloves, cardamum from Konkan and Malabar ⁵, copper from North India (Rajasthan), diamonds from Golconda and so on. It was a port for vessels coming from China as

-
1. Altekar-Rashtrakutasp. 354
 2. Ibid
 3. Elliot and Dawson, Vol. I p.87
 4. Altekar - Rashtrakutas.....p.354
 5. Elliot and Dawson, Vol I p....77, 87

well as from Sind and Persia¹. The independence of Broach both commercially and politically was ensured in the 7th and 8th century by the Gujjaras of Nandipuri (Nandod, near Broach)² and thereafter by the Rashtrakutas from 8th to 10th century after which Broach was annexed to the Chalukya empire. There were other small ports on this coast besides Broach. Gandhar on the Dhadar river was the victim of an early Muslim expedition³ probably at the same time as Broach.

Historical evidence is available for a detailed study of trade relations of this area both in Rashtrakuta (8th to 10th century) and in the Chaulukya period. This is because the Arab accounts give description of the ports and of commodities of trade of this region and the area was also the earliest region of Arab settlement (outside Kutch). This culminated in Arabs being appointed as the governors of provinces in the 10th century under the Rashtrakutas⁴. It offers proof of the friendly relations that existed between them from the 9th century onwards.

-
1. Ibid, p....87.
 2. E.I. Vo. XXV p....292, Vol. XXIII p...147, Vol. V, p..37
Vol. XXV p...292.
 3. Broach Dist. Gazetter p...748.
 4. E.I. XXXII p...43 - 66.

The 9th century also offers evidence, for the first time, of the existence of Baroda which was later to become one of the most important commercial manufacturing cities of Gujarat. Baroda was a small village known as Vatapadraka in a 9th century A.D. (Sanskrit-Vatapadraka Prakrit-Vadodara). There is a 10th C Rashtrakuta record¹ where the entire revenues of village Vatapadraka was given to a Brahmin by a Rashtrakuta King. In the course of the next three centuries the village seems to have developed into a town. Merutunga calls it a 'pura' when he mentions it as one of the places of flight by Kumarpala from Anhalwara Patan to Cambay to Broach². In the 13th century A.D. Baroda became an important commercial centre.

Ships from Broach must have sailed south to Navsari, ancient Navasarika, on the Purna river (ancient Puravi)³. This ancient town and trading centre was known to the Greeks and was attacked by Arabs in 739 A.D.⁴. Being situated between Broach and Sopara, it was an important port for coastal trade and was probably important for coastal traffic & commerce. Also it may have handled

-
1. I.A. Vol. XII p....164. Brahmana palli Grant of Karka Survarnavarsha
 2. Tawney, op.cit. P. 36.
 3. E.I. Vol. VI, P. 286.
 4. Altekar, Ancient TownsP. 27.

some of the export trade of the Deccan.¹ It became a pilgrimage centre for Jains from 9th A.D. and was the headquarters of a 'Vishaya' or province. Such industries as cotton ginning, weaving etc. were centred here. Near Navsari was the port of Gandevi, famous for its handloom industry in a later period.² Rander was another port on the right bank of the Tapti river. It is identified as the 'Rahanour' of Alberuni (1030 A.D.),³ which together with Baruj (Broach) were the capitals of Lardesa (Latadesa). It must have been a coastal town in the 9th century A.D. as also in the 10th century A.D. and perhaps became an important commercial centre after the Arabs settled here in 1225 A.D.⁴

During the Rashtrakuta period therefore, the coast of southern Gujarat probably had a large number of trading centres and ports well connected with the major trade networks of the interior region. The Rashtrakutas encouraged commercial activities and gave a fillip to the mushrooming of commercial centres such as Baroda and Cambay. Friendly relations, which they established with the Arab merchants and traders, made these coasts the earliest areas of Arab

1. Ibid.

2. I.A. Vol. XXI. P. 133.

3. Sachau, op.cit. P. 196.

4. Surat district Gazetteer, P. 946.

settlements in India. Consequently trading interests were further advanced. The evidence for close relationship between Rashtrakutas and the Arabs in administration and its interconnections with trade comes from a copper plate of the Rashtrakutas of 10th century A.D.¹ This copper plate comes from Thana district which falls outside our area of study.

It refers to a Tadjika (Arab) called Madhumat' (Mohammad) who was appointed governor of the province of Samyana (Sanjan, near Thana) under Rashtrakuta Indra III (915-28 AD). He is said to have conquered the chiefs of all the harbours (velakula) of the neighbourhood, on behalf of his master and placed his own officials in them (who may have been Arabs). He also established free ferries on two streams (apparently on the river Sanjan) and also a feeding house where Salt, rice, curries and ghee were catered free of cost. It also describes how Madhumati made a grant of a village to a 'Mathika' (monastery or temple) at Samyana.

This inscription therefore justifies the statement of the early Arab writers that the Balharas (Rashtrakuta monarchs) were extremely partial to Muslims. In their turn the Arabs seem to have intermingled with the local population and lived together in peace and tolerance.

-
1. E.I.. Vol. XXXII, P. 45-70.
 2. Ibid., P. 47.
 3. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol. I, Sulaiman, Al-Istakhri, Ibn Hankal, Al-Masudi, P. 1-78.

CHAPTER - III

ITEMS AND CENTRES OF EXCHANGE : 11th TO 13th CENTURY A.D.

Chaulukya political supremacy was established at Anhalwara-Patan by 942 A.D. It resulted in the unification of Gujarat, both politically and economically, first under the Chalukyas (942 A.D. to 1241 A.D.) and then the Vaghelas, a branch of the Chaulukyas (1241 A.D. to 1304 A.D.). During this period political and economic prosperity paved the way for cultural munificence and this is reflected in the architectural activities undertaken in this period. The prominence given to Jain temple building specially at Mt. Abu and Girnar by royal officials who were also Jains themselves¹, bear witness to the fact that there was no dearth of resources in Gujarat. These resources were derived from the prosperity achieved by agriculture, trade and manufacturing activities in this period.

1. A.K. Mazumdar, op. cit. Vastupala and Tejahpala were Jain merchant princes and ministers in the services of 2 vaghela ruler (1230 - 1262 A.D.). A large number of temples were built in Gujarat under their orders. p...175 - 176.

Jain religion received official patronage from Chaulukya monarchs like Jayasimha Siddharaja (1094 A.D. to 1144 A.D.) and Kumarpala (1144 A.D. to 1174 A.D.) and the Vaghelas (1241 A.D. to 1304 A.D.)¹. Jain tenets lent moral support to trade, money-lending and other commercial activities as respectable activities and resulted in the pursuit of these occupations by large sections of Jain community. Hinduism also did not lag behind. The Smriti writers of the 9th 10th centuries A.D. praise agriculture, cattle-breeding and banking as ideal occupations even for brahmins². The policy of religious toleration followed by ruling dynasties in this period gave the necessary boost to peace which was essential for pursuing economic and commercial activities.

The impetus to commercial activities and maritime trade had already been given by the Rashtrakuta and Chavada rule in South and Central Gujarat, as we have noted in the previous chapter. Areas of political importance like Lata (South Gujarat) under the Rashtrakutas, had already established important trading

1. Ibid. p... 311, 315, 320

2. A.S. Altekar, Rashtrakutas and their times, Poona 1934, p..327.

centres, ports and commercial points, and a network of routes had emerged connecting towns and cities. Muslim merchants in pursuit of trade had started settling in the coastal town of Gujarat from 9th century A.D. The sea routes used by merchants between the Persian gulf, Gujarat and South India included the ports of Gujarat coast as their transit points. In the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., this system reached its maturity as the coastal routes were connected to internal districts and regions. Muslim merchants moved to internal towns and established contacts to transfer local goods through Indian merchants and middlemen.

The indigenous copper plate records and literary traditions of Gujarat, particularly the Jain chronicles¹ give details of trade, agriculture, manufactures and commodities produced in Gujarat in this period. Foreign sources include the writings of Arab travellers like Alberuni (10th to 11th Century A.D.), Al-Idrisi (12th Century A.D.) Muhammad Ufi (13th Century A.D.) and

1. Menutunga's 'Prabandhachintamani' translated by C.H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.

Hemachandra's 'Dvyasrayakavya' edited by S.P. Narang Delhi, 1959.

Desinamamala of Hemachandra, quoted from A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukya.... op. cit., p...256 - 270.

and Abdullah Wassaf (13th A.D.). Inscriptions on tombs and mosques left by Muslim settlers are found in Gujarat in cities and towns. The Italian traveller Marco Polo also provide first-hand information about the state of commercial and maritime activities in Gujarat in this period.

Section I : Commodity Production and Distribution :

Most of the areas of Gujarat are agriculturally fertile and must have been well cultivated in our period. This is confirmed by the statements of Muslim writers. Abdullah Wassaf (1238 A.D.) writes,¹ "Seventy different species of flowers grow within the four seasons including tulips and other plants and herbs. Cotton plants and plane tree yield produce for several years due to the great strength of the soil".

Rashid-ud-din (14th Century A.D.) quotes Alberuni, (10th Century A.D.) when he mentions² that, Gujarat consists of Eighty thousand flourishing cities, villages and hamlets seventy different varieties of roses grow in the rainy season. Crops grow in the cold season and grapes are produced twice a year

1. Elliot and Dawson, History of India as told by its own historians, Vol. II. p.123.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, P...203

An idea of the extent of the area under cultivation during this period can be found out by taking into account the places where land grants were assigned to brahmins or where portions of revenues of villages were donated to temples or monasteries by ruling groups. The Chaulukyan copper-plates were discovered almost throughout Gujarat¹. Out of eighty inscriptions consulted for this study (including temple inscriptions, some of which have no reference to agriculture or trade), twelve are found in Junagadh district (including Girar temple inscriptions), one in Kheda district, eleven in Mehsana district, six in Kutch district, one in Banaskantha district, two in Surat district, two in Panchmahals, one in Surendranagar, one in Rajkot, two in Baroda (Vadodara) district, one in Bhavnagar, three in Ahmedabad, two in Jamnagar, ten inscriptions in temples of Mount Abu and three land grants in Kathiawar whose findspots have not been identified. In addition, twenty inscriptions of the Chaulukyas or their feudatories have been located outside Gujarat in the districts of South Rajasthan, Malwa and Gwalior. These areas were probably included within the trade networks of the Chaulukyas.

1. For a complete list of inscriptions found so far of the Chaulakyas, See A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Primary sources P. 445 - 450.

The presence of land grants within a particular district or region cannot be taken as testifying directly to agricultural activities within the area. But it does provide evidence that such areas were under cultivation during this period. Most of the cultivable land seem to have been fully utilized under the Chaulukyas, although to what degree this was done can only be speculated.

The juxtaposition of agricultural and manufactured products in relation to trade and exchange are found in the literary and epigraphic sources of the period ¹. Most of these products are mentioned as a part of taxes or levies payable to brahmins or temples and monasteries in the epigraphic sources. Production and exchange of these commodities within and between particular regions can be examined from the evidence presented in these sources.

Both the Dvyasrayakavya (DV) and the Desinamamala (DN) of Hema Chandra Suri mention a number of agricultural products of this period. The DV ² mentions among food crops 'Kanikka', 'Polika' or 'Godhuma', i.e., wheat. This is mentioned by Al-Idrisi (1154 A.D.) as growing in the

1. These are listed in the bibliography.

2. S.P. Narang, edited, Dvyasrayakavya by Hemachandra, Delhi, 1959 P. 62.

region of Khambhat ¹, where it is still grown to the present day. Wheat also grows in Kathiawar, in Mehsana, Banaskantha, Sabarkantha and Broach districts of Gujarat. Its production in Chalukyan period must have been sufficient for internal needs also. The Jagadu charita, a Gujarat chronicle belonging to this period, relates that a grain merchant Jagadu, of Bhadreswar in Kutch alleviated the distress of the people during a famine in 1256-58 A.D. by selling grain and also made a fortune in the process ². Jagadu probably traded in wheat, which was grown in other areas of Gujarat, and shipped it to Kutch through the port of Bhadreswar.

Rice is referred to by several terms which might mean that different varieties were grown in this period. It was known as 'Anna' and 'salidhanya' according to Hemchandra ³. Sali rice is also mentioned in a Rashtrakuta record of 926 A.D. found in Sanjan (Thana district) ⁴. Al-Idrisi mentions rice as a food crop of the inhabitants of Nahrwara (Anhlwara-Patan in Mehsana district.) Rice was probably cultivated in the

-
1. Elliot & Dawson, op. cit., Vol I, P... 85.
 2. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., P..420, Also Gazeteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol V, Cutch, Palanpur and Mahikantha, P..214.
 3. Quoted from A.K. Majumdar, op. cit. p..60.
 4. E.I., Vol. XXXII, p. 47.

alluvial plains of Kheda, Baroda, Mehsana, Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha,¹ districts as it is done to this day.

