

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN COASTAL ANDHRA 1600-1687
(A Case Study of the Area from Nizampatnam to Nellore)

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By
K.V.N. RAJU

Supervisor
Prof. R.L. Hangloo




Department of History
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad- 500 046
January 1999


**Department of History
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad- 500 046**


This is to certify that I, K.V.N. Raju, have carried out the research embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under Ph.D. ordinances of the University of Hyderabad. I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this Thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other University.

**Date: 20 - 1 - 99
Hyderabad.**


**K.V.N. RAJU
(Research Scholar)**


**Prof. R.L. HANGLOO
(Supervisor)**


**Head,
Department of History
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad**


**Dean,
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad**

To My Parents

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K.V.N. RAJU

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| PAPHC | Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress |
| PIHC | Proceedings of Indian History Congress |
| IESHR | Indian Economic Social History Review |
| MAS | Modern Asian Studies |
| PAHRS | Proceedings of Andhra Historical Research Society |
| IC | Islamic Culture |
| JIH | journal of Indian History |
| IH | Itihas |
| PP | Past & Present |
| RASB | Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal |
| JSIHC | Journal of South Indian History Congress |
| SIH | Studies in History |
| IHR | Indian Historical Review |
| JAS | Journal of Asian Studies |
| SS | Social Scientist |
| MAJ | Medieval history journal |
| JNSI | Journal of Numismatic Society of India |
| JCSSH | Journal of Comparative Studies of society and history |
| JEH | Journal of economic history |
| JMU | Journal of Madras University |
| JESHO | Journal of the economic and social history of the orient |

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CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

From early times the trade and commerce has occupied a prominent place among those economic activities of men which have had comprehensive influence on the history of mankind. Right from the Indus Valley Civilization trade was one of the great up builders of the economic well being of our country. Trading with distant countries was a usual feature of Indian economic life. The advancement of trade and commerce always depends upon certain conditions like the geographical setting, the nature and volume of merchandise, the enterprising trading community, the location of ports, transport, the attitude of state and the availability of hinterland to correspond to all those necessities required for good going of commerce in the country.

India has always attracted traders from various countries of the world for the specificity of our commodities and the hospitality

that Indian rulers extended to foreign merchants. During the period of seventeenth century Coromandel Coast, of which Nizampatnam and Nellore were integral parts, assumed importance because of the major trading activity; it gained importance because of two reasons (a) It exported large volume of goods to various countries of the world, (b) It was bestowed with large hinterland to supplement its demand. Coromandel coast varied from time to time during 17th century.

The activity of trade and commerce in the coastal Andhra region has long history, it can be traced back to Satavahanas and in later times pallavas and cholas. The important ports at that time were such as Kanchi, Kaveripatnam and Masulipatnam.

It was under the Kakatiya rulers that the development of the ports of Motupalli, Machilipatnam, Krishnapatnam and Hamsaladeevi as centres of trade and commerce gained importance. Subsequently the Muslim invasions and the fall of Warangal in the early fourteenth

century marked the decline of seaborne trade in Andhra. However, after the reestablishment of regional chieftains like Reddy rulers who renovated the port of Motupalli and gave concessions to the merchants to develop the trading activities in the region. The number of ports which grew in Andhra were Ganjam, Kalingapatnam, Bimlipatnam, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada, Coringa, Ingeram, Madapollam, Narasapur, Machilipatnam, Nizampatnam and Aramagaon. All these played an important role in maritime history of Coastal Andhra region in the seventeenth century. It is because of their economic significance that the Qutb Shahis, the Mughals, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French struggled to acquire the position of these ports to gain political and economic power.

Andhra was the important region where most of the trading activities were carried out during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Travellers determined coastline from point calimere of eastern coast to a sharp northward drift to the port of Ganjam. It extended from Godavari region to the tip of the peninsula. The Coromandel coast was divided into north and south during seventeenth century by political demarcations and localization of

export trade which was determined by the variety of textiles found on both the ports such as coarser goods of the northern Coromandel and finer varieties in the southern Coromandel.

The areas from Nizampatnam to Nellore, which are more popularly referred as Petapolee and Aramagoan in records of seventeenth century formed the nucleus of these commercial activities. Eventhough, the entire coast line in Andhra established its identity in the commercial world in the 17th century, but it was Nizampatnam where the Dutch established their trading settlement in 1606. Similarly it was in 1628 that English constructed their first fortified settlement in Aramagaon i.e., Nellore region.

The period 1600 AD has greater importance not only of the efforts of Qutb Shahi sultans to promote trade and commerce but more so because of the presence of Europeans was also registered around that time. Similarly the terminal point of 1687 also assumes significance because the end of the Qutb Shahi rule and also the establishment of Mughal rule in this region, besides the growth of

territorial forces which incorporated medieval economy into the colonial economy also coincides with this period.

For our understanding, we have studied this subject under four aspects apart from the introduction and conclusion. These four aspects centre round (a) The Andhra Coast; Nizampatnam to Nellore and surrounding areas, (b) European trading companies and their operations. A struggle for expansion and dominance (c) Merchants and Merchandise in Coastal Andhra (A Study of Commercial Transactions) (d) Qutb Shahi state and trade in Coastal Andhra.

The first chapter deals with the geographical settings of the area, the nature of the ports, the items exchanged, the organization trade and the hinterland. The second chapter examines the presence of European trading companies in the region, the response of hinterland to European commerce. This also tries to measure the impact of European commerce. The third chapter deals with the merchants and their communities, their relations with the local rulers and the European companies and the items exported and imported through these ports. The fourth chapter deals with the attitude of

Qutb Shahi state towards the commerce in the region. It also deals with the efforts carried out to promote and patronize trade of various goods in this area. Besides it also points out the hurdles which at times demotivated merchants.

The present study is based on primary and secondary literature, we have used the published records of the European Companies and the reports of travellers in full. Though the foreign records available after 1650s (the English records available since 1670 and the Dutch records available since 1657) have also been consulted. Apart from these records the travellers reports were given us full details about the economic history of the Andhras in the seventeenth century. District, Imperial and provincial Gazetteers, Manuals and the merchandise's collection of village records have also been used for this work. The important records available at Tamilnadu Archives, Madras and the state Archives, Hyderabad like dispatches from England, dispatches to England, letters received by the East India Company from it's servants, dairy and consultation books and Masulipatnam consultations etc. have been also used in this study.

The articles from the important journals like Indian Economic and Social History Review, Islamic Culture, Journal of Indian History, Journal of Andhra Historical research society, Modern Asian Studies, Journal of Asian Studies and the proceedings of Andhra Pradesh history Congress and Indian History Congress proved of great help in reconstruction of various arguments.

The study does not claim to have set out to say the last word on the subject but has tried to provide fresh details by exploring various sources and developed scope for reconstruction of the economic history of the region.