Hema Chandra mentions a variety of pulses and uses the word 'dhanya' in its widest sense to include pulses, gram and also hemp and and sesamum². Pulses mentioned are masura (Lentil), mudga or mung (Kidney-bean), Chanaka (chick-pea), adhaki (pigeon-pea), Kulattha (horse-gram) and Kataya (pea)³. Al-Idrisi (12th century A.D.) mentions chick-peas, Beans, Haricot-beans, lentils and peas as other food supplements of the people of Anhalwara - Patan⁴. The Cintra prasasti of Sarangadeva mentions husked rice and 'mung or mudga' among the list of benefactions given to the temple of Somnath⁵. 'Mudga' was produced in Sabarkantha district (Modasa taluka) in 1011 A.D.⁶. Here we can conclude that this commodity was probably transferred from Modasa taluka and adjacent areas in north east Gujarat to Somnath in South-Kathiawar by merchants and traders. It is also possible that mung

1. Maqbul S. Ahmed, op. cit. , p..60.

2. E.I. , Vol XXXIII, p...192, The Modasa plate dated 1011 A.D. reveals that paddy was grown in Mehsana taluk (Sabar Kantha Distt).

3. A.K. Majundar, op. cit., p.258.

4. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit. p.61.

5. E.I. Vol. I P. 271-87.

6. Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, P.192.

was cultivated in Junagadh district in the 11th century A.D., as it is done today, but we have no concrete evidence of this.

Other crops mentioned as growing in Gujarat in our period are yava (barley), Kodrava and priyangu (millets)¹. Among millets Bajra+Jewar are grown in almost all regions of present day Gujarat and barley is cultivated in the dry regions of Kutch, and Jamnagar districts².

Hemachandra mentions 'tila' (sesamum) and 'ummatra' (castor oil plant)³. Their cultivation must have been widespread since they are major sources of oil. The mention of oil-mills and oil-pressers (ghanikas) as well as heads of oil guilds (tailka-rajās) are mentioned in the inscriptions. A guild of oil-men with their chief were mentioned in Somnath⁴ in the 11th century A.D. Oil is mentioned as a commodity for taxation in Khambhat port in 13th century A.D.⁵ It was a major item used in temple ceremonies and rituals and was probably widely used for domestic consumption.

-
1. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., P.258
 2. Kachh district Gazetteer. p.117 Jamnagar district Gazetteer, p.214.
 3. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p.258-259.
 4. E.I., Vol. XXIII, P. 137.
 5. C.P.S.I. p. 26

. Oil manufacturing must have been a major industry and cultivation of oil seeds must have been undertaken in all agriculturally fertile areas of Gujarat. The actual evidence for this in the period of our study is however, meagre¹. In the contemporary period, oil seeds are cultivated in most of Kathiawar peninsula, north-east and South Gujarat districts.

Among fruits mentioned in DV² is 'amlaka' (myrobalan). This product is mentioned as a taxable commodity in the Kadi grant for Bhima II³. It was probably grown in south west Kathiawar⁴ and transferred to other regions like Kadi in Mehasana Taluka.

Amra or ambiram (mango) is mentioned as growing in the districts of Navsari in our period⁵. They are also grown presently in Mahuva, Talajha and Bhavnagar areas but do not seem to be important as an exchange item in our period. Ibn Haukal (10th A.D.)

-
1. E.I., Vol. XXXIII, P.192, Sesame (Tila) is mentioned as growing in Sabarkantha district (Modasa taluka).
 2. S.P. Narang, op. cit., p. 26.
 3. I.A., Vol. VI, P.180-204.
 4. Junagadh district Gazetteer, p.113.
 5. JEBRAS, Vol. XXVI, 1921-23, P.251.

mentions coconuts and lemons (laimun) produced in Gujarat ¹. He also mentions that no date trees are found in Gujarat ². Al-Idrisi writes that dates grew in the region of Mumuhul (Bhinmal), and Sind (near Mansura) ³. The kharijura(dates) mentioned in DV were probably imported to Gujarat from these regions by both sea and land routes.

Abdullah Wassaf mentions that the vineyards of Gujarat brought forth blue grapes twice a year ⁴. Grapes (Piyuksa) are cultivated presently in Junagadh district around Mangrol, Junagadh and Bhesan regions ⁵.

The DN mentions ⁶ such fruits as 'asara' (plantation), Chakanabhayani (oranges) and pindiram (pomegranates). Presently pomegranates are grown in Jamnagar district and plantains are found around Siddhpur region but they do not figure as important trade items in our period.

Betel-nuts (tambula, tagara) and betel leaves were other major agricultural and trade items mentioned in the inscriptions. Their use seem have

-
1. Elliot & Dawson, op. cit., Vol. I, P.129.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Maqbul Ahmed, op. cit., Vol. III, P.31.
 4. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit., Vol. III. P.31.
 5. Junagadh district Gazetteer. p. 120.
 6. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., P.259.

to have been widespread in this period. Betel nuts and leaves were used in ceremonies and rituals of temples and for consumption all over the kingdom including South Rajasthan (Kinadu)¹, Kathiawar peninsula (Somnath)² and in Khambat³. Mangrol seems to be an important area of cultivation of betel nuts particularly Chervada village, near Mangrol⁴.

Exchange trade of this article seems to have occurred in almost all regions under the Chaulukyas. The Sodhali Vav inscription⁵, mentions that taxes on these commodities were levied in the customs house at Wamanasthali (Vanthali in Junagadh district). Betel nuts were probably taken from Mangrol taluka to Somnath, Khambat and perhaps Kiradu in South Rajasthan by merchants dealing in these articles (tambulikas)⁶.

The inscriptions and literary sources⁷ also mention other products which were important for purposes of trade. The Kadi grant of Bhima-II dated 1231 A.D. mentions⁸ articles like cinkanika (tamarind),

-
1. E.I., Vol. I, P. 271-87.
 2. E.I., Vol. XI, P.43
 3. C.P.S.I., P. 227
 4. S.I.K.M., SODHALI Vav Inscription of 1146 A.D. P.62.
 5. Ibid.
 6. E.I., Vol. XI, P.43.
 7. I.A., Vol. VI, 1877-79, P. 180-204.
 8. I.A., Ibid.

haridra (turmeric), and condiments such as ela (cardamam), Kunkuma (Saffron), Karpura (Comphor), Kasturika (Musk) and 'agaru' (sandal). All these articles were not local products of Gujarat and a brisk trade must have existed between the actual source of these commodities and their final destination. In this inscription taxes on these commodities were paid by the 'vaniyas' (traders) of Salakhanapura in the market place or mandapika and a part of the proceeds of these taxes went for maintenance of two temples in the same area.

Agaru (Sandal) mentioned in the Kadi grant of Bhima II¹ and in the Cintra prasasti of 1287 A.D.², was probably brought by sea from Thana in Kankan coast³ and also from Malabar region via the port of Veraval (Somnath) and carried over-land to Salakhanapura (in Mehsana district). Trade in sandalwood was given priority in this period since it was ritually needed in temple ceremonies⁴.

-
1. I.A., Vol VI, P.180-204
 2. E.I., Vol. I, P. 271-87, Located at Somnath.
 3. Yule, op. cit. P.396-397. See footnote 2 for the description of a variety of aromatic trees found in this region.
 4. E.I., Vol. XXIII, P.137.

Reference is also made in the Cintra prasasti to fragrant gum called 'guggula' which was offered as incense in the Somnath temple. It was probably brought from Malabar and the country adjoining Thana.¹

Manjishta or madder, a commodity used for dyeing cloth, is mentioned as a taxable article in the above mentioned Kadi grant of 1231 A.D. It was also traded by a merchant of Anhilwara Pattan². This article was probably brought to Gujarat from some other area like Bengal³.

The source of camphor (Karpura) mentioned in the same Kadi grant, again lay in Konkan and Malabar regions. Alberuni mentions that a number of aromatic plants and herbs were exported from Malabar coasts elsewhere⁴.

Kasturi (musk) mentioned in the same grants, had its source in Kashmir⁵. It was probably brought overland to Gujarat via the routes through Ujjain

-
1. Yule, op. cit. see footnote 2(v), p.397.
 2. Prabandhachintamani (PCT), translated into English by MC Tawney Calcutta, 1901, P.104.
 3. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, oral communication.
 4. E.C. Sachu, edited, Alberuni's INDIA, London 1910, 1914, P.202.
 5. A.K. Forbes, Ras Mala, 3rd edition London, 1924, The Prince of Kashmir presented the celebrated musk of his country to Mulraj at Patan. P-61.

and Malva from north India. Another alternative route may be the river routes of the Indus down to Daybul and Mansura (Sind) and thence to Gujarat¹.

Marco Polo mentions that pepper, ginger, cinnamon and nuts were grown in Gujarat². He goes on to write that pepper, ginger and other spices were found in plenty in the kingdom of Ely³.

Marco Polo also mentions that the kingdom of Malabar produced great quantities of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, turbit, cloves and spikenard⁴. Al-Idrisi also mentions pepper and cardamom as products of Malabar⁵. Marco Polo's reference to pepper and ginger growing in Gujarat is somewhat puzzling as these commodities must have been brought from Malabar coast. The trade in these articles between western India, China and Gulf countries was well-known in this period⁶.

-
1. Maqbul S Ahmed, op. cit. p. 82, 91.
 2. Yule, op. cit., Chapter XXV, P. 389.
 3. Ibid., Ely is identified with Mount Dely, a cluster of hills 16 miles north of Cananore in Kerala coast. P. 386.
 4. Ibid. P. 389.
 5. Maqbul Ahmed, op. cit. P. 62-63.
 6. R.K. Mookerji, History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activities. New Delhi, 1970, P. 35.

A 13th century Chinese travel account, Chau-Ju-Kua, mentions that cloves and myrobalam were exported from Gujarat by merchants to the Mediterranean region¹. The ports of Gujarat may have been used as transit points for ships carrying these commodities, whose source was the Malabar coast².

The reference^{which is made} of 200 white roses and 2000 oleander blossoms given to the Somnath temple in the Cintra prasasti, were grown locally in Gujarat. This confirmed by Rashid-ud-din and Wassaf³, both of whom refer to the seventy different varieties of flowers growing in Gujarat throughout the year. Gardners guilds (malike-sreni) is also mentioned in the prasasti⁴.

Sugar cane cultivation took place in Sind in 12th century A.D.⁵. Presently, it is cultivated in Ahmedabad and Kheda districts. The PCT mentions

-
1. JASB, 1968-69, p.179.
 2. Yule, op. cit. p. 390.
 3. Elliot & Dawson, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 65.
 4. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 31.
 5. E.I., Vol. I, p. 285.

the products of sugarcane, such as gur and Juice ¹. Rashid-ud-din mentions the sugar of Malwa ². Probably sugarcane had to be brought into Gujarat from neighbouring areas, some of it may have also been grown in some regions of Gujarat. Sugar was manufactured in Gujarat, according to Hemachandra ³.

The considerations of convenient transport facilities, proximity to markets and easy availability of raw materials seem to be the major factors in locating manufacturing industries in Gujarat in our period. Evidence relating to the cotton textile manufacture around the ports of Broach and Khambhat situated in the cotton growing areas of Gujarat supports this statement. Marco Polo refers to the cotton trees of Gujarat ⁴ which give good spinning cotton till they are 12 years old ; but from that age to 20 years the trees produce inferior quality cotton used to make quilts and mattress. In another instance, Marco Polo refers to the kingdom of Cambaet (Khambhat) ⁵

-
1. Tawney, op. cit., P.41.
 2. Elliot and Dawson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 67.
 3. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit. P.260.
 4. Yule op.cit. P. 398.
 5. Ibid.

as producing fine buckram and cotton which was exported from here to many countries. The fine yam from cotton plants collected till the trees are 12 years old was used to spin delicate muslins.¹ These trees are said to grow near the large towns of eastern Gujarat². It was probably a reference to Ahmedabad or Asawal, an inland centre famous for its cotton textile industries even to day. Khambhat was probably a centre for manufacture of cotton cloth, silk fabrics, camlets of silks, velvets of all colours and coloured taffetas³. Around Asawal (Ahmedabad) were situated such manufacturing industries as brocades, muslins and embroidered silks⁴.

Broach or 'Baruj' was another emporium of cotton textile & silk manufacture and export. Cotton yam & cloth were exports from Broach since the 1st A.D.⁵. In the 13th century, Broach was more famous for silk manufacture.⁶ The finished products were given final

-
1. Ibid. p.394, footnote 3.
 2. Ibid.
 3. I.A. Khan - Trade of Medieval Gujarat, Indian History Congress (IHC) 1980, P. 282.
 4. SAI Timmizi, Some aspects of Medieval Gujarat, Delhi 1968 introduction ^{TRADE IN}
 5. W.H. Schoff, op. cit., P.88.
 6. A.S. Altekar, Rashtrakutas op. cit., P. 362.

touches by the manufacturers and weavers of Broach and exported to other countries.

According to the Egyptian geographer Abu'l Abbas Al-Nuwayri, the textile products of Broach were famous under the name of Baroj or Baroji while Kambhat produced the equally famous variety known as Kambayati ¹.

Hemchandra also refers to the cotton and silk products of Gujarat during the Chaulukyan period ².

These are known as amauka (Silken cloth), aumasas (woollen cloth), 'kauseya' (soft silk), trasara (tassar) and amaka (linen cloth). It seems that a wide variety of textile products were available in Gujarat in this period and were exported to other countries from its ports.

The use of Gujarat textiles within the kingdom is mentioned in the Kadi grant of Bhima II ³. Among the commodities referred to in this grant, for which dues were to be paid by the 'vaniyas' are silk thread,

-
1. A.K. Majumdar, op.cit. P. 260
 2. S.P. Narang, op.cit., P.50.
 3. 1. A. Vol VI, No. 6 P. 82.

textiles & madder for dyeing of clothes. In another inscription from Khambhat, dated 1296 A.D.¹, a grant given for the maintenance of a Jain temple, mentions a tax of one 'drama', on a bullock load of cloth (Kushta) and a half a dramma on less valuable articles like Blankets etc.

In another donation to the temple of Sonnath (1287 A.D.)² some shopkeepers of the city were to provide a pair of soft garments for use in temple worship. The large-scale production of textiles made this commodity a profitable source of tax collection in this period.

The different varieties of textiles available, point to the fact that the industry was highly advanced technically. The main centres of production and distribution were centred around Khambhat, Broach and Asapalli (Ahmedabad) in South Gujarat. The finished products were in use all over Gujarat and exported to other places in India and abroad,

1. CPSI, p.227.

2. E.I., Vol. I, p. 271 - 287.

Khambhat seems to have been the manufacturing and exchange centre for a number of other articles . Leather and leather products were exported from here in the 12th - 13th centuries ¹ . Marco Polo states ² that a great number of skins including goat-skin, ox-skin, buffalo-skin, and wild ox-skin were dressed and ship-loads of these are sent to Arabia from Khambhat every year ³ .

Leather sandals made in Khambhat, were famous in Baghdad ⁴ and are also mentioned by Al-Masudi in the 10th Century (943 A.D.) ⁵ shoe makers and leather carriers were known as Kuttao and Vaddalo ⁶ . Export trade in red and blue leather mats embroidered with gold & silver wire is mentioned by Marco Polo, leather cushions embroidered with gold were luxury articles made in Khambhat and exported to the Persian Gulf area and used by the Saracens ⁷ . Embroidered and

1. H. Yule, op. cit., P. 393.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, See footnote 1, P. 394.
4. Hudad-i-Alam refers to them. Quoted from IHC. 1980, p. 283.
5. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 261.
6. Ibid, p. 262.
7. Yule, op. cit., p. 394.

inlaid leather work for bed-covers, palankin mats and the like are still manufactured in Rajkot and other places in Kathiawar and adjoining regions of Sindh¹. Hemchandra mentions leather water bags called 'Chirikka' and leather bottles for oil called 'kutupa'².

-
1. Ibid, See footnote 4, p. 395.
 2. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 261.

SECTION - II

AREAS OF FOCUS IN CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

An examination of the evidence presented in the primary sources of this period reveals that foreign accounts, including Muslim sources, differ from the indigenous sources, especially the epigraphs, in the emphasis given to trade centres and merchantile areas between the 11th century A.D. and 13th century A.D. Arab accounts mention towns and trading centres which were centres of exchange, manufacture, ports-of-call for merchants and sea-men, or settlement areas of Muslim communities involved in pursuits mentioned above. Hardly any emphasis is given to place which were important as pilgrimage or administrative centres, until they happened to coincide as trading ports and exchange centres as well. The indigenous sources however refer more specifically to places as religious centres rather than centres of exchange, production or maritime trade. Evidence of trade and manufacture in these places, can be indirectly drawn, from mention of taxes levied on goods and commodities

referred to in relevant inscriptions.

Arab writers of the 8th century A.D. to 13th century A.D. take note of the ports along the coast-line of Gujarat, Konkan and Malabar since these centres were their main areas of trade and maritime activity. Sulaiman (9th century A.D.), Al-Istakhri (10th century A.D.), Ibn Haukal (10th century A.D.), Ibn Khurdadba (9th century A.D.) and Al-Masudi (10th century A.D.) refer mostly to the coastal regions of Kathiawar and South Gujarat while giving a general description of these countries, their rulers and the different kinds of products of the region¹.

In the 12th century A.D. Al-Idrisi gives a more detailed description of the centres lying on the interior trade routes in Gujarat. He also refers to centres of trade and manufacture in detail and takes into account the sea route from Sind via Gujarat coast to south India.

1. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol. I, p. 1 - 73.

INDUS DELTA AND KUTCH

Al-Idrisi gives detailed description of the towns of Sind, viz. Daybul (near Karachi) which is described as a port and a centre of commerce. Arab sailors, Chinese and Indian merchants brought goods like cloth, aromatics and perfumes to this ports. These articles were sold in the interior regions by merchants and traders ¹.

Mansura stood on the Indus river (forty seven miles north-east of modern Hyderabad in Sind). It cultivated sugarcane, date palms and fruits and the town was populated by wealthy merchants living in large houses. Its markets flourished and fish, meat and fruits are mentioned as commodities available here².

Among the towns of India, Al-Idrisi mentions Mamuhul (Bhimmal), situated on the route of travellers

-
1. Maqbul Ahmed op. cit. p. 41.
 2. Ibid. p. 54.

entering India from Sind. It indulged in commercial activities and produced fruit ¹. Arab traders were probably familiar with this town because of its commerce. He mentions Al-Mayd (identified with the coast of Kutch), infested with pirates who must have harassed merchant ships ². Alberuni also mentions the pirates called al-Bawarij which infested these coasts in the same period and posed a danger to merchantile activities ³. They therefore came under the notice of the Arab writers.

Idrisi notes Kuli (identified with Kori creek in Kutch or with Kodinar, near Diu in South Kathiawar) ⁴ which lay on the sea route to the west coast ⁵.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH GUJARAT

The distance between Mumuhul and Kanbaya (Khambhat) was 5 marhalas according to Al-Idrisi. He states that Khambhat was situated at the mouth of a river

-
1. Ibid, P. 55.
 2. Ibid., p. 86
 3. E.C. Sachau, op. cit. P. 202.
 4. Maqbul Ahmed, op. cit. P. 89 - 90.
 5. Ibid. P. 55.

(Mahi) and it was a busy part for ships carrying merchandise from all regions ¹. From Kull, Idrisi turns to the ports located on the west coast of India, viz., Subara (Sopara) described as a commercial town, a port and a source of pearl fisheries ². Further south, the towns of Sindan (Sanjan) and Saimur (Chaul) are described from the point of view of their commerce and the produce of the region, which formed the main items of trade ³.

The towns mentioned in the interior regions of Gujarat by Idrisi are Khabirum (Kapadvaj) and Asawal (Ahmedabad), both which were said to be populated by merchants, craftsmen and also colonized by Muslims ⁴.

Baruj (Broach) is described as a magnificent town with solid wealth, recognised traders and a port for ships arriving from Sind and China ⁵.

The journey from Broach to Saimur took two days

-
1. Ibid, P. 86.
 2. Ibid.,
 3. Ibid., p. 56.
 4. Ibid., P.57
 5. Ibid., P. 58.

and between Broach and Nahrwara (Anhilwara) the distance was eight marhalas.¹ This route lay across continuous plains and the journey had to be made in carts. Bullock carts were the chief means of transport in Gujarat, according to Idrisi.² Muslim merchants must have been well acquainted with the various routes connecting this region.

Between the town of Anhalawara and Broach, Idrisi mentions three other towns, Dolga (Dhavalakka), Janawal (Chunwal, the old name of Viramgam taluka) and Asawal (Ahmedabad). All these towns are noted for their profitable trade and other pursuits.³ There is no mention of Dhavalakka as the capital and administrative centre of the Vaghelas.⁴

Idrisi refers to Anhalwara Patan - which was the chief administrative city of the Chavadas Chaulukyas and Vaghelas. The prosperity of the King and its inhabitants are mentioned. Idrisi goes on to add that a large number of Muslim merchants frequented this capital together with other travellers.

-
1. Ibid., p. 64 One marhala was about 25 to 30 miles.
 2. Ibid., p. 58.
 3. Ibid., p. 59.
 4. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit. P. 170

They were welcomed and protected by the king ¹. Anhalawara was both a capital and trade emporium. It had around eighty-four marts, each assigned to a different commodity and export and import duties amounted to 100,000 tankas every day ². Idrisi mentions rice, chick-peas, beans, Haricots, lentils, Indian peas, fish and other animals as food articles of the inhabitants.

Among the indigenous sources, the PCT ³ refers to the manufacturing groups living in this city. They included pewter and brass workers, potters, gemstone polishers and cloth-makers. Traders are also mentioned as dealing in grams, camphor, betel-leaves, nuts and madder ⁴.

An epitaph found in a mosque dated to 1282 A.D. from Anhilwada, records the death of a Muslim merchant Faku'd-Din-Ibrahim. This is the only record furnishing evidence of Muslim settlements in

-
1. Maqbul Ahmed, op. cit. P. 60.
 2. I.A., LIII, LIV, Supplement, Altekar, Ancient Towns... op. cit., p. 13.
 3. Tawney, op. cit., P. 104, 106, 117.
 4. Ibid.

our period in Patṭan but it confirms the statement of Idrisi ¹, that Muslims had settled in the interior regions of Gujarat.

The PCT mentions Jain activities within the city of Anhilwada ². This is confirmed by a Jain record at Shatrunjaya which mentions eight Jain Chaityas and Jain laymen and merchants coming from this city ³.

Khambhat or Cambaet is described by Marco Polo as a separate kingdom where people worship idols & indulge in trade in indigo, cotton, buckram, hides & other merchandise. Imports to this port were chiefly gold, silver and copper. There were no pirates here and inhabitants lived by trade and manufacture ⁴. Ibn Batuta (14th century) speaks of mosques and houses built by foreign merchants and Marino Sanudo, Polo's contemporary, refers to Khambhat as one of the two chief ocean Marts of India ⁵. Besides textiles, leather and indigo, Khambhat also manufactured ornamental objects

-
1. E.I., APS. 1961, P.32.
 2. Tawney, op. cit., P. 127, 142
 3. JEBRAS Vol. XXX, 1955, p. 100.
 4. Yule, op. cit., P. 397 - 398.
 5. Elliot and Dawson, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 33.

from agates, camelian etc. Wassaf mentions that horses from the Persian Gulf were imported through Khambayat.

SAURASHTRA

Along the Kathiawar coast line Al-Idrisi mentions Oykman (Okhamandal) with its produce of grain, rice and bamboos and its idol worshippers ; This could be a reference to the temple-town of Dwarka.¹

Marco Polo refers to Somnath (Semenat) whose inhabitants worshipped idols and lived by trade and industry². There is no other reference made to the religious importance of this city.

Abul-Fida also remarks on the importance of Somnath as a commercial port which was visited by ships from Aden³. In the 11th century (1030 A.D.) Alberuni refers to it as a pilgrim centre for Hindus and as a port-of-call for vessels on their way from Sofala in Africa to China⁴. However he does not give Somnath so good a character

-
1. Maqbul Ahmed, op. cit., P. 55 and P. 119, 120.
 2. Yule, op. cit., P. 399.
 3. A.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 263.
 4. Sachau, op. cit., P. 90 - 202.

as Polo does for he names it as one of the chief pirate haunts in the Kathiawar coast.

For further evidence of the religious importance as well as commercial activities of Somnath patan, one has to examine the indigenous epigraphic sources.

Properly speaking three separate places are lumped together as Somnath in the Muslim accounts.

(a) The port called Veraval, on a little bay.

(b) The city of Deva-Pattam¹ or Somnath Patana or Prabhasa occupying the south side of the Bay which also contains evidence of tombstones showing a large Muslim settlement.

(c) The famous temple lying on a rock on the south west side of the city.

An inscription dated 1264 A.D. (VS 1320) is found in the wall of Harshada Mata temple in the town of Veraval¹. It records that a rich merchant & ship

1. E.I., Vol XXXI, P. 141 - 147.

owner, Khoja Nuru'd-din Piraza, secured a plot of land outside Somnath Patan from a Hindu Raja in order to build a mosque. For its maintenance he purchased several houses from temples, some shops and an oil mill. The upkeep of the mosque was entrusted to the Muslim communities living in the city of Somnath, including shipowners, sailors, oil pressers, lime workers, preachers and cart drivers. Thus by the 13th century A.D., Veraval was an important port and trading centre, frequently visited by ships from the Persian Gulf. The fact that a large colony of Muslims had made this their permanent home and were engaged in different professions, seem to have aided trade and commerce from this port.