CHAPTER - II

THE ANDHRA COAST: NIZAMPATNAM TO NELLORE AND SURROUNDING AREAS

During the medieval period the peninsular India was connected with outside world by hydraulic routes. The torsion routes were confined to intra-sub-continental transactions, covered by waters on three sides. Seas alone formed the basis of foreign contacts till a time when aerial modes of travel were invented. We only hear of sea routes in southern regions of the sub-continent and the other road networks in northern parts of the India. We have references to overseas trade as well as overseas exploits in the south dating back to earlier times. In the absence of land routes, it was but natural that there was exclusive emphasis on watery ways in this part of the sub-continent.¹

¹ The trading activity in the Coastal Andhra has been going on from very early times. The maritime activities of Pallavas and the Cholas were the continuation of the Satavahana interests in overseas trade. This trade dates back to early years of Christian era as has been established both from literary and archeological findings from southern India and southeastern Asia. The sea seems to have offered lot of opportunities to coastal people for trade and other allied activities. The Chinese records identify Kanchi as an important centre, from 2nd century BC. Among the other areas the Coromandel Coast which does include Andhra coast is identified as an important entrepot of trade- Burten Stein - *South India some general considerations of the region and its real history* (ed) in Tapan Ray Chaudhuri and Irfan Habib: *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, 2 Vols., Delhi, 1982, Vol-1, pp. 17-19. also see, S. Arasaratnam: *Merchants of*

It is not out of context here to state that sea routes alone laid the true roads to power for foreign adventures.²

The Andhra coast from Nizampatnam to Nellore too was a part of greater Coromandel coast during this period, and of all the foreign trading companies, the British East India Company successfully fished in troubled waters and scored the success for their supremacy over other foreign companies in the region. The unequal distribution of water available is best illustrated by pointing out that while almost the entire western coastal strip may be classified as 'wet', or abundantly supplied with water, six months a year, only two substantial regions on the east coast, the Kavari and the Krishna-Godavari deltas can boast of the same level of water availability.

Coromandel in trade and entrepreneurship area: 1650-1700, (ed), in R_Pitak and Dietmar Rothermond; *Emporia Commodities and entrepreneurs in Asian maritime trade, C. 1400-1750*, Stuttgart, 1991, pp. 37-51.

² The Portuguese entered into Coastal Andhra in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries basing their trading stations on loose networks on the edges of the coast, these bases developed into larger fortifications and warehouses with small contingents of Portuguese and larger class of native middlemen interpreters and officials. After initially colluding with Arab Naval forces the Portuguese controlled the area They were later joined by various other European powers among whom the English termed to be more successful in building the colonial methods. Because they could control the sea routes. Urs bitterli: *Cultures in Conflict*, London - 1989, pp. 52-57 and also pp. 155-161.

Water was the main source of transport for trade during our study period and ports had the main role in the commercial transactions.³

History unveils that the ports in colonial Asia have often been referred to as 'enclaves 'out posts' and 'grafts' on the assumption that their form and functions were divorced from the systems in which they emerged. In case of Andhra, it enjoyed special privileges from times immemorial that accrued to a country with a long and hospitable coastline.⁵ When ships were the only means of bulk transport, Andhra ports were centres of brisk trade. According the accounts of Abdur Razak, a foreign traveller of medieval period, the kingdom of

³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Political Economy of Commerce in Southern India, 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 11.

⁴ Indu Banga, *Ports and their hinterlands in India*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 63

⁵ This entire coastline was always a busy trade zone it was littered with a number of ports situated within small distances from each other. Many of these ports served as outlets for innumerable products of the hinterland to the outside world. There is an ample information on topography and the evaluation of these ports such as Nizampatnam, Bimlipatnam, Sadraspatnam and so on. S. Arasaratnam: *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1750*, Delhi. 1986, pp.23-33. also see Thomas Bowry, *A geographical account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal 1669-1697* (ed) in Richard Temple London 1905, p. 103. Coastal Andhra area is watered by a number of rivers like Godavari, Krishna and Pennar etc These river valleys produce rice sugarcane, tobacco, groundnut pulses, cashewnuts and millets etc. Much of this area covered by red soils which are highly fertile. MR. Chaudhuri, *Economic Geography of India* Delhi, 1976, p. 14.

Vijayanagar had, at one time, about 300 ports. Historically, ports of Andhra under Satavahanas bubbled with trading activities from 270 B.C.⁶ The coins of Satavahana period, with motifs of ships embossed on them certainly indicate the amount and influence of trade on economy of the state. In the coastal districts of Andhra, Roman coins of the period between 14 B.C. to 217 A.D. have been **discovered**.⁷ The prospects of trade in this region attracted almost all the European trading companies which established their collection points by textiles in the ports in the Krishna and Godavari delta.⁸ As a result of the growing export market, ports in the region were considerably

⁶ J. Mangamma, *Early Andhra Ports and Activity around them*, **APHC**, 1985, pp. 106-109

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ In the middle of the seventeenth century the **Dutch**, the English and the Dutch developed their settlements in this region. They also established their administrative units. To quote Arasaratnam "Each of the companies had an established capital on the coast which was its seat of authority and command for activities along the whole coast and even **beyond** The Dutch, the most deeply entrenched among them had founded a fortified castle in Pulicat in 1612, which was the residence of their government and the controlling post over their Coromandel activities. **J.J** Brenning: "Chief Merchants and European enclaves of seventeenth century **Coromandel**", in *Modern Asian Studies*, 2-3, 1977, pp. 321-346, also see S.P. **Sen**, *French in India first established and struggle*. Calcutta - 1947 pp 245, to 320. For details see **G.B** Mallisan. *History of French in india*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 19-82.

expanded and the port of Masulipatnam developed into an important port city.⁹ Traveller Marco Polo visited the Port of Motupalli and paid rich tributes to the muslins of the place ¹⁰ The "Arthasastra" of

⁹ Masulipatnam or Machilipatnam was known as Masalia to Hippolus, the Greco-Egyptian merchant who wrote periplus of the Erithrian sea (C 60 AD) and also Marbola to the Greek Astronomer Ptolemy (C 90-168 AD), the author of Tabula **Pentingenana** Marco polo (1254-1324) the Venitian traveller also knew Machilipatnam as a centre of the production of the some delicate and expensive textiles called bukrans. This port town was also known as **Bandar-I-Mubarak** in the **Indo-Persian** chronicles of late Qutb Shahi period. The town was known for the manufactured large quantities of muslins during the first century after christ With the rise of the **Qutb** Shahi dynasty under Quli Qutb Shah in the second decade of the sixteenth century and especially from the time the Krishna - Godavari delta as far **Ellur** (Eluru) and **Rajamundry** was brought under **Qutb-ul-mulk**, the port of Manchilipatnam began to develop as the chief maritime outlet of the kingdom of Golkonda. It was famous for very fine clothes of diverse colours and artistic works. The Portuguese used to buy them in the sixteenth century though they did not have a permanent factory at Machilipatnam. Haygen Van Linschoten: *The Voyage of Jolu Hujan Van Linschotan to the East Indies* Vol.1, London ,1874, p .91. also see R.C. Majumdar *The Classical accounts of India, Calcutta*,. 1981, p. 367, and also M.K. Ferishta. *Tarikh-I-Ferishta* (Pusian), (John Briggs trans), *History of the rise of the Mohammedan Power in India, Vol III*. New Delhi, 1981, pp. 218-219. H.K. Sherwani, P.M. Joshi (ed), *History of Medieval Deccan,, 1925-1724*, Vol. I, Hyderabad 1973, p. 25. Also see "S..M. Alam, Manchilipatnam, A Metropolitan port in seventeenth century," *Islamic Culture*, XXXII-3, 1959, pp. 174-178.

¹⁰ It was one of the ancient ports which had commercial relations before Christ. Pliny and ptolemy mentioned about the Motupalli in their writings. Merchants from Rome and Alexandria came to this port for trade for textiles, muslins, diamonds and spices ships from Japan, China, Bornio, Sumatra, Ceylon and Arabia used to come here. After the Satavahanas in the time of Kakatiaya Ganapathideva (1198-1261) again it became prominent port of the Andhra coast. He developed the trade by inviting merchants from other places and by giving exemptions on taxes. He took personnel interest to develop this port After this, it was under the control of Reddy Kings for some time. There are inscriptions saying that this port controlled by Vijayanagara Kings, but it was not the important port at that time. By the seventeenth century, it seems to have lost its importance. M.V. Rangaiah

Kautilaya refers to the administration of sea trade. The work draws attention to a particular state official viz superintendent of commerce and ships who used to examine the accounts relating to navigation on seas, rivers and lakes.¹¹ Vessels carrying merchandise spoiled by water could, sometimes, be fully exempted from customs. Foreign merchants were allowed in the port towns to conduct their trading activities. There are inscriptions erected at the ports and the travellers often referred to them. The early factory records and references in literature give us an idea on the port activities of the contemporary period.¹² The help us in reconstructing trade patterns. The coastal trade in those days was mainly in food grains, firewood and such other bulk commodities from the coastal districts. When ships with merchandise traversed high

Sangraha Andhra Vignana kosamu, (Telugu), Vol VII, Hyderabad, 1970, pp 403-405

¹¹ J. Mangamma, *op.cit.* pp. 106-109.

12. Various records which provide information on the activities of the ports include, Keys. *Manual of the administration of the Presidency, Records of the government and the Yearly administrative reports*. Madras. 1885, pp. 155-161., Om Prakash, *The Dutch factories in India - 11617-1623*. New Delhi, 1984, p. 1 & 2. Sir Richard Temple (ed) *The dairies of Streynsham Master (1675-1680)* Vol. II. London, 1911, pp.131-135. Fawcett Charles Sir (ed) *The English Factories in India* (New Series), 4 Vols. Oxford - 1936-1954. Foster William (ed). *The English Factories in India*, (1618-1669). 13 Vols, oxford, 1906-1927. *Letters from fort St. George to the subordinate factories, 1678-79, 1696 and 1702* Vols XII-XID *Masulipatnam Consultation Book*. 1682-83, Madras, 1916.

seas and reached the other ports the goods could be sold there even in part and carried to the next port where they could fetch a better price. After collecting a ship load at cheaper rates, the merchants hired ships and carried goods from port to port, selling and buying to advantage at every place.¹³

Amongst the early Europeans, the Portuguese carved out a special area of trade in the east. The Andhra coast soon became the pioneer of sea trade and served as a magazine for merchants from the East during the 15th century.¹⁴ Some of the European travellers like Thevenot and Tavernier from France, John Fryer and Halon from England, Irelander Jon Oaiffsonor Macro Polo from Venice

¹³ In the absence of detailed evidence on merchants accounts it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the precise volume of business but it is certainly true that from the beginning of the seventeenth century till the later half of the eighteenth century a large number of coastal Andhra merchants in the surroundings of Nizampatnam and Nellore moved into business with European companies right across the coast. By the end of the period there were merchant families which had served the main companies at different ports for generations. S Arasaratnam, *Merchants, op.cit*, pp.49-51 also see, K.N. Chaudhuri, "The structure of Indian industry in the 17th and 18th centuries", *Economic Social History Review (nenceforth) (IESHR) II*, 2-3, 1974, pp. 127-182. S Arasaratnam *Aspects of role and activities of South Indian merchants, C 1650-1750 (in) Proceedings of First International Conference of Tamil Studies, Kaulalampur 1968, Vol. I, pp. 582-596*

described the ports of India, and these descriptions encouraged other travellers to come **here**.¹⁵ The Aravidu dynasty of the Vijayanagar empire witnessed the Dutch and the English competing for a trade booking in south India. The political set up of the early seventeenth century presented a disintegrated condition with a number of petty kingdoms. Since there was no imperial authority in the peninsular India like that of the **Mughals**, it became favourable situation for the European traders to establish their trading settlements on the Coromandel Coast. Unlike the Western Coast (Viz. the seventeenth century coastal Gujarat, where the English faced many problems to get a place for their **settlements**).¹⁶ The rulers in the eastern coast

¹⁴ W.H. Moreland. *From Akbar to Aurangazeb*, Delhi, 1972, p 6

¹⁵ In Other travellers who visited and left their records which give us lot of information are Abbe carre, *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and the near east 1672 to 1674* (tr.) Lady Facwatt, 3 Vols. Hakluyt Society, 1947 and 1948. also see, Francois Bernier: *Travels in Mughal empire 1656-1658* translated into English by **Irwin Brock** Revised and annotated by A. Constable London, 1891, Delhi (Reprint) 1968. John Fryer, *A new account of East India and Persia. Being a nine years travel 1672-1681* (ed) William Crooke, London, 1909. *Streynsham Master: The dairies of Streynsham Master 1675-1680* and other contemporary papers relating there to (ed). R.C. Temple 2 Vols. London, 1909, *Travels in India*, (1640-67) , (ed). V. Ball and William Crooke, 2 Vols. New Delhi., 1977. J.B. Taverner, *Travels in India*, (1640-67) (ed). V. Ball and William Crooke, 2 Vols. New Delhi, 1977.

¹⁶ In the first half of the seventeenth Century the main difficulty in the English was the lack of **capital** But soon after the expulsion of Portuguese from Hormuz. The

invited the foreign traders to establish their factories and also give them permission with sites to construct their own factories and **fortresses**.¹⁷ The British East India Company was formed in 1600 and the Dutch East India Company in 1602.¹⁸ The Europeans established their factories at the ports. But these factories do not convey any meaning in modern sense of the term. These factories were trade centres where the Europeans unloaded goods from their own countries, and where the Indian goods were collected, processed and shipped off.¹⁹ The middlemen who came into contact with the factors, funned out into the **hinter-land** and their prime concern was to collect cloth, fine fabrics, prints and other related articles. They followed an unwritten law which forced the weavers into contracts to supply cloth

English utilized thier position in Surat and Bandar Abbas to encourage thier trade. **S Arasaratnam**, *Maritime India in the seventeenth century*, Delhi, 1994, pp. 77-79.

¹⁷ H.K. **Sherwani** "The Reign of Abdulla Qutb shah", (1626-1672) Economic **aspects-I**, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol No. XLII, Year 1964, p.463

¹⁸ B.D. Basu. *Rise of the Christian Power in India*. **Calcutta**, 1931, p. 18, also see, K.N. **Chaudhuri** *The Trading World of Asia and East India Company 1667-1760*. Cambridge, 1978. and C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, London, 1965.

¹⁹ Sir Charles **Fawcett**, *The English Factories in India, 1670-77 and 1678-84*, New Series, Oxford, **London**, 1952, pp. 20-21, also see, C.R. Boxer, *op.cit.* p. 189.

on receipt of small advances. In these transactions, one main difference between the Portuguese and the other European traders was that, while the European merchants brought woolens, iron, lead, copper and glassware for selling in the east, the Portuguese could not bring anything except money.²⁰

The oceans and seas with all the inherent dangers, were always attractive to traders and provided a constant attraction with the lure of rich dividends to compensate for the enterprise, adventure and insecurity.

Seventeenth century marked not only the emergence of Nizampatnam and Nellore but whole of coastal Andhra as an important centre of trade and commerce as it was the cradle of the

²⁰ The Portuguese presence was not so strong as to take over and control an age old trade to south east Asia carried on by Hindus and Muslim merchants from the neighbouring ports. Besides the establishment of companies like the **English**, the Dutch, the Danish and French together with residual trade of Portuguese ushered in such a period of completion in which Portuguese could not established themselves very stiffly. The Portuguese domination on the Andhra Coast in Coromandel region and not register much progress in the bringing of seventeenth century. S. Arasaratnam: *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast*, pp. 115 to 118.

Indo-European maritime trade which contributed mightily to the prosperity of India itself.²¹

Andhra coast particularly from Nizampatnam to Nellore formed one of the most important region of the Coromandel coast. It remained a most sought after place by the foreign companies.²²

23 S. Arasaratnam. 'India and the Indian Ocean in seventeenth century,' (edited in) Asin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson. *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, Delhi, 1987, p. 94-130.