In earlier inscriptions dated between 1017 & 1028 A.D. found in Somnath ¹ there are records of several donation made to this temple by merchants & landlords. In the first inscription (1017 A.D.), three merchants jointly gave a daily gift of a

1. E.I. Vol. XXIII, P. 137 - 140.

Karsha (3/4 tola) of ghee out of the Mandapika tax collected in the markets ¹. In another inscription, dated 1018 A.D., an official collector of tolls on roads (marggadayeika) gave 5 vrishavas for providing incense and sandal to the temple ². In the inscription of 1029 A.D., one Devasvamin, donated the produce of two oil mills, & a gift of cowries to provide incense and make a monthly payment of two 'varahas' (silver coins). Some other individuals like merchants, landlords, oil merchants and 'sankhika' (shell workers) made donations of several 'vasanikas' (dwelling houses) to the temple ³.

The commodities assigned to the Somnath temple in the inscription of 1287 A.D. ⁴, have already been referred to earlier. An inscription of 1246 A.D. records that a merchant of Devapattan or Somnath and his son, a seller of perfumes, donated an image for worship of Govardhana at Devpattan ⁵.

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid, P. 130
 3. E.I., Vol. XXIII, p. 137-140.
 4. E.I., Vol. I, Cintra Prasasti of Sarangadeva, P. 271-87.
 5. E.I., Vol. IV, P. 302.

The importance of Somnatha-Pattana as a pilgrimage and manufacturing centre is demonstrated from these inscriptions. Professional guilds of tambulikas (betel-sellers) gandikas (perfumers) Chunakaras (lime workers). nauvritti (sailors), ghanikas (oil pressers), and shell workers were occupationally specialized groups who together with merchants contributed to trade activities in this city.

The fact that Somnath - Veraval was a port, trading centre and pilgrimage centre contributed to its remarkable prosperity and wealth and attracted the attentions of invaders like Mohamud Ghazni in 1026 A.D.

Other towns and cities which were important commercial centres in this period are also revealed from the epigraphic sources. We have already referred to the Kadi grant of Bhima-II¹ where levies on a large number of agricultural and manufactured articles were to be paid by the traders of Salakhanpura for the upkeep of two temples in the areas. This town must have been a major trading mart in the 12th and 13th century A.D.

An inscription of 1207 A.D. from Timbanaka² near Talajha in South East Kathiawar records a piece of land and some dues paid by merchants, traders and shopkeepers for establishment and upkeep of a Shiva temple at Talajha. Talajha is on the

1. See section I of this chapter, p 81, 83, 89 earlier.

2. I.A. Vol. XI, P. 337.

sea - coast of east Kathiawar and must have been a port and trading centre in this period.

An inscription from Khambat dated 1276 A.D. reveals, taxes levied on articles like cloth, trade, oil, betel-nuts, blankets etc. to pay for upkeep of a Jain temple in the same city.¹

1. Ibid. P. 227

CHAPTER - IV

RELATIVE POSITIONS OF TRADING COMMUNITIES: 12th to 13th Century

The literary and epigraphic sources makes it clear that a number of communities, both Indian and foreign, were involved in commercial activities in Gujarat as we have already noticed in the previous chapter. Mention is also made in these sources of names of specific communities, particularly Jains, who played a prominent role in mercantile activities in this period under the patronage of Chaulukya- Vaghela monarchs.

This chapter seeks to examine the role played by trading communities within the economic system of Gujarat in this period. The emphasis will be laid on Muslim merchants and traders who came here not only to buy and sell goods but also to establish permanent trading colonies and stations at the important coastal towns and inland centres of Gujarat. It has been stated, that due to the spread of Arab traders in the west coast of India in this period, the initiative in foreign trade and shipping had slipped out of the hands of the Indians to those of the Arabs.¹ As a result Indian traders were confined to internal or coastal trade and they tended to act as middlemen between the people of the hinterland and the Arabs on the coast.² In view of the

-
1. V.K.Jain, 'Role of Arab Traders in Western India in early Medieval Period,' in B.D. Chattopadhyaya edited, Essays in Economic History of Ancient India, New Delhi, 1987, p. 164.
 2. Ibid.

evidence found in the contemporary sources, one needs to examine this statement more thoroughly.

SECTION - I : POSITION OF MUSLIM TRADERS :

The Arab settlements on the coast of Gujarat had begun by about 9th Century A.D. We have already referred to the Arab settlement in Sindan on the Kachh coast¹. Al-Masudi (10th Century A.D.), Al-Istakhri (10th century A.D.), Ibn Haukal (10th Century A.D.), Al-Kazwini (13th Century A.D) Al-Idrisi (12th century A.D), and Muhammad Ufi (1211 A.D) all refer to Muslims who were settled in the important towns, and cities of Gujarat and West coast of India in this period.²

Sulaiman & Al-Masudi in 9th & 10th century A.D. ^{state} that the Balhara rulers (Rastraputa kings) had great respect for Muslims.³ This must have been due to the fact that ports like Broach, Kalyan, Chaul and Sanjan on the west coast were frequented by Arab traders and merchants in this period.⁴ The kings of Juzr (identified with Gujarat) was said to be unfriendly to the Muslims by Sulaiman, Al-Masudi and Ibn-Khurdadba in the 9th and 10th century A.D. This was a reference to the Gurjara-Pratihara rulers of Gujarat who

-
1. See Chapter II, P.39.
 2. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol-I & III. P.1-78. Vol II. P.26
 3. Ibid. Vol-I, P.
 4. E.I. Vol, XXVI, P.

were known to be enemies of the Muslims.¹ In spite of this the Arab penetration into the coastal areas of Kachh, Kathiawar and south Gujarat is an established fact, by the 10th century. Ibn Haukal informs us that there were Jama Mosques not only at Kachh, Sindan, Saimur and Khambhat but also in interior places like Anhilwada-Patan.² This is also repeated in Al-Istakhri's accounts written in about 10th century A.D.³ Ibn Haukal further states that the tract of land between Kanbaya (Khambhat) and Saimur (Chaul) was intensively cultivated and Muslims and infidels (Hindus) living here wore the same dresses of fine muslin and let their beard grow in the same fashion.⁴

This statement of Haukal's would indicate that cities and ports of South Gujarat were early places of settlement of the Muslims. The policy of toleration followed by the Rashtrakutas gave ample opportunities for the Muslims to live in peace with their co-religionists.⁵ This allowed for harmonious inter-mixing and adjustment between both communities and is reflected in the dress and customs of the period.

Epigraphic evidence further confirms the truth of this statement.⁶ The Arab governor of Samyana, (Sanjan),

-
1. K.M.Munshi, op.cit. P. 76, 123.
 2. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit., Vol-I, P. 50-62
 3. Ibid., P. 30 - 45.
 4. Ibid., P. 42
 5. A.S.Altekar, Rashtrakutasop.cit. P.
 6. E.I., Vol, XXXII, P. 45-70, See also Chapter II, Section III, P.69.

a feudatory appointed by the Rashtrakutas (878 A.D. to 915 A.D.), is called Madhumati, in the given record.¹ It is no doubt the Sanskritized form of the Arabic name Muhammad.² Further this Arab governor is said to have made a grant of a village and a piece of land for repairs of a 'mathika' constructed by a brahmin, Narayana, to worship a goddess at Samyana.³

The impetus to trade and commerce due to the involvement of the Arabs generated additional resources for the state. The Arabs were therefore allowed to settle in south Gujarat, and their property was protected by the Rashtrakuta kings.

By the 11th century A.D. the evidence for Muslim traders and occupational groups settling in all major cities and ports of Gujarat, is confirmed by both literary and epigraphic evidence. Al-Idrisi (12th century A.D.) writes that Muslims had reached most of the towns of West India including Sēpara, Sanjan and Chaul on Konkan coast and Khambhat, Kapadvanj and Ahmedabad in Gujarat.⁴ Idrisi's description of the routes between Broach and Anhilwada via the towns of Dholka, Varangam and Ahmedabad⁵ makes it clear that Arab traders were very well-acquainted with these towns and trade routes. Anhilwada was frequented by large numbers of Muslim merchants who were welcomed and

-
1. Ibid., p. 46.
 2. Ibid., p.
 3. Ibid., p. 47
 4. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit., P. 57.
 5. Ibid., P. 58-59.

protected by the king¹. This city was a capital, a religious centre of the Jains and an exchange centre of commodities.

An Arabic inscription dated 1160 A.D. from Bhadreswar port in Kutch district states that Ibrahim, son of Abdul-Azm Abdullah expired on that date.² This is inscribed on a tomb of one Lal Shabbaz. On a pillar nearby is another inscription registering the death of one Abul Aziz in 1172 A.D.³ Nearby some ruined sarcophagus bear the dates 1177 A.D., 1227 A.D. and 1228 A.D.⁴ but other details have been effaced.

Bhadreswar was a port and trading centre under the Chaulukya rule. The Arab settlements in Kachh date from the 9th century A.D. Al-Biladuri relates the building of a Jama Mosque by one Fazl in Sindan in Kachh, who also defeated the Med pirates of Dwarka with a fleet of sixty vessels⁵. The epigraphs from Bhadreswar confirm this account and show that permanent colonies of Muslims must have been stationed in the ports of the South coast of Kachh to indulge in trade activities, during the entire period of our study.

-
1. Ibid., P. 60
 2. E.I. Arabic and Persian supplement (APS) 1965, Kufi Epitaphs from Bhadreswar, P. 2-4.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit. Vol-I, P. 129.

In other areas of Gujarat also the same evidence is available, showing the permanent settlements of Muslim merchants, traders, seamen and professional groups.

An inscription of 1218 A.D. fixed on a mosque in Khambhat refers to the construction of a Jama Mosque by Sa'id, son of Abu Sharaf.¹ It belongs to the period when Chaulukya Bhima II (1178 A.D. to 1242 A.D.) was ruling in Gujarat. At this time Khambhat was under the control of Vaghela Lavanaprasada of Dholka. Bhima II was constantly at war with the Muslims under Muhammad Ghori and Qutub-ud-din Aibak between 1191 and 1206 A.D.

Another epitaph found in Khambhat is dated to 1232 A.D. and states that Aminu-d-Din Abul-Mahasin, son of Ardashir al-Ahwi, died here. His identity is difficult to establish but at a guess we can assume that he was one of the many Muslim settlers in Gujarat who came for trade purposes. His origin may have been Iranian, as his father's name Ardashir, suggests.²

An epitaph of 1249 A.D. again from Khambhat³ on a tomb states that one Sharafu'd din Abu Sharaf Al Bammi died by drowning on this date. He may have drowned in the course of one of his voyages for trade or similar purposes.⁴

-
1. E.I., APS, 1961, Z.A. Desai edited, P. 1-24.
 2. Z.A. Desai, Ibid, P. 4.
 3. Ibid. P. 10.
 4. Ibid, also see V.K. Jain, op.cit. P. 167.

Three more tombs are found in Khambhat,¹ recording the deaths of Muslims. The first dated 1284AD,² records the demise of Sharafu'd Din Murtada. Another dated in 1287 A.D., states the death of Zain'd-din Ali. The Persian verses of the inscription were composed by the deceased himself and he may have been a poet and mystic of some eminence.

The third tomb records the demise of Haji Ibrahim, who was called Fatolia, in 1291 A.D. He is mentioned as 'Chief of merchants and prince of shipmasters', 'Fatolia seems to be a Gujarati word and probably indicates that the Haji traded in some articles like betel-nuts, from Khambhat,² one of the local products of Gujarat.³

Since Khambhat was the premier emporium and trade mart in the 13th century the Arab traders had settled here in large numbers. Some of them probably made it their permanent home while others regarded it as the most important centre for trade. But there are other areas also, where the Muslims had their settlements. Some of these lay far away from the coast.

A record from Junagadh dated 1286-87 A.D. on a mosque, states that it was constructed by the order of

-
1. Ibid. P. 17.
 2. Ibid, P. 22.
 3. See Chapter III, P. 81

Afifu-d-Dunya wa'd Din Abu'l - Qasim.¹ He is given high sounding titles like "benevolent chief, great benefactor, prince of shipmasters, prop of pilgrims to Mecca and Medina." etc. It suggests that the donor was probably an influential merchant, businessman or trader of Junagadh. He may have been, in some way, associated with liason work between the state and its Muslim population. Junagadh was ruled by the Chudasamas in this period.²

The record also indicates that a considerable number of Muslims resided at Junagadh which necessitated the building of a prayer - house or mosque for their worship. Probably the ports of Saurashtra lying near Junagadh like Miyani, Mangrol and Porbandar used to handle the traffic for Haj pilgrims travelling from Gujarat and other areas of India, to Mecca and Medina.³

The reason why the Muslims settled in this city is not difficult to find. It was not only the capital of the Chudasamas, but also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, Hindus and Buddhists.⁴ It held a fair and this must have made it an important exchange centre for the whole of the surrounding countryside. Muslim traders - whether Arabs, Persians or some others, would therefore have been

1. E.I. APS 1961, P. 16.

2. Z.A. Desai, Ibid., P. 17.

3. Ibid.

4. A.S. Altekar, Ancient Cities op.cit. P. 20.

anxious to exploit the market for buying and selling of commodities which such a centre offered.