²² The word 'Coromandel' is generally applied to denote the Eastern Coast of India encompassing a wide geographical region. In the contemporary period it formed the core region in the Indian trade with outside world. Coromandel coast lies approximately between cape Calimere (10° 17'N., long. 78° 56'E.) and the mouth of the Krishna river. According to European factory records, the East coast was generally referred to as Coromandel coast. The word was spelt as choramandel in the records of fort St. George. It was also called Chola Mandalam or Choramundal as it formed one of the important regions of Chola empire in the ancient period. The original meaning of the word Chola (Tamil) or Shozham is southern. Cholamundalam or the geographical jurisdiction over which cholas held their sway was held by the foreigners to be the origin of term Coromandel, and the term was applied to refer to the peninsular shore of Bay of Bengal. The literary meaning of Tamil, however, merely signifies a tract of land. The name was applied by the Portuguese to refer to the Eastern Tamil and Southern Telugu districts. It had not well defined limits. Rather, it appears that it was more like an imaginary term the scope of which differed from one to another. It was often held to comprise areas even as far north as to the Krishna river or even to Orissa. Tradition has it that one of the early explorers who landed on the coast enquired for the name of the place-ignorant of the language, he did so by pointing to a handful of black soil which, for him, was symbolic of the local village or its name. But the people mistook his ignorance of the language and told him the literal name of the black sand as Kori manal (Tamil). The explorer considered it to be the name of the region. According to historical traditions, the chola

The Coromandel coast extended from Nellore to Pudukottai, where it met the Pandyan **territory**.²³ On the west, it reached the borders of Coorg. These limits as defined thus, include Madras with its adjoining districts and a large part of the Mysore state. It was the wide expanse of **Indias** eastern coast from Point **calimere** to the mouth of Krishna and sometimes to the port of Ganjam. The geographical limit to the Coromandel coast in the northern most point was Ganjam.²⁴

In the maritime history of the sub-continent, India had a domineering influence on the Indian ocean. Vessels from India travelled far and wide, and carried cargo loads to Persia, Arabia, East Africa, Egypt Greece and Rome in the west. The Chief trade of India

empire occupied Coromandel coast. The empire was considered as the only Indian state that had a proper appreciation of sea power.

²³ Vincent **Smith**, *Oxford History of India*, **London**, 1958, p.220

²⁴ S. **Arasaratnam**, "Coromandel Revised: Problems and Issues in Indian Maritime history," *IESHR*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 102

has always been with countries lying to the west.²⁵ In the East, the country carried its trade transactions with Siam, Malaya and China. Indigenous Kingdoms like Satavahanas and cholas had a brilliant track record in overseas trade. She had trading colonies established in countries like Pegu and Cambodia. It established trading settlements in regions like China, Malaya and Arabia. She struck cordial and beneficial trade relations with farther regions including those under the Roman empire. Even from the early centuries of Christian era, How of bullion (gold and silver) into Indian market is an already established fact. Aspects of trade were caricatured in Indian art, coins, paintings and sculpture. For over three thousand years, India stood as the nucleus of the commercial . The east and the west, thus, became real platform for Indian commercial activity and provided much needed scope for her naval enterprise. The chief trade of India had always been with countries lying to the west. The inhabitants of the Coromandel coast seem to have been distinguished by their **maritime** enterprise from their countrymen on the west from very early

²⁵ S. Arasaratnam: *Maritime India. Op.cit.* pp. 220-264 also see, *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol-X11*, New Delhi, p. 5.

times. Muhammadan historians start referring to trade activities in their works. Ships were built on the banks of navigable rivers or on the seaboard. After the Qutb Shahis, the naval wing of armed forces under Aurangzeb was actively involved in ship-building enterprise. Akbar remained attached to a free trade policy and during his reign the duties on exports and imports never exceeded 2.5%. The imperial fleet of Jahangir consisted of about three hundred ships. During the reign of Aurangzeb, there was a conspicuous development of shipbuilding activity and trade transactions on the Coromandel coast.

With the coming of Europeans, the mainland of India gradually took a larger share in the international trade. During the 17th century, the term Coromandel included the coastline of modern states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu with the appendage of the southern tip of Orissa. The entire coast formed into one major trading

²⁶ Narasapur with excellent dockyards and ships was built for the Golkonda royal merchant fleet, for native merchants and even for the companies and European free merchants. S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants Companies and Commerce*, p. 14. At **Narasapurpet**, a large ship building yards where muslims, gentoos and the Portuguese built their ships - M. V. Rangaiah. *Sangraha Andhra Vignana Kosamu*,

region with common patterns of trade and common characteristics of seafaring. The western shores of the Bay of Bengal were generally inhospitable as there were no natural havens on the coast.²⁷ Though Kakinada had a natural harbour, it was not a major port to have trade outlet in the seventeenth century. Most of the ports on the Coromandel coast were fully exposed to the force of elements of ocean or they were sheltered behind mouths of rivers. The coastline, on the other, was interspersed with rivers and they were generally shallow.²⁸ A number of these rivers were perennial but dried up in the dry months. During the monsoonal season, huge quantities of soil were deposited at the estuaries. As a result these accumulations of soil consequent upon torrential rains, large rivers like Godavari, Krishna and kaveri were blocked. Such, vessels over 300 tons burden could not find their way into these rivers. Under these conditions, a number of

(Telugu), Vol. III, Hyderabad, 1970. p. 475. also see, K. Satyanarayana. *A Study of the History and Culture of Andhras*, Vol. 11, p 553

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ With the collapse of Corangi Port, Ships of the Dutch, the English and the French started coming to Kakinada port. In 1628 the Dutch established their factory and started their business. Labours from Andhra were going to Burma through this port. The Dutch controlled this port till 1825. M.V. Rangaiah: (Telugu), *Sangraha Andhra Vignana Kosamu - Vol II*, Hyderabad, 1962, p 626.

flat bottomed boats suitable for withstanding the surf were used for loading and unloading of **goods**.²⁹ The silting of rivers and the shifting of sands led to the decline of some ports and the rise of other port towns. When compared to the Coromandel, the ports of North Coromandel or Andhra were considered to be a secure heaven for the anchorage of ships. Despite many problems, there was a discernible growth of trade all along the coast of Bay of Bengal spreading over one thousand and six hundred kilometers. This **long** coast-line had many ports within a short distance of each other, and thus serving the immediate hinterland **regions**.³⁰ No single port was developed into an entrepot.

Contemporary chronicles and accounts of foreign companies as well as travellers show that there was a regime of equality among the

²⁹ C.R. Boxer, *op.cit.* p. 189.

³⁰ If you think of an entrepot as a lotus of trade in wide networks of by distance on the Andhra coast we are well informed from the evidence available about several entrepots between fifteenth to eighteenth centuries that a tenantry of entrepot was not easily constructed because entrepots were of many kinds. It is important to note here that the location of entrepots was also determined by geography for the prosperity of entrepot the rulers and the visiting merchants at **coporate**.

Coromandel ports. Many ports were open roadsteads where ships were anchored close to the shore. The process of loading and unloading was conducted by flat bottomed boats, locally called massoolas.³¹ These boats were also known by the name, patellas. The method in question was followed by most of the Europeans whose vessels were of larger burden. A number of ports were located at the wide tidal mouths of rivers and the boats would sail through the narrow channel into the river for loading and unloading. The ports which could admit ocean going vessels through the river mouth were highly favoured. The average load was in the range of 200 tons.

Ports:

Ganjam:

The northern most port of Coromandel with some significance in coastal and oceanic trade during our period is Ganjam. Ganjam (the flag-staff) was situated at lat. 19° 23'N, long. 85° 03'E. at the mouth of river

³¹ S. Arasaratnam, *Coromandel Revisited*, *op.cit* p. 102.

Rishikulya.³² It was a typical port at the mouth of the river characterized by shifting sand banks and narrow through. It was of considerable size allowing navigational activities for some distance inland. The solid strength behind the port was the fertile Rishikulya valley.³³ It was to this port rice was transferred from the valley as well as the regions of proximity to Orissa, and the cargo thus brought here was exorted. The port was also proximate to textile producing centres.³⁴ Though there was strong evidence to port's prominent place in the overseas trade, it appears to have been a feeder port to some of the neighboring export centres of Golkonda.

³² It was one of the important commercial centres from ancient times. The control of this area changes from dynasty to dynasty, at last, Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah occupied this port in 1571. The English and the French had their commerical relations with this port M.V. Rangaiah. *Sangraha Andhra Vignana Kosamu*(Telugu), Vol-III, p 523

³³ It was navigable for local vessels to send rice other items to the neighbouring Orissa, Madras and other areas. The fanciful etymological meaning of the word Ganjam is the store house of the world *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. XII, p. 142.

³⁴ Because of its proximity to the weaving villages it became a feeder port to some of the export centres of Golkonda, *Despatches* - 31 st January -1695, p. 41.

It was a regular place for the call of steamers and protected by a sandy point and rocks which extended reward on the south. It was backed by a rich hinterland which produced rice and textiles. The town of Srikakulam ³⁵ is situated about fourteen miles south of **Kalingapatnam** on the banks of Langulya river. Its port of outlet was **mafuz** Bandar at the mouth of the river.³⁶ It was the capital of a district during the Qutb Shahi period and later under the Mughals. There were a number of weaving villages in the vicinity of Srikakulam, rich in the production of textiles. Due to the choking of the river mouth, the port soon ceased to function.³⁷ The fact was attested by the supply of textiles from Srikakulam by land northwards to Kalingapatnam or southwards to **Bimilipatnam**. The muslims from Srikakulam bound their way to England, France and Persia.³⁸

³⁵ Sanjay **Subrahmanyam**, *Political economy of commerce*, op cit,p 48

³⁶ Walter Hamilton:, *East India Gazetteer*,Vdl, New Delhi, 1984, p. 417.

³⁷ *Ibid* pp. 416-419.

³⁸ It had commercial relations with foreign countries and was included in the Kalingapatnam **area**. It was one of the district head quarters of the Qutb Shahis. M.V. **Rangaiah**, *Sangraha Andhra Vignana Kosam*, (Telugu), p. 523-524.

Bimilipatnam

Bimilipatnam was also a significant port during the course of 17th century, situated on **lat. 17° 54'N** and long. 83° 27'E on the coast, it was an important trading port more important than the port of Visakhapatnam.³⁹ The coastline between **Kalingapatnam** and **Bimilipatnam** is fraught with dangers and, generally inhospitable. The Dutch established their settlement at **Bimulipatnam** in the seventeenth century and, built a fort and factory.⁴⁰ The fort was involved in the purchase of local cloth and exported the same to overseas market in **Batavia**. Though an open roadstead, the port was well protected by **Uppada** and **sugar leaf headlands**, and provided safe anchorage

³⁹ It was the **Visakhapatnam** district and a good port town first for the Dutch and later to the English. A large number of ships sailed for other areas like south coromandel Bengal and south east Asia. The Chief exports were gengili, oil, hides and skins, jute and indigo, the imports were cotton and piece goods. But its coastline was dangerous and inhospitable. CD. **Meclean**, *Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency* Vol II, p. 167

⁴⁰ Though it was a commercial centre for a long time., it became prominent, when Dutch established their factory and port in 1628. The Dutch controlled this area from 1628 to 1754. In 1781 English occupied this port. But after 1754, it had lost its prominent because of the rivalry between the Dutch and the **English** **Acharya Mamidipudi Venkataiah: Sangraha Andhra Vignana kosamu**, (Telugu),. Vol. III, Hyderabad, 1970, pp.15-16.

facilities in all seasons. It was a resort of a large indigenous shipping fleet and, large ships that sailed to south-east Asia. It was a principal rice exporting port to Ceylon and Malabar coast. Daniel Havart, described Bimilipatnam as a 'rice bowl' for Ceylon and other ports.⁴¹ The Dutch ships, on the onward transport to Malacca and Batavia, anchored here to procure rice, meat and other foodstuffs for the journey. Textiles were also exported from this port. In addition the other chief exports from the port were gingili, oil, hydes, skins, jute, indigo and myrabolams, and cotton and piece-goods formed major items of import. according to the Dutch records villages surrounding Bimilipatnam were burnt down during the second decade of eighteenth century forcing the local merchants to migrate.⁴²

Visakhapatnam

The natural port of Visakhapatnam is situated in lat. 17°42'N, and long. 83°17'E. The coast was little convex in shape with middling

⁴¹ R.C. Majumdar, *The Vedic age*. Bombay, 1971, p. 89.

⁴² J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, Calcutta, 1952, p. 83.

highland near the sea. It provided a bold and safe access to its shore. Visakhapatnam⁴³ is known by the bluff headland, famously called the Dolphin's Nose, and forms the southwest point of the road. Golkonda ruler, Sultan Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-1672) gave necessary nod to capt. Thomas Joyce to carry on trade, free from any exactions, to their mutual benefit. This act helped British in establishing commercial relations with the local mercantile community and established a factory in 1682 A.D. It was a place abundant in all sorts of goods that could be procured for nominal rates. The English obtained a caul in 1682 A.D., and upon this they were freely allowed to settle and trade in

⁴³ Once insignificant port, became big port city in modern times. We had the past history since satavahana times. Kakatiyas, Vijayanagara kings and Gajapatis controlled this area for a long time. In 1538, it came under the control of Qutb Shahis. The three major companies the Dutch, the English and the French had their commercial relations with this port M.V. Rangaiah, *Sangraha Andhra Vignana Kosamu*, (Telugu), Vol. III, pp. 261-262.

⁴⁴ The British were not to be driven to the wall by the Dutch, they had been able to get what is called the *Golden Farman* from Abdulla Qutb Shah in 1636 which was in some way similar to the concessions granted to the Dutch. Under *Golden Farman* the English were to carry on trade within the Qutb Shahi dominions, duty free on payment of a lumpsum of 800 pagodas which was a sum equivalent to the amount allowed as compensation to the farmers of the tolls at Masulipatnam in case the duties chargeable to the English exceeded the amount they were to pay. H.K. Sherwani, *The reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah*, (1626-1672), Economic aspects-1, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol XLII, 1964, pp. 463-464. Also see, J.N.Sarkar. *The life of Mir jumla*, p. 51 W.H. Morlenad,

goods like coffee, tin, pepper, oil and others, they were exempted from the payment of an duties or **customs**.⁴⁵ Another caul obtained in **1685** A.D. further exempted the company's goods from customs of the land and permitted to raise a factory⁴⁶ There was a dock yard for repair of ships and the facilities attracted even the European **shippers**.⁴⁷

Kakinada

The port of Kakinada is one of the most interesting Eastern ports and busiest minor ports on the Coromandel coast. It was the safest

From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 70. also see William Foster, *The English factories in India - 1634-36*, p. 14

⁴⁵ But the Qutb Shahi hold on the customs revenue became more exacting and we find Winter, the English Agent, complaining to Oxendon at Surat in a letter dated 2nd April, 1663, that the Governor of Masulipatnam was pressing the English **further** and was proposing to establish a bankseal or customhouse of his own to collect customs there and then perhaps to hand over half the amount to the company. They had realized that the English making considerable underhand profit and were paying only a small portion of the proceeds to the Royal **Officials** William Foster. *English Factories in India, 1661-64*, pp 176 180. also See, H.D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, *op.cit.* 343, also see, H.R. Sherwani, *The Reign of Abdulla-Iop.cit.* p. 465.