Another inland centre of Muslim trade and settlement was the capital, Anhilwada-Patan. Al-Idrisi, as we have referred to earlier, had also remarked on this fact in his accounts of the 12th century A.D.¹ This is confirmed by an epigraphic record of 1292 A.D. found on the wall of a mosque at Anhilwada which states that one Faku'd Din Ibrahim died there. He originally belonged to Shahrzur in Iraq.² Anhilwada was probably the chief centre of exchange and trade for the Muslims in the interior of Gujarat since it was the capital and a large trading mart, a centre for Jain activities and was also well connected to the ports of Khambhat, Broach and other coastal region of Kathiawar and south Gujarat.³

The Muslim merchants and traders had complete freedom not only to indulge in trade pursuits in whichever place they wished, but also to worship in their own mosque and to be governed by Muslim administrators and legal adjudicants. The policy of religions toleration practiced by the Hindu rulers towards their Muslim subjects is strikingly illustrated in two inscriptions of the 13th century A.D.

1. See earlier, P. 7.

2. E.I. APS.....op. cit. P. 12.

3. See earlier Chapter III, P. 21.

The Veraval inscription of 1264 A.D.,¹ to which we have drawn attention earlier², is dated in four eras : (i) the year 662 of Rasula Mahammada:³ (ii) Year 1320 of Vikrama Samvat ; (iii) Year 945 of the Valabhi era and (iv) year 151 of the Simha Era. All these dates correspond to Sunday, 25th May, 1264 A.D.⁴ The use of all four eras simultaneously in one inscription shows the extent of cultural inter—mixing and mutual influence which the Muslims, Hindus and other communities had achieved by this period. The Hijri era, described as the era of Rasul Muhammad, has been mentioned first because the transactions recorded in the inscription relate to a Muhammadan.

This inscription records the endowment of a Mosque at Somnath-Pattan by a wealthy ship-owner, Nurudin Piroza of Hormuz. It mentions that he bought a piece of land from a Hindu, Raja Chada in the presence of all the ' Jamathas' (Muslim community of Somnath) and other leading men. The mosque was to be built on this piece of land with the help of Raja Chhada.⁵

For the upkeep of the mosque and its expenses Piroza purchased some buildings belonging to near by temples, ar

-
1. E.I., Vol XXXI, Chapter III, P. 21.
 2. Chapter III, P. 25.
 3. Ibid, see footnote 2. It means Rasul Muhammad. Arabic Resul means a messenger' and refers to the prophet who is regarded by the Muslims as the messenger of God.
 4. E.I., Vol XXXI, P. 141.
 5. Ibid, P. 143.

oil mill and two shops from individuals residing in the city.¹ The right to buy and sell property seems to have been extended to Muslim subjects under the Chalukya - Vaghela rule. They were given the right to worship in their own way and toleration seems to be the accepted principle in this period.

Furthermore, professional and occupational groups were distinctly present in various categories among the Muslim community residing in Somnath. The trustees appointed to look after the above endowments included sailors, oil-men, preachers (Khatib) lime-workers and transport workers.² The colony of Muslims in Somnath was a large one and occupational specialization shows that they came not only for trade and shipping activities, but also for permanent settlement in order to earn their livelihood.

Another inscription, this time from Khambhat, (1218 A.D.), records the construction of a Jami Mosque by Said, son of Abu Sharaf, son of Ali, son of Shapur-al-Bammi.³ The account of Muhammad Ufi (13th C. A.D) also relates to this mosque.⁴ Ufi relates a story that during the reign of Siddharaja Jayasimha (1094 A.D. to 1144 A.D) some Parsi settlers of Khambhat instigated the local Hindu

1. Ibid. P. 144-145.

2. Ibid. P. 145.

3. E.I. APS, 1961, P.14.

4. Ellior and Dawson, op.cit. Vol.II, P. 162.

population to destroy the mosque and minaret of the Muslims and kill eighty of them. A Muslim 'Khatib' (Preacher) reported to Anhilapatan, of this incident but the courtiers tried to shield the culprits. The Khatib then waylaid king Siddharaja on his way to ^{the} hunt and told him the story. The king himself decided to go and investigate this story at Khambhat, disguised as a trader. He confirmed the story and then punished two leading men from each of the communities of brahmins, Parsis and others living at Khambhat. He also gave a lakh of silver coins to rebuild the mosque and four articles of dress to the Khatib.

It is clear that the Jama Masque referred to in the inscription was the one built by the Sa'id on the ruins of the mosque constructed by the liberal grant of Siddharaja. Sa'id was probably a rich member of the Muslim community their residing at Cambay.¹ It also shows the high sense of justice and extreme toleration which characterized the Chaulukyan rule of this period. Siddharaja must have been conscious of the importance of the mercantile activities of the Muslims, since they contributed a large Chunk of the reasources of the state. His protection must have been readily offered in this case.

1. E.I. APS. P. 15.

Inscriptions also confirm that Arab traders and shippers held important administrative jobs in the ports and towns of Western India. We have already referred to an Arab governor ruling in Sanjan during the Rashtrakuta period¹. A reference in the PCT² indicates that an Arab trader called Saida (Sayyed) had become so powerful as to venture a naval fight with Vastupala, the governor of Khambhat. He was however defeated and his ships destroyed. We can only guess at the reason for this battle. It may have been a dispute over trade taxes or some similar matter.

The Arab hold on the Saurashtra coast can be inferred from the fact that before the Chaulukya king Siddharaja constructed a new military road from Wadhwan to Junagadh, which was connected with various ports on the coast, the traders and travellers generally followed the coastline. But later this military road became the regular route and the coastline was gradually neglected³. It has been suggested that the construction of a new road was aimed at maintaining internal communication with the ports, as the coast was controlled by the Arabs.⁴

-
1. E.I., Vol. XXXII, P. 45-70 , See also earlier, P.6.
 2. Tawney, op.cit. P. 162.
 3. M.P. Majumdar, The Cultural History of Gujarat, Bombay, 1962, P. 63.
 4. V.K. Jain, Op. cit. P. 168.

Muslims who first came as merchants and traders in the 9th and 10th century, had by the 13th century A.D., penetrated into the important trading towns, commercial centres and capitals of Gujarat. They came not only for trade but also for permanent settlement as is seen by the number of occupational groups mentioned within their community. They probably kept in touch with their home countries¹ but for all practical purposes made India their base for trade operations.



1. E.I., Vol-XXXIV, P. 145, The solitary reference with the Somnath inscription (1264 A.D.) that..... "balance (of the amount set forth for meeting the expenses of the mosque will be sent to Mecca and Medina", Shows that Arab traders sent their earnings to their countries.

SECTION - II : INDIAN MERCHANTS AND TRADERS IN
THE CHAULUKYAN AGE.

Terms used for Indian merchants and traders in the contemporary sources are many. These include ; 'vyavaharin'¹, 'sresthin'², 'seth'³, and 'vyapari'⁴. This list is not exhaustive but it suffices to show that traders, merchants and shopkeepers were known by different appellations. This points to the fact that there were various classifications within the commercial community like trader, merchant, shopkeeper, money lender etc. sometimes these terms may have been used interchangeably .

It has been suggested that competition from Arab traders drove Indian merchants to participate in coastal and inland trade, as Arabs tried to monopolized the overseas trade taking place in this period.⁵ This statement needs to be looked at in the light of the evidence presented in the contemporary sources. Let us first look at the evidence concerning Indian merchants engaged in overseas trade.

In 916 A.D. Abu Zayd Hasan completed the accounts of Merchant Sulaiman.⁶ He states that when the Indian

-
1. I.A., Vol XI, P. 337-338.
 2. E.I., Vol-II, P24,
 3. CPSI, P. 162.
 4. PCT., P. 53.
 5. V.K. Jain, op.cit. P. 170
 6. A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyasop.cit. P. 267.

the Indian merchants of Siraj (in the Persian Gulf Coast) were invited by one of the principal merchants of that place, the latter, out of regard for the susceptibility of Hindus, served them food in separate plates.¹ Abu Zayd states that on these occasions there would be about 100 guests, probably all Indians. This seems to suggest that the number of Indians participating in foreign trade was not altogether non-existent. Not only were Indians ~~xx~~ involved in large numbers in the Gulf trade, but they were also in a sufficient majority to be marked as a distinct community with their own ideas and customs. These customs seem to have been respected in the Arab world.



The Jagaducharita of Sarvananda, relates that the merchant Jagadu, who had his base in Bhadreswar port, in Kachh district used to trade regularly with Persia and transport goods in his own ships. His agent at Hormuz was an Indian.²

Muhammad Ufi (1211 A.D.) relates the story³ of one was a Abhir, a Hindu merchant of Auhilwara who had a flourishing trade at Ghazni, where at one time, the value of his property amounted to ten lacs. Wasa Abhir carried his trade through his agents at Ghazni. These agents may have been either Indians or Persians and Arabs who knew the local trade system thoroughly.

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Elliot and Dawson, op.cit, Vol.II, P. 200-1

The fact that Indian agents were stationed in important trading stations in the Persian Gulf region shows the familiarity of these agents with the rules and regulations governing trade and exchange in these countries. Such familiarity could not have come about if the Indians had been totally cut-off from overseas trade.

There is still further evidence that Indian sailors and sea-men traversed the sea-routes between Central Asia and the West Coast of India. In the 13th century A.D. Marco Polo remarks that the pirates of Gujarat and Malabar coast were the most desperate ones in existence.¹ They sailed in fleets of twenty or thirty vessels and harassed merchant ships all along the western coast of India.

The identification of these pirate groups is somewhat difficult to resolve. References to plundering communities along the coasts of Gujarat are not unknown. The Kolis who were the inhabitants of the south coast of Kathiawar peninsula, was one such group who were feared on the seas due to their sailing ships and plundering activities.²

Another reference is to the Chapas, Chavadas or Chapatkatas who were inhabitants of Panchasur and Vagad

1. H.Yule, op.cit. P. 389, 392,

2. H.W.Bell, History of Kathiawar, Delhi, 1886. p. 35.

on the border between Kutch and Kathiawar¹ before the 10th century A.D. They are also referred to as robbers and plunderers.²

The Arab writers also refer to pirate groups sailing along the coasts of Western India, including Gujarat. Al-Beruni (10th century A.D.) refers to the 'Maydh' people, who were pirates of Daybul, and Al-Bawarij, the masters of the 'bera' which meant boats.³ They are said to have had their base of operations along the coast of Kathiawar, between Dwarka and Okha and in the south coast of Kachh.⁴

The Maydh people may be identified with the Mers who were known for their excellent sea-manship and were subjects of the Saindhavas who ruled in the south western coast of Kathiawar peninsula between the 8th and the 10th century A.D.⁵ It is possible that these Mers or Meheras continued to exist in Kathiawar coast upto the 13th century A.D. They were feudatories under the Chaulukyan Monarchs and their principality was situated around Talajha in Bhavnagar district of Kathiawar peninsula.⁶

-
1. R.C. Majumdar, The Classical Age, op. cit. P. 147
 2. H.W.Bell, op.cit. P. 36.
 3. Sachan, op.cit. P. 90 - 202.
 4. Maqbul Ahmed, op.cit., P. 119.
 5. E.I. Vol XXVI, P. 187.
 6. I.A. Vol XI, Ahmed, op.cit. P. 58.

In addition to pirates of Gujarat, who sailed the Arabian seas, there is still further evidence to show that Indian merchants were involved in overseas trade activities. Al-Idrisi (12th century A.D.), describing the town of Broach, says that¹ its inhabitants had solid wealth and were recognized traders. They stayed in foreign countries and travelled about a great deal. Broach was a port for ships arriving from China and Sind.² It is likely that the reference here is to Indian merchants who visited China and Sind in this period.

A 14th century account written by Frair Oderic (1321 A.D) refers to a voyage which he undertook across the Indian ocean in a Gujarati ship manned by Rajputs which carried seven hundred people.³ This is also proof of the capacity of maritime skill of Gujarati sailors who could successfully manage such large vessels. There is an earlier mention of Indian ships sailing between Somnath and China.⁴

Merchants from Gujarat also had trade relations with Java and Sumatra⁵ Marco Polo refers to Indian

-
1. Maqbul Ahmed, Op.cit. P. 58.
 2. Ibid.
 3. R.K.Mookherjee, History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activities. Delhi, 1967, P. 28.
 4. H.Yule, op.cit. P. 400.
 5. A.K. Forbes, Ras Maia, op.cit. P. 201.

merchants taking their goods to China in the East and Aden and Kish in the west! They are not identified by their religion, but it is quite possible that some of them may have been Hindu merchants.