⁴⁶ M. **Somasekhara Sarma**, *History of Reddy Kingdoms*, Waltair, **1948**, p. 266.

⁴⁷ Johannesburg. *The Indian Directory*, **London, 1852, I**, p.528.

harbour in India in those times as it had all the natural **advantages**.⁴⁸ In addition, it was one of the best shipping ports in India. All the raw materials and Lasker seamen were cheaply available in this port. Kakinada, in fact, one of the pivotal ports on the Coringa bay. This bay is south of Visakhapatnam and made up of multiple ports each with a spatial proximity, Coringa, Kakinada, Ingeram, Bendamurlanka, **yanam** and Jagannathapuram formed important ports of the Coringa bay.⁴⁹ We have evidences, drawn from ancient literature, to show that all these ports were put to use over different periods of time. Yanam, Ingeram and Jagannathapuram are on the branches of the Godavari river in its delta area, and they were approachable in small boats and country vessels which brought goods through to the ships anchored in the Bay.

These small ports featured more during the course of eighteenth century. The English merchants shipped their loads from Ingeram, the

⁴⁸ J.F. Richards, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 69-70.

⁴⁹ S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, Companies and Commerce Op.Cit.* 7-13, also see, M.V. Rangaiah (Telugu) *Sangrah Andhra Vignana Kosamu, Op.cit.* pp 626-627. also see J. Mangamma, *Early Andhra Ports Op.cit.* p. 108, also see N. **Ramesh**, A.P. *District Gazetteers, East Godavari district*, p. 239.

French from **Yanam** and the Dutch from Jugannathapuram. The Coringa Bay, thus, came to play an important role in contemporary trading activities. Coringa (East Godavari district) was an international emporium of trade in timber, where 2000 to 3000 timber logs were available every year.⁵⁰ Of the ports in the Bay, Kakinada soon rose to prominence both as a trading centre as well as an important urban town in the course of time.⁵¹ Among the exports from the ports like **Jagannathapuram** in the Coringa Bay cloth, tobacco, groundnuts, rice, sugar etc. formed the important items of export while chemical fertilizers were the main commodity of import.⁵²

⁵⁰ A.V. **Ramana** Rao, *Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh, 1766-1957*. Bombay, 1956, p. 35

⁵¹ For a detailed account on the development of Kakinada from a place abounding in "bunches of thorn bushes" of an urban centre see, V.V.L Narasimha Rao, *The History of Coconada*, (Telugu), **Coconada**, 1923

⁵² E.H. **Warmington**, *Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 175.

Narasapur

Narasapur port and docks are seen to the south of the cluster of ports in the Coringa Bay in the Godavari delta. It is on the west branch of the Godavari river, the Vasistha Godavari and is also known by the name Narasapur river and was famous for iron foundry and saltpetre works. Narasapur and its adjoining place viz. **Madhavaipalem** (famously called **Madapollam** in contemporary English records) were important ports in the Godavari delta and known for cotton and timber. It abounds in handsome quantities of timber and is a convention yard for ship- building as well as repair.⁵³ The place was historically **known** for more than two centuries for its docks and repair of vessels. The place yielded high quality of timber and commendable technicians who

⁵³ At Narasapur, there is a river where the Muslims and the Portuguese and gentus build their ships because timber Iron and other necessary materials were available and the wages were low. Ships of even large tonnage displacements used to be built here as the native merchants of Masulipatnam used ships of 600 tons or even more in their overseas trading **operations** The 'advice' a ship of English East India Company damaged in a stormy weather of the coast of the Masulipatnam was sent to Narasapurpet for repair in October, 1641. The proximity of this ship building centre further facilitated the coastal trading operations of the trading nations. S. A. **Alam**, "Masulipatnam. A Metropolitan Port in the seventeenth century", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXXI11, No.3, 1959,p. 172.

were adept in repairs of the ships.⁵⁴ Narasapur produced coarse woven cotton cloth and lesser quantities of painted cloth. The English East India company secured the necessary permission from the Sultan of Golkonda to construct a factory at Madapollam along the side of Godavari river.⁵⁵ The English shipped long cloth from Narasapur to Masulipatnam to convert the same into Chintz. Goods meant for final shipping were carried in boats from Madapollam. They were transferred into the anchored ships in the port of Narasapur. Both Narasapur and Madapollam were accredited centres of shipbuilding with excellent dockyards for building, sheathing and caulking ships.⁵⁶ The Golkonda royal merchant fleet, indigenous merchants, companies

⁵⁴ B.T.S Manikyamba, *Weavers and Textiles from Telugu Literature (c.1200-1800A.D.): A Study*, (Unpublished, M.Phil ,Dissertation), Nagarjuna University, 1990, p. 130. also see, Morris, *A Manual of Godavari district*, p. 99.

⁵⁵ The English East India Company obtained permission from the king of Golkonda to construct a factory at **Madhavaipalem** near Narasapur by the side of the river Godavari. William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, p. 391.

⁵⁶ Narasapur was the ship building centre with excellent dockyard for building, sheathing and caulking ships. Ships were built here for the Golkonda royal merchant fleet, for native merchants and even for the companies and European free merchants. **S Arasaratnam**, *Merchants Companies Commerce*, op.cit. pp. 13-14. also see, **Bowrey** *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p 103. also see, Moreland: *India at the death of Akbar*, p 289. Also see, H.K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, p 422

and even the European traders individually got their ships built here. Once a ship of the capacity of 1000 tons was built here for the king of Golkonda. The Europeans used these facilities and built their ships here as the timber, iron and steel were readily available in the Godavari regions. Needless to state that they are the unavoidable necessities in the manufacture of anchors, nails, couplings and other related components of ships. Ropes and cordage were made from coir imported from Ceylon, Malabar and Maldives. Soon, the English as well as the Dutch large number of skilled and unskilled Indian labour.⁵⁸ In the Godavari delta, a few villages were highly reputed for their cotton goods. Specially the villages enriching Kakinada and Rajahmundry belonged to this category. The blue palempores and fine shirting cloth from Nellore were, at one time, largely exported to the West Indies. The coastal trade carried between Narasapur and Madapollam, and other places in the sub-continent like Madras, Bengal and Balasore

⁵⁷ Noone John Babu. "Coastal Trade of Madapollam and Narasapur during the last quarter of the seventeenth century", *APHC*, Guntur, 1986, p. 161.

⁵⁸ Oven C. Kail: *The Dutch in India*, New Delhi, 1987, pp.86-87.

resulted in the opulence of these two **places**.⁵⁹ They also had a reputation among European circles as health resorts. By early eighteenth century, the decline had set in. Gradually **Madapollam** was abandoned and Narsapur too followed the **suit**.⁶⁰ Their hinterland was exhausted of raw materials required for ship building activity. Moreover, the rise of European-controlled dockyards had a severe bearing on the indigenous ones.⁶¹

⁵⁹ European ships carrying European goods and treasure sailing to Narasapur and other ports both from Madras and Bengal sometimes the European Cargoes and treasure used to be sent from Madras and Machilipatnam to Madapollam. Thus the coastal trade of Narasapur and Madapollam carried between Madras, Bengal, and Balasore brought rich economic dividends to these **ports** Noone John Babu - "Coastal Trade", *op.cit.* pp. 160 162.