The above evidence serves to show that even though the Muslims had come to dominate, trade and overseas shipping between India, Central Asia and Far East, it is likely that Hindu traders and merchants were, to an extent, involved in these activities. The evidence of the earlier section shows that Muslim merchants had penetrated into the interior as well as coastal commercial centres of Gujarat. It is equally possible that Hindu merchants knew the trade system existing in the countries of Central Asia and had stationed their agents in the trade centres of these regions. The evidence for the latter is however meagre as compared to the evidence for Muslim merchants.

A specific feature which stands out in the Chaulukyan period, are the references to large numbers of Jain merchants who seem to have been involved mainly in interior trade in this period. Both the Chaulukyan and Vaghela rulers were great patrons of Jain religion and in this

1. H.Yule, op. cit. P. 107, 231.

period, Jain religion, specially Svetambara Jainism, flourished in Gujarat.¹ The Jains of Gujarat were engaged in all kinds of commercial activities in this period.² This is also in accordance with the Jain religions tenets which gives its approval to follow occupations of business, trade money lending and so on.³

It is, therefore, not a coincidence, that most of the important Jain religions centres in Gujarat were also important commercial marts and trading points in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. The fact that Jain temples were located at certain places indicates that the place was either a political centre, religions site or that it lay on trade routes. Such centres seem to have been dominated by merchants and traders mostly belonging to the Jain faith in our period.

An inscription dated between 1183 and 1202 A.D., found at the port of Veraval, mentions the restoration of a Jain temple of Chandraprabha on the shore of the ocean.⁴ Another inscription⁵ from the same places records that a certain sresthin of the Gallaka caste and his wife, and son, who was a seller of perfumes, donated an image of

-
1. A.K.Majumdar, Chalukyasop.cit. P. 311.
 2. H.Singh, Jain Temples of Western India, Poona, 1974, P. 15.
 3. D.C.Jain Economic Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canonical Literature, Delhi, 1954, P. 4
 4. E.I. Vol XXXIII, P. 117.
 5. Ibid. Vol. III, P. 302.

a Jain tirthankara for the spiritual welfare of their ancestors. This inscription is dated to 1246 A.D.

The Girnar inscriptions dated between 1232 A.D. and 1274¹ record the activities of Jayantasimha, the son of Vastupala who, together with his brother Tejahpala, were ministers under the Vaghelas, between 1220 and 1264 A.D. This son, Jayantasimha, is said to have been a prosperous banker who had his business centres in Stambhatirtha (Khambhat). Tejahpala was also involved in banking transactions in all the cities of Gujarat of which the chief city was Dhavalakka (Dholka).

An inscription placed at the entrance to a Jain shrine at Shatrunjaya gives sufficient information to show how widespread were the activities of Jain merchants and traders.² They seemed to have resided in all important trading and administrative centres in our period.

According to this inscription there were eight chaityas of the Jains in the city of Anhilwada-Patan, ten in Broach, one in Asapali (Ahmedabad), one in Dholka, one in Cambay and two in Vatapadraka (Baroda). Other Chaityas were located at Bholej and Nadiad (in Kheda district), Vanthali (in Junagadh district), Prabhas Patan (Somnath), Dhanduka (Ahmedabad district), and Wadhwan (Surendra nagar district). Jain

1. LARBP, Vol. II, Bombay 1885, P. 283.

2. JBBRAS, Vol. XXX, 1955, P. 100.

merchants (sresthis) are mentioned as hailing from Anhilwada,¹ Wadhwan, Dholka and Cambay. Most of the places mentioned in this inscription were important manufacturing or trade centres as well as political capitals in this period.²

In another inscription from Mahuva, a sea port of Bhavnagar district, a record is found of a Jain image, set up by a Jain Sangha in 1216 A.D.³

Inscriptional reference is available of the names of Jain communities who were the main arbitrators of trade and business activities in this period. Mention is made of the Pragvata Jnati,⁴ who seem to have been the most important among these communities. Vastupala and Tejahpala, who were rich merchant princes, belonged to this community.⁵ Their ancestor was Goga, who hailed from Chandravati, near Mount Abu.⁶ This was probably the original home of the Pragvata community but they must have spread all over Gujarat for purposes of trade and other activities. An inscription from Bhilwara in north Gujarat⁷ records the setting up of a Jain image in a temple by sresthin Samayaka

-
1. Tawney, op.cit. He also mentions a merchant from Anhilwada P. 104.
 2. See chapter II and III earlier.
 3. NIA, Vol. I, 1888-89.
 4. A.K.Majumdar, Chaulukyasop.cit. P. 325.
 5. LARBP, op.cit.
 6. E.I., Vol. VIII, Inscription I, Line V. 50, P. 217.
 7. E.I. Vol.II, P. 24.

who belonged to the Pragyata gotra. It is dated to 1300 A.D.

The other communities mentioned in the inscriptions are Uesavalas or Oisavalas, Srimalis, Dharkotas and Modha Banias.

The Srimali merchants may have originally hailed from Srimala in South Rajasthan and migrated to Gujarat during the reign of the Chaulukyas, when Jainism received royal patronage.¹ They are mentioned as one of the local communities residing at Chandravati, who were assigned to perform duties of worship at the temple of Neminatha at nearby Mount Abu.² Jagadu, the merchant from Bhadreswar also belonged to the Srimali gotra.³

The Oisavala community, is again mentioned in the Neminatha temple inscription, as one of the communities residing at Chandravati.⁴ They were also assigned to the same temple duties. Some more information regarding their origin is forthcoming from another inscription at Mount Abu.⁵ The family were Jains and their founder Jelha was a merchant from Mandor in Rajasthan.

-
1. H.Singh, op.cit. P. 23.
 2. E.I., Vol. VIII, P. 200-219.
 3. Quoted from H. Singh, op.cit. P. 24.
 4. E.I., Vol VIII, Opt. cit. P. 200-219.
 5. E.I., Vol. IX, P. 148.

The Modha Banias hailed from Modhera in Gujarat.¹

They seem to have been engaged in commerce in important places like Cambay. An inscription from this port-city dated to 1296 A.D., records the building of a Jain temple by one Modha Vania named Khalla.² They also settled in Anhilwada and the wife of Tejahpala is said to belong to this community.³ Modha Banias also resided in Dhanduka and in Mangrol port in this period.⁴

The Jain merchants and traders seemed to have combined wealth with political power between the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.

The above mentioned Jain communities specially, produced statesmen and generals, who derived their wealth from trade and commerce. Vimalasaha was a Pragvata Vaishya and served as a dandanayaka under Bhima I (1024 A.D. to 1066 AD)⁵ His father Vira, was a minister of the reign of Mularaja (942 A.D. to 997 A.D.)⁶. Sajjana, the dandanayaka of Saurashtra under Jayasimha (1094 A.D. to 1144 A.D.), was a Srimali merchant.⁷ Jayasimha's minister was Udayana, another Srimali Bania merchant.⁸ Under Vaghelas, Viradhavala and Visaladeva, the Jain ministers and merchant princes, Vastu-

-
1. RLARBP, Vol. VIII, Bombay 1897, P. 44.
 2. CPSI., op.cit. P. 227.
 3. E.I., Vol. VIII, No. XXXII, P. 219.
 4. H.Singh, op.cit. P. 20.
 5. Ibid.
 6. A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas....op.cit. P.122.
 7. Ibid.
 8. LARBP, op.cit.

pala and Tejahpala were famous,¹ specially as the builders of the Jain temples of Girnar and Mount Abu.

The reason why the Chaulukyas, and specially Kumar-palas, tended to patronize Jainism was probably because of material reasons. The Jain community in this period seems to be in the forefront of industry, commerce and banking in Gujarat. It is possible that the Chaulukyas needed the financial support of the wealthy Jain merchant classes.² Members of this community were therefore appointed to high posts in the empire under the ruling kings of this period.

Though the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of trade being in the hands of Jain merchants in this period, it is quite possible that other sections of Hindu society also indulged in commercial activities. Marco Polo bestows praise on the merchants of Lata (South Gujarat), whom he calls brahamins, and praises their honesty and efficiency.³ It has been held that Polo mistook Banias as Brahmins.⁴ But it is also possible that Brahmin traders were engaged in trade activities in this period. According to the injunctions of the Smriti writers of the early medieval period,

&

-
1. LARBP, Op.cit.
 2. H.C. Roy, Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II. Calcutta, 1936, P.997.
 3. H.Yule, op.cit. P. 313.
 4. A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas P. 285.

the ban on trade, agriculture, banking, fighting etc. were lifted and these occupations were ^{allowed} to the higher classes such as the brahmins.¹

There is evidence to show that some merchants had become land owners in this period. An inscription of 1064 A.D. of Chaulukya Bhima I records² the grant of three halas of land to Raakha, a Modha Bomia. The grant was made near Palanpur in Mahikantha district.

Another inscription of the same period (1056 A.D) records a grant of land made in favour of a Jain monastery near Botad.³ The land consisted of 2 halas belonging to a merchant, Sadaka. Nearby was another field of a merchant, Bhabala. Sadaka's position is not clear but he may have been the intermediary between the king and the cultivator and was probably paid compensation for the loss of his land.⁴

Merchants were allowed complete freedom of movement to carry out their operations. This is revealed in the contemporary sources. We have already referred to the ~~above~~ merchant communities, some of whom migrated from Rajasthan to Gujarat to carry out their trade activities.⁵

-
1. A.S.Altekar, Rashtrakutas P. 327.
 2. E.I., Vol. XXI, P. 171.
 3. E.I. Vol. XXXIII, P. 235.
 4. Ibid., According to Basham. P 236.
 5. See earlier.

The PCT relates the story of a merchant Ranka, who came from Vatapadraka (Baroda) to Anhilawada for the same purpose.¹ Another reference is made to a merchant who sailed from Dwarka to Khambhat.² The ancestors of merchant Jagadu were said to have settled in the Kanthakat (Kachh district) but Jagadu had his base at Bhadreswar.³ Full freedom was given to the merchant community to carry out their activities, in places which were best suited for their business occupations.

Jain merchants were also patrons of architecture.

The magnificent temples of Mount Abu and Girnar were built under the patronage of the merchants Vastupala and Tejahpala when they were serving as ministers under the Vaghelas.⁴ They also built the Jain temples at Shatrunjaya and Talajha.⁵ But besides these a large number of Jain temples were built out of donations made by common merchants and laymen. Thus the Devakulikas of the Vimalavasahi at Abu were built by Vyavaharins (businessmen).⁶ Thakura Sahadeva and Jasahada added Dwakulikes to the Neminatha temple at Girnar.⁷ Many Jaina idols in the temples of Abu, Kumbharia, etc., were installed by Jaina Shavakas.⁸ We have already referred earlier to Jain images set up in various temples.

-
1. Tawney, op.cit., P. 142.
 2. Ibid., P. 195.
 3. H.Singh, op.cit. P.27.
 4. H.D.Sankalia, op.cit. P. 108.
 5. Ibid. P. 109.
 6. H.Singh, op.cit. P. 29.
 7. AKK, p. 167.
 8. H.Singh, op.cit. P. 30.

C O N C L U S I O N

The location of ancient Indian sea-ports on the Gujarat coast, was largely influenced by ; (a) physical features of the coastline, (b) productivity of the hinterland and its transport networks and (c) political pre-dominance of the areas concerned.

The present state of knowledge about the factors responsible for the physical configurations of the littoral regions in the ancient period, is inadequate. One needs to know more about the varied causes which explain the movements of shores, when the sea encroaches on it, or when it reaches from the land. One also has to take into account the lack of knowledge of the history of the coast concerned ; with the transport and accumulation of sediments in the estuaries, or the development of a sandbar or delta in the bays lining the coast. The question remains, as to how these factors may have exerted their influence on navigation to and from a port in question. The volume of trade from such a port would have been affected and a port may have declined or increased in importance, depending on the physiographical factors involved. This might have been the case with some of the ports concerned within the period of our study, but lack of further evidence makes it difficult to arrive at definite conclusions.

Two aspects of commercial activities in Gujarat is clear from the examination of the evidence presented in the previous chapters. The first aspect relates to the period between the 8th to the 10th century A.D. The Arab accounts give some idea of the commercial and trade centres situated on the Gujarat coast. They refer to the port of Broach situated on the south coast. Cambay is not mentioned by Sulaiman (851 A.D.). It could not have been prominent till the 10th century A.D. There is no mention of inland towns as trading or manufacturing centres in Saurashtra and north Gujarat in the literary accounts or epigraphs of this period. The port of Somnath on Prabhas Patan is mentioned in Arab accounts of the 10th century A.D.

References to mercantile activities and Arab settlements in epigraphs of this period comes from Sanjan in Thana district. The whole of the south Gujarat (Lata region) was under the rule of the Rashtrakuta. Trade and commerce were major occupations together with cultivation in the Rashtrakuta kingdom. They had healthy relations with Arab traders and merchants. Broach was the most important centre of mercantile activity in this period and Navsahi, Rander and Gandevi were probably smaller trading centres.