⁶⁰ This industry thrown to such an extent that it was supposed to be a danger to the English shipbuilding industry, and the king Charles II of England had to issue a royal warrant on February 2 1662, to the effect that no natives should be taught how to build and navigate ships by the English East India Company as that would be prejudicial to the English trade. H.K. Sherwani: " Reign of Abdulla Qutb **Shah** Economic **Aspects-II** ", *Journal of Indian History*, p. 680. also see, **Sen**, *The Indian travels of Thevenatnd Carreri*, **pp** XVIII - **XXX**

⁶¹ S. **Arasaratnam**, *Merchants*, *op.cit.* p. 14.

Masulipatnam

The port with highest reputation and greatest publicity on the Coromandel coast was Masulipatnam.⁶² This was largely because of the rich accounts about the place left behind by a number of foreign adventurers. It is situated on lat. 16°9'N, long. 81°10'E. It was one of the first ports in which the Europeans on the Coromandel operated.⁶³ Every European company had its firm administrative and office establishments at Masulipatnam. It was natural then that the place was frequently mentioned in the contemporary writers. Masulipatnam was the leading port even before Madras was thought of. Even to this day the reminiscences of early Europeans are still alive in the town. There are regions within the town of Masulipatnam or Machilipatnam ('Machili' in Hindustani language means fish) called Frenchpeta and Valandupalem (Holland palem). The English Company at

⁶² The Arabs claimed to have founded this port in the fourteenth century. Burlains, *Tuzuk-I-Waljali*, Vol - I, p. 39, cited by S.M. Alam. "Masulipatnam, a metropolitan port in the seventeenth century", *Islamic Culture*, p. 169.

⁶³ Probably the first European factory, to be established in Masulipatnam was that of the Dutch, which was established on the strength of the *Farman* issued by

Masulipatnam followed certain formalities in the purchase of goods.⁶⁴ Three of the council including the agent or the warehouse keeper were present whenever goods were brought for sale. These goods were compared with the samples already supplied and, after being satisfied with the standards of the commodities, fixed the prices caused them to be entered into factory records. Five percent tonnage of each ship was set apart for private trade - the chief at Masulipatnam could carry upto three tons and all the others of the Council upto two tons. The factors who were not members of the council could carry upto one ton.⁶⁵ Ships set on sail from Masulipatnam year after year to the coast of Bengal, Arakan and Pegu. The incoming and outgoing commodities were

Mohammad Quli (1518-1611), the Sultan of Golkonda in August, 1606. A. Gilletti. *The Dutch in Molabar*, (reprint), Delhi, 1984, p. 7.

⁶⁴ The first portion of the name leads to obscure questions which I can not answer and would gladly avoid but some notice of them is necessary, because they are raised by William Method himself, in his statement that Masulipatnam was first a poor fisher town from where it took the name it yet retains afterwards the convenience of the road made it a fit residence for merchants W.H Moreland: *Relations of Golkonda in the early seventeenth century*. London 1931, p. X-VI.

⁶⁵ J. Mangamma., *op.cit.* 107.

equally important. There were three principal reasons behind the success story of the East India Company's trade. The continents of America and Africa opened up for trade and there was a growing demand for Indian goods in those virgin markets. The colourful calico prints of the east coast had a good market in Europe and Africa.⁶⁷ The Indian rulers permitted the trading companies to have their own coinage in trade transactions. Individual traders in the company employ could pocket a certain percentage of their purchases free of duty and freight charges.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Surat was of course the most urbanized of the ports and next to it came Masulipatnam. Both Surat and Masulipatnam had substantial residences which belonged to wealthy merchants and administrative officials. S. **Arasaratnam**: *Maritime India*, *op.cit.* p. 16.

⁶⁷ Thus the main exports of Masulipatnam at the beginning of the 17th century were, Calico and muslin, fancy goods and Zaru, Indigo, diamonds and slaves, the destination being Malacca and beyond, Achin, Pegu, **Tenasserim**, the Persian gulf and the coast regions. T.I. Poonen. *Early History of Dutch factories*, *op.cit.* p. 273.

⁶⁸ In Abdulla's reign there was a whole Plethora of **coins**. The establishment of European factories on the east coast, better communications and trade with neighbouring kingdoms expansion of the Mughal power which acted as an economic liaison between different parts of India and the diamond trade with its centre at **Golkonda**, were some of the reasons for finding these coins in the kingdom. **Spanish**, Portuguese, Dutch, **Venitian**, English, French, Persian, Gujarati, Mughal and Vijayanagara coins were in use in the coastal tons and Hyderabad. Licences were given by the Sultan to the Europeans to coin rupees and coins with their own **emblem**. **R Parthasarathy** "Administration under Qutb Shahis an overview", *Itihas*, volume EX and X, Hyderabad pp. 123-124.

Masulipatnam had excellent anchorage facilities and they rivalled with those at the great Moghul port of Surat in Gujarat upto 17th century. even in quantitative trade terms, Masulipatnam was on equal footing with Surat.⁷⁷ Masulipatnam was mentioned as Bandar-i-Mubarak in the Indo-Persian chronicles of the late Qutb Shahi period.⁶⁹ Capt. Hippon of the English East India Company commanded the ship, Globe in 1611 with the aim of striking trade relations with Coromandel coast.⁷⁰

Ptolemy immortalised Masulipatnam in his Geography and the reputed work, periplus of the Erythraean sea states that the Masulipatnam port had been famous since the dawn of human civilisation for the manufacture and export of cotton piece-goods. Marco **Pola** stands a testimony to the manufacture of finest variety of cotton goods at Masulipatnam. The territory around Masulipatnam was

⁶⁹ R.C Majumdar *The Classical accounts of India*, Calcutta. 1981, p. 307.

⁷⁰ A.V Williams Jackson *History of India. First English settlements on the CoromondeCoast - 1611-1658*,pp.219-220.

studded with villages and towns which acted as feeders to the international market.

The English had an agency at the town of Masulipatnam, a port then under the active jurisdiction of the Qutb Shahi state. As already stated the Sultan of Golkonda had a mercantile marine under effective use during most part of the seventeenth century.⁷¹ The intrinsic importance of Masulipatnam as a centre of trade facilitated its speedy growth and its **connection** with outside world.⁷² Though all these gave Masulipatnam a place of primordial importance yet the place was poorly endowed with nature. Its roadstead was open and unprotected.⁷³ The port of Masulipatnam is located at the mouth of one

⁷¹ With the rise of the Qutb Shahi dynasty under Quli Shah in the second decade of the 17th century and especially from the time that Krishna Godavari delta as far as **Ellur** and Rajahmundry was brought under Qutb ul **Mulk**, the port of Masulipatnam began to develop as the chief maritime outlet of the kingdom of **Golkonda** Mohammad Kasim Firishta (John Biggs trans) *History of the rise of the ~~Mohammedan~~ Power in India*, Vol III, New Delhi, 1981, pp 218-219.

⁷² The major strength of Masulipatnam in the seventeenth century was its political links with the Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golkonda, serving as its major indeed only port outlet on the eastside. Thus alone among the ports of Coromandel, it was able to look both east and west into the trade of the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea. S. **Arasaratnam**, *Merchants, Companies. op.cit.* p. 15.

of the branches of the river Krishna. Because of a few disadvantages, ships had to sail and navigate cautiously through the sand banks and shoals. The vessels were loaded and unloaded by mossoola boats. The river was shallow but free from silting and the boats had an easy passage.

During the rule of Qutb Shahis of Golconda, Masulipatnam was a major port of outlet on the Coromandel coast.⁷⁴ In fact, the major strength of Masulipatnam in the seventeenth century was its political links with the Qutb Shahi kingdom and served as the kingdom's major port.⁷⁵ Thomas Bowry, an English traveller to India during 1669-1679 A.D. noted "the greatest trading and shipping centre of the time on the Coromandel coast was Machilipatnam, of which the inhabitants are

⁷³ A.V. Williams Jackson. *History of India*, *op.cit* p. 221. Also see, S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants Companies*. 15.