In the other regions of Gujarat there does not seem to be any major centres of commercial or mercantile activity in this period. There is no evidence of overseas trade from the ports of Mandvi, Dwarka, Mangrol, Gogha and Mohuva in this period. Somnath, Khambhat and Porbander are noticed in

the inscriptions or in foreign accounts only by the 10th century A.D. If we accept Idrisi's account of the coastal route taken by ships sailing from Sind via Kathiawar to the ports of lying on the coast of the Gulf of Khambhat, then it seems possible that the Arabs may have been familiar with some of the trading centres lying on the south coast of Kachh and Kathiawar peninsula in this period. Interior towns are referred to mainly as political or religious centres in the indigenous sources, while there is no mention of them in the foreign accounts.

The theory of decay of urban centres is cited for the cities of Gujarat, for the period ranging from the 7th to 11th century A.D. (1) The lack of evidence for commercial activity in the interior and coastal regions of Kathiawar and north of Gujarat areas in this period may be an affirmation of this theory. However, archeological evidence together with literary sources have to be taken into account before one can come to a definite conclusion. The limited nature of this study does not allow us to explore this question here in detail.

The second aspect of this study relates to the period from the 11th to the 13th centuries A.D. The evidence for commercial activities in this period becomes much more detailed. Commercial penetration by the Arabs takes the form of both trade and permanent settlement in the ports and

1. R. S. Sharma, Urban decay in India, 300 to 1000 A.D.
New Delhi, 1987, P 71 - 74.

trading centres throughout Gujarat. Consequently, there is a corresponding rise in the importance of such centres. Khambhat and Veraval in the Kathiawar Coast and Anhilwada -- Patan, Asapalli (Ahmedabad), Dholka and Junagadh in the interior regions seems to have become important focal points of trade and manufacturing activities. Therefore, they become the main centres of operations for Muslim merchants also.

Overseas trade was conducted mainly from the ports of Khambhat, Veraval and Broach. Bhadreswar in Kachh seems to be an important port and trading centre in this period but there is no mention of Dwarka in any of the other inscriptions and literary sources, barring Idrisi's account.

Towns were given importance as trading centres depending on the amount of goods and commodities manufactured in their localities. The largest concentration of industries was at Khambhat. Broach was another centre for manufactures, while Anhilwada - Patan served as an exchange centre for both agricultural and manufactured commodities.

The focus of contemporary sources on urban centres differ according to the perspective of the writers. The Muslim accounts refer to towns and cities as centres of manufacture, trade and commerce. The indigenous sources focus mainly on the importance of towns as religious centres. Both ways of emphasis seem equally relevant when we look at the impact of Jain religion in Gujarat in this period.

The Chaulukya - Vaghela rulers tolerated both Jainism and Hinduism but Jainism was specially patronized in Gujarat. This was probably because the state needed the support of the resources provided by wealthy Jain merchants and traders. For the most part, inland trade was in the hands of Jain merchants in this period. They also exercised great political power due to patronage by the royal dynasties. The flow of resources from trade and commerce were employed in building Jain temples in almost all important places in Gujarat. There includes Khambhat, Broach, Talajha, Suhilwada - Patan, Dholka, Bhadreswar, Junagadh, and Mount Abu. All these places were ports, trading centres or lay in the vicinity of trade routes.

A number of Vaishya communities belonging to the Jain faith migrated to Gujarat from other areas probably because of the opportunities offered by the flourishing state of trade within the region. Together with the Arabs, they monopolized all commercial overseas in this period in Gujarat. Though overseas trade was a Muslim monopoly, there are also references to Jain and Hindu merchants engaged in such enterprises. Further evidence is needed to support these references, which are mainly of a literary nature, but we can definitely say that Indians were not confined to interior trade only in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Primary Sources: Inscriptions of Chaulukyas

MULARAJA - I

1. Kadi Grant : Edited by Buhler, 1A, VI, 191
2. Balera Grant : Edited by Sten Konow, EI, X, 78.
3. Radhanpur Grant : Edited by Buhler, 1A, VI, 193
4. Bombay Royal Asiatic Society Grant : Edited by Fleet, 1A, XVIII, 108.
5. Abu Stone Inscriptions : Noticed by Kielhorn, EI, IX, 148.
6. Palanpur Grant : Edited by Dikshif, EI, XXI, 171.
7. Navasari Plates : Edited by G.V. Acharya, JBBRAS, XXVI, 250.
8. Sunak Grant : Edited by Hultzsch, EI, 1, 316

JAYASIMHA SIDDHARAJA :

9. Ujjain Fragmentary Stone Inscription : Edited by Bhandarkar, IA, XLII, 258.
10. Dohad Inscription : Edited by Dhruva, IA, X, 158.
11. Bali Inscription : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 23.
12. Udayapur Inscription : Defaced : Noticed by Kielhorn, IA, XVIII, 341.
13. Sambhar Inscription & Date Broken : Edited by B.N.Reu, IA, LVIII, 234.
14. Mongrol Stone Inscription : Simha Samvat, 32 : Dh. Ins. 158

15. Dohad Inscription : Edited by Dhruva, IA, X, 158.
16. Mt. Abu Inscription of Yasodhavala : Edited by Halder,
IA, LVI, 10.
17. Chitorgadh Inscription : Edited by Kielhorn, EI, 11, 421.
18. Vadnagar-prasasti : Edited by Ojha and Buhler, EI, I, 296.
19. The Gala Inscription : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, No.2 40.
20. Kiradu Inscription (i) : 172.
21. Pali Inscription : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, No.2, 41.
22. Bhatunda Inscription : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, No.2.43
23. Nadol Plate: Edited by Bhandarkar, IA, XLI, 202.
24. Bali Inscription : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, No.2, 44.
25. Kiradu Inscription (ii) Edited by B.N. Reu, IA, LXI,
(1932), 135.
26. Udayapur Inscription : Edited by Kielhorn, JA, XVIII, 341.
27. Jalor Inscription : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 54.
28. Udayapur Pillar Inscription : Noticed by Kielhorn,
IA, XVIII, 343.
29. Veraval Inscription of Bhava Brihashpati : Edited by Ojha
& Buhler, WZKM, III, 1-19. (*Vienna Oriental Journal*)
30. Nadlai Inscription : Edited by Bhandarkar, E.I, XI, 57.
31. Prachi Inscription : Date Missing, Edited by Diskalkar,
PO, I, No. 4, 38, B.J. Sandesara, *ibid*, V, 123.
32. Ratnapura Inscription : Undated : Bh. Ins., 205.

AJAYAPALA :

33. Udayapur Inscription : Edited by Kielhorn, IA, XVIII, 344.
34. Bombay Secretariat copper Plate: Edited by Fleet, IA,
XVIII, 80.

BHIMA - II,

35. Veraval Inscription of Bhava Brihaspati : Undated: Bh. Ins. 208.
36. Kiradu Inscription : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 72, PO, I, No. 4, 41.
37. Patan Copper Plate : Edited by Dhruva, IA, XI, 71.
38. Girnar Inscription : V.S.(1) 256 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, XI, 71.
39. Somanatha Pattana Inscription : Edited by Diskalkar, P.O., 11, 222.
40. Kadi Grant (i) : Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 194.
41. Timana Grant : Edited by Hultzsch, IA, XI, 377.
42. Abu Inscription (i) Edited by Cartillecricri, IA, XI, 220.
43. Royal Asiatic Society Grant : Dated V.S. 1266, Edited by Fleet ; IA, XVIII, 112.
44. Sridhara's Devapattana Prasasti : Edited by Buhler & Ojha, EI, 11, 439.
45. Kadi Grant (ii) : Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 199.
46. Kadi Grant (iii): Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 201.
47. Abu Inscription (ii) : Edited by Luders, EI, VIII, 219.
48. Abu Inscription (iii): Edited by Luders, EI, VIII, 208.
49. Kadi Grant (IV) : Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 203.
50. Kadi Grant (v) : Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 205.
51. Kadi Grant (vi) & Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 205.

VASTUPALA & TEJAHPALA :

52. Seven Girnar Inscriptions : Dated between V.S. (12) 76-(12) 88. Transcript & translation in LARBP, 283-300; ASWI, 11, 173.
53. Two Inscriptions on Mt. Taranga : Dated V.S. 1285: Transcribed in Prachina Jaina Lekha Sangraha.
54. Thirty Inscriptions in the Temple of Neminatha: Dated Between V.S. 1287-1297: Edited by Luders, EI, VII, 223,

JAYANTASIMHA (Usurper)

55. Kadi Grant : Dated 1280 : Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 196.

TRIBHUVANAPALA :

56. Kadi Grant : Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 208.

VISALADEVA :

57. Veraval Image Inscription : Edited by Kielhorn, EI, 111, 302.
58. Ahmedabad Pillar Inscription : Edited By Abbot, ; EI, V, 103.
59. Dakhoi - prasasti : Edited by Buhler, EI, 1, 20.
60. Porbandar Inscription : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, 11, 225
61. Kadi Grant : Dated V.S. 1317; Edited by Buhler, IA, VI, 212.
62. Nanaka-prasasti (i) : Dated V.S. 1328 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, XI, 339, Re-edited by Gadre, Important Inscriptions from Baroda State, 1, 74.

63. Nanaka-Prasasti (ii) : Undated: Edited by Gadre: Important Inscriptions from Baroda State, 1, 74.
64. Cambay Unfinished Inscription : Undated E. Bh. Ins. 214.

ARJUNADEVA :

65. Veraval Inscription : Dated V.S. 1320 : Edited by Hultzsch, IA, XI, 241.
66. Kantela Inscription : Dated V.S. 1320 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, 11, 227
67. Bharana Inscription : Dated V.S. 1327: Edited Diskalkar, PO, 11, 232.
68. Vaidyanatha Mahadeo Temple Inscription : Dated V.S. 1327: Noticed in ASI, 1936-37, 97.
69. Girnar Inscription : Dated V.S. 1330, Edited by Diskalkar PO., 111, 21.
70. Rav (Cutch) Inscription V.S. 1330 : Edited by Diskalkar, P.O. 111, 20.

SARANGADEVA :

71. Cutch Inscription : Date broken: Edited by Diskalkar, PO, 111, 22,
72. Khokhar Inscription : Dated V.S. 1332: Edited by Buhler, IA, XXI, 276.
73. Amaran, Stone Inscription : Dated V.S. 1335 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, 111, 23.
74. British Museum Inscription : Dated V.S. 1335: Noticed by Kielhorn, EI, V, Appendix, P. 34, No. 237.

75. Cintra-prasasti : Dated V.S. 1343: Edited by Buhler, EI, 1, 271.
76. Vánthali Inscription : Dated V.S. 1346: Edited by Diskalkar PO, 111, 26.
77. Anavada Inscription : Dated V.S. 1348: Edited by Bhandarkar, IA, XLI, 20.
78. Abu Vimala Vasahi Inscription : Dated V.S. 1350: Edited by Diskalkar, PO, 111, 69.

79. KARNA - II.

79. Mangrol Inscription : Dated V.S. 1356: Edited by Diskalkar PO, 111, 73.

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS :

- 1, EI-Vol, 13, 1959-60: Modasa Plate of the time of Bhoja Paramara V.S. 1067.
2. E.I. , Vol. 32. 1957-58: Rashtrakuta Charters from Chinchani Grant of Indra III Saka 846 (126 A.D)
3. E.I. Vol. 26, 1941-42, Six Saindhava Copper plate from Ghumli ed. Altekar.
4. J.BBRAS. Vol. 30, 1950, 1953, ed. UP. Dhah.
5. JBBRAS. Vol. 22, 1906-7, ed. J.J. Modi.
6. NIA-Vol. 1, Inscriptions of Kathiawar ed. D.B. Diskalkar, P. 686.
7. E.I. Vol. 1888-92, :Inscription of Samvat 1311 from Dabhoi P. 20-23.
8. E.I. Vol. 1, 1888-92: Rashtrakuta Grant of Krishna II. From Kapadvanj in Gujarat) dated Saka 832, P. 52-58.

9. E.I. Vol. 2, 1892-1894, Inscriptions from Northern Gujarat P. 24-34: Bhilri (V.S 1358), Dilmal (V.S 1295), Munjpur (V.S. 1211) Polanpur (V.S. 1217, 1282) Roho (V.S. 1259, 1269, 1299).
10. E.I. Vol 111, 1894-95: Tarkhedi plates of Govindaraja of Gujarat Saka 735 P. 53-58.
11. E.I. Vol. V, 1898-99, Deoli Plates of Krishna III, Saka 862, P. 188.
12. E.I. Vol. VI, 1900-01, Some Records of Rashtrakuta of Malkhed. P. 160-98.
13. E.I. Vol VII 1902-03, Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, Saka, 852, P.26.
14. E.I. Vol VII 1902-03, Some more records of Rashtrakuta of Malkhed P. 198-231.
15. E.I. Vol. 13, 1915-16, Some records of Rashtrakutas of Malkhed P. 176-194,
16. E.I. Vol. 13, 1915-16, Kalas inscription of Rashtrakuta Govinda IV, P. 326-38.
17. E.I. Vol. 16, : 1921-22, : Some minor Rashtrakuta inscriptions P. 277-86.
18. E.I. Vol. XXI, 1931-32, : Two Stone Inscriptions of Krishna II, P. 208.
19. E.I. Vol. XXVI, - Six Saindhava Copper Plates from Ghumli, P. 185-208.

Sanskrit Texts and Translations :

1. Hemachandra : Dvyasrayakavya, edited by S.P. Narang, Delhi, 1954.
2. Hema Chandra : Desinamamala, quoted from A.K. Majumdar, Chaulukyās of Gujarat, Bombay, 1954.
3. Merutunga : Prabandhachintamani, English translation by C.H. Jawney, Calcutta, 1901.
4. Sarvananda : Jagaducharita, quoted from various sources.

Persian and Arabic Works :

1. Alberuni's India : English translation by E.C. Sachau, London 1910, 1914, Reprint, 1981.
2. Al-Sheriq Al-Idrisi : India and the neighbouring countries: with notes and commentaries by Maqbul S. Ahmed, Leidan, 1960.

Western Accounts :

1. Periplus of the Enythrean Sea, translated from Greek by W.H. Scoff. New York 1912.
2. Travels of Marco Polo, with notes and commentaries, 2 volumes, by H.Yule, London 1915, 1916.

Chinese Sources :

- Hirth F. & W.W. Rockhill - Chau-Ju-Kua, St. Petersburg, 1912 quoted from Moti Chandra, Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India, JASB + other sources.
- Beal Samuel, Si-yu-Ki, Buddhist records of the Ancient World, London 1884.

SECONDARY SOURCES :

1. Altekar, A.S. - The Rashtrakutas and their times,
Poona, 1934.
2. " " - A History of the Important Towns and
Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar, I.A.
Vol, LIII, Supplement, 1925.
3. Bell, Capt. Wilberforce: History of Kathiawad, London 1886
4. B. Burgess, J. - Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kutch,
London, 1876.
5. " - Lists of Antiquarian Remains of the
Bombay Presidency, Bombay, 1885.
6. C.H. Causens - Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in
the Bombay Presidency,
7. Elliot H.M. & - The History of India as Told by its own
J. Dawson Historians, volumes I, II and III, London
1867-1877.
8. F.Forbes, A.K. - Ras Mala or Hindu Annals of Gujarat, 2,
volumes, London, 1924.
9. Jain, D.C. - Economic Life in Ancient India as Depicted
in Jain Canonical Literature, Delhi, 1954
10. Majumdar, A.K. - Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Bharatiya Vidhya
Bhavan, Bombay 1954.
11. Majumdar, M.R. - Chronology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1954
12. " - Cultural history of Gujarat, Bombay 1958
13. Majumdar R.C. - The Classical Age, Bharatiya Vidya
Bhavan Series, Bombay, 1954.
14. Majumdar R.C. - The Age of Imperial Unity, Bharatiya
Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay 1955.
15. Munshi, K.M. - Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Bombay 1954
16. Moti Chandra - Trade and Trade routes in Ancient India,
New Delhi- 1977.
17. R.K. Mookherji - History of Indian Shipping and Maritime
Activity, Delhi 1967.
18. Misra, S.C. - Muslim Communities in Gujarat: Prelimi-
nary studies in their history and social
organization: Delhi, 1963.
19. R. Rajyagar, S.B.- History of Gujarat, New Delhi, 1982
20. Ray, H.C. - Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol.
I & II Calcutta 1931, 1936.

21. Sankalia, H.D. - Archeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar), Poona, 1941.
22. Saletore B.A. - Main Currents in Ancient History of Gujarat, Baroda, 1960.
23. R.S. Sharma, R.S.- Urban Decay in India, C. 300 to C. 1000 New Delhi, 1987.
24. Spate O.H.K. - India and Pakistan; A general and regional geography, 3rd Edition, 1967.
and A.T.A
Fearmonth,
25. H. Singh - Jain Temples of Western India, Poona, 1974.
26. Tirmizi, S.A.I. - Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat, Delhi, 1968.
27. Wheeler, M. - Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers, London, 1954.

ARTICLES :

1. Jean Deloche, - Geographical Considerations in Localization of Ancient sea-ports of India' Indian Economic And Social History Review, (IESHR) Vol. XX, 1983, P. 439-445.
2. V.K.Jain, - Role of Arab Traders in Western India in Early Medieval period, Essays in Economic History of Ancient India, edited by B.D. Chattopadhyaya, New Delhi 1986..
3. I.A. Khan - Trade of Medieval Gujarat "Indian History Congress", 1980.

OTHER INSCRIPTIONAL SOURCES :

1. A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions collected by the Bhavnagar Archeological Department.
2. Important Inscriptions from the Baroda state, edited by A.S. Gadre Baroda, 1943.
3. Inscriptions of Gujarat, edited by D.B. Diskalkar, NIA - Vol. I & II.
4. Sanskrit Inscriptions from Kathiawar and Mewar, ed. G.V. Acharya, Baroda, 1950.
5. E.I. Arabic and Persian Supplements : edited. Z.A. Desai, 1961, 1965.

JOURNALS :

Arabic and Persian Supplements of Epigraphia Indica

Epigraphia Indica

Indian Antiquary:

I Indian History Congress

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

N New Indian Antiquary.

Poona Orientalist

Vienna Oriental Journal

OTHER CONSULTATIONS :

Gujarat Gazetteers :-

Kutch District Gazetteers (- 1971)

Jamnagar	"	"	(-1970)
Junagadh	"	"	(-1972)
Bhavnagar	"	"	(-1969)
Ahmedabad	"	"	(-1972)
Kheda	"	"	(-1973)
Vadadara	"	"	(-1975)
Broach	"	"	(-1961)
Surat	"	"	(-1962)
Mehsana	"	"	(-1974)
Banaskantha	"	"	(-1975)
Saberkantha	"	"	(-1971)

Imperial Gazetteer of India New Edition, 1901.Vol. 5.

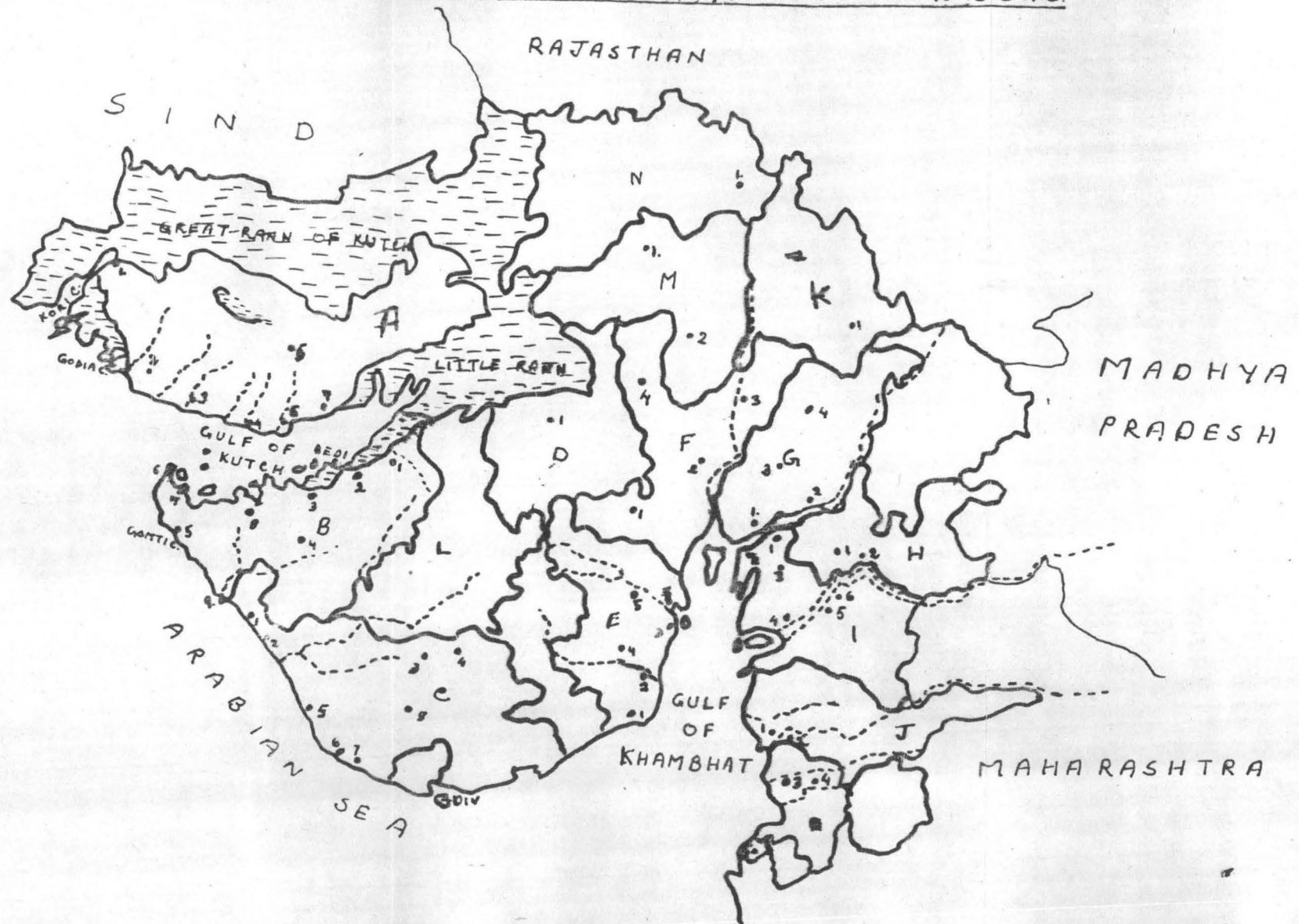
J.M. Camp Bell - Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol.I,
History of Gujarat, Bombay, 1896.
Vol-III, Kaira and Panchmahals, Bombay,
1879.
Vol. V - Kutch, Palanpur and Mahikantha,
Bombay, 1880.

Census of India 1971, Administrative Atlas (1972).

A. PHYSIOGRAPHY AND REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF GUJARAT



B. PORTS AND INLAND CENTRES OF GUJARAT: 9th C. A.D. TO 13th C. A.D.



- KEY TO MAP:**
- ~~~~~ MODERN BOUNDARIES. - - - - RIVERS.
- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| A - KUTCH | B - JAMNAGAR | C - JUNAGADH | D - SURENDRANAGAR | F - AHMEDABAD | H - VADODARA | I - BROACH | J - SURAT | K - BANASKANTA |
| 1 - LAKHPAT | 1 - JODIYA | 1 - PORBANDAR | 1 - DHRANGADHRA | 1 - DHANUKA | 1 - BARODA | 1 - KAVI | 1 - RANDER | 1 - PALANPUR |
| 2 - JAKHAV | 2 - BEDI | 2 - CHHAYA | E BHAVNAGAR | 2 - DHOLKA | 2 - DABHOI | 2 - DEHGAM | 2 - NAVSARI | |
| 3 - SANDHAN | 3 - SIRKA | 3 - YANTHALI | 1 - MAHUA | 3 - ASAWAL | | 3 - JAMBUSAR | 4 - GANDEVI | |
| 4 - MANDVI | 4 - KHAMGHALIA | 5 - MANGROL | 2 - TALAJA | 4 - VIRANGAM | | 4 - BROACH | 5 - SANTAN | |
| 5 - GHUJ | 5 - OWARKA | 6 - VERAVAL | 3 - GOGHA | G - KHEDA | | 5 - JHAGADIA | | |
| 6 - MUNDRA | 6 - OKHA | 7 - PATAN | 4 - PALITANA | 1 - CANBAY | | 6 - SHANLAPITA | | |
| 7 - BHADRESWAR | 7 - BEYT | 8 - TALAJA | 5 - VALAGHI | 2 - DEHVAN | | | | |
| | 8 - SALAYA | | | 3 - SOJITRA | | | | |
| | 9 - MIYANI | | | 4 - KAPADVANT | | | | |
| | | | | | K - SABARKANTA | L - RAJKOT | M - MEHSANA | |
| | | | | | 1 - MGDASA | 1 - ANILWADA | 1 - ANILWADA | |
| | | | | | | 2 - KADI | 2 - KADI | |

C. TRADE ROUTES: 9th C.A.D. to 13th C.A.D.



- 1. - - - -> TORASI'S ROUTES AND DISTANCES.
- 2. COASTAL ROUTE BETWEEN KAMBHAT AND DWARKA OVER LAND.
- 3. - - - -> OTHER PROBABLE INTERIOR ROUTES.