⁷⁴ The major strength of Masulipatnam in the seventeenth century was its political links with the Qutb Shahi **kingdom** S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, op.cit.* p 15.

⁷⁵ The port which grew and developed under the influence of a wide hinterland was **Masulipatnam** It did not have particularly favourable natural characteristics, but it had good land communications with the heart of the sultanate of Golkonda gave this port an edge over its neighbours. S. Arasaratnam: *Maritime India. Op.citp.i4.*

great merchant adventures". Its linkage with the Bay of Bengal in the East and Arabian sea in the west was a major attraction for the Europeans. It was able to tranship goods from one region to another. Being the most significant port on the Coromandel coast during our study period, it established direct overseas trading links with the ports of Mokka (Red sea), Murkat (South Arabia) and Basra (Persian Gulf). It was involved in voluminous trade dealings with Surat, Malabar, Ceylon, Maldives, Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim and Bantam.⁷⁶ The shipping of Masulipatnam revealed the strength and ownership of Indian shipping or Coromandel in the seventeenth century.⁷⁷ The Gentoos (name given to Telugu people in the records of East India Company) were significant ship owners and active traders on the Bay of Bengal.⁷⁸ From 1670 onwards the Dutch, the English, the French and

⁷⁶ Owen.C Kail -*Early Voyages and Settlements. Op.cit*p.30.

⁷⁷ Thomas Bowry, British traveller who visited Andhra between 1669 and 1675 AD noted that Masulipatnam was a great trading and ship building centre on the Coromandel coast and its inhabitants were great maritime merchants and adventurers with their own vessels R.K. Mukherji: *Indian Shipping*, p.231.

⁷⁸ Hindus formed the great majority of the engaged in trade, though Muslims were significant in key sectors At the beginning of the century long distance shipping was in the hands of hindus.S. Arasaratnam: *Maritime India, Op.cit. p.204.*

the Danes had their active trade established at Masulipatnam.⁷⁹ The Europeans also used the facilities of Masulipatnam with its rich hinterland. It became an indispensable market in the European import trade. After Golkonda Kingdom was occupied by the Mughals in 1688 A.D. Masulipatnam gradually lost its political advantages and was reduced to the status of an ordinary port. The imposition of Mughal administration in the region upset existing relationships, and Masulipatnam lost its privileged character. Daniel Havart observed in 1690 that the port declined lately due to the high tariffs on the goods transported in inland trade. Some of the factors that resulted in the decline like the "insane, unwise and high-handed attitude of native officials at Masulipatnam", famines and the shift of trade to Bengal. The decline was further attributed to the shifting of import trade direct into the interior markets by passing Masulipatnam after the

⁷⁹ The Dutch constructed their settlement at Masulipatnam in 1605 because of their trade and strategic importance M. Prayaga and M. Nagendra Rao. "Impact of south Indian trade on the Dutch - 1602-1699," *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress* 14th annual session, Tirupati: 1994, p. 352 and Captain Hippon got permission from the king of Golkonda and constructed a factory there N.S Ramaswamy, *Fort St. George*, Madras, 1980 p.5. While the date of the French factory at Masulipatnam as late as 1669, the Dutch factory was established here as early as 1605. T.I. Poonen *Early History of Dutch factories. Op.cit.* p. 261. See also, W.W. Hunter. *A History of British India. Our first settlements on the Madras coast, 1611-58*, Vol. II, **Delhi-1972**, pp. 70-71.

establishment of the Dutch factory at **Hyderabad**.⁸⁰ However, this does not seem to provide a plausible explanation and evidences indicate that Masulipatnam continued to be a redistribution point of imports even after the establishment of the Dutch factory. Moreover, in order to safeguard the sales in Masulipatnam, the Dutch were denied permission to carry their goods to an intermediate station between Masulipatnam and Hyderabad.

Divy

Twelve miles away from Masulipatnam is the port Divy. Though this island, as it had been cut off from the main land for most of the year by various rivulets of the Krishna river, was not a suitable place for a harbour or any form of outlet of trade, it was extremely fertile on account of accumulations of alluvium by the **Krishna**.⁸¹ On account of its well cultivated lands and dense woods, the place always remained a

⁸⁰J.J. Brenning, "The Textile Trade of the seventeenth century North Coromandel: A Study of a **Pre-Modern** Asian Exporting Industry, " an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975, pp.36-38, quoted in Ch Srinivasa Reddy, *Op.cit.*,

⁸¹S. **Arasaratnam**, *Merchants, Companies, Commerce*, p. 17.

tempting attraction to the Europeans who had a mind to relax and an eye on wild game. Moreover, it provided a place for contending European powers which were brought with provisioning problems.⁸² The Dutch, in fact, put in hard efforts to get a grant of the island from the rulers of the land, planned to shift their trade from Masulipatnam to Divi Island and deepen the channel to take vessels of some size in an attempt to develop inland navigation to weaving hinterland.⁸³

Nizampatnam

To the South of Divy Island and lying on the estuary of a river is Petapolee, popularly called Nizampatnam.⁸⁴ The name Petapuli was **in**

⁸² The Dutch had grand plans to shift their trade from **Masulipatnam** to Devi and to construct port facilities. With the decline of Masulipatnam the English Embassy under Sir William Norris went to Aurangzeb in 1699 AD. with a request to cede Devi to the **English** H.D. **Love** *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Madras, 1968, Vol. II, p. 155

⁸³ S. Arasaratham, *Merchants, op.cit.*, p. 17.

⁸⁴ Sea Port in the Tenali Taluk of Guntur district, in old Madras, situated **15o-55N** and **80-91E** Nizampatnam was the first port on the east coast of India at which the English began to trade. Factory was established in 1621. The English called the place Petapolee from the neighbouring town Peddapalli. also see, William **Foster** *The English Factories in India, 1618-1672* Oxford, 1906, p XXXIII. The Dutch participation in India trade began from 1606 by establishing trading post at **Nizampatnam** Om **Prakash**, *Dutch factories in India*, p.2 100. Gardon

the records till 1679. It was a quite substantial place of trade and was second in importance to Masulipatnam as a seaport. This sea port is mentioned by Ferishta under that name but, the English who had a factory from **1611** called it **Petapolee** from the neighbouring village of **Peddapalli**.¹⁰⁰ The port was called by the name Nizampatnam from the end of seventeenth century.⁸⁵ At Nizampatnam large quantities of long cloth **murrees**, salem pores, lungees, painted calicoes of diverse sorts, saltpetre, iron and steel were sold to foreign merchants.⁸⁶ Ships of greater tonnage frequented the port during seventeenth century and **Streynsham** Master observed in 1677 several vessels of 50 to 100 tons

Machengie, *Manual of Krishna District in the Presidency of Madras*, New Delhi, 1883, p. 210

⁸⁵ The English who had a factory on the creek from the year 1611 called it petapolee from the neighbouring village of Peddapalli. Streynsham master in 1679 remarked that the proper name was Nizampatnam. Gardon Meckenzie: *Manual of the Krishna district in the Presidency of Madras* New Delhi, 1883, p. 34 and Nizampatnam mentioned by Ferishta as **Arjunapatnam** was originally Peddapalli in the records till 1679. J. **Mangamma**, *Early Andhra Ports*, *op.cit.*, p. 107. In 1611 Captain Hoppon and Peter florin in the *Globe* sailed from Pulicat **further** up the coast and landed at Petapolee, at the mouth of southern channel of Krishna delta more exposed to monsoon than Pulicat yet sufficiently sheltered for a ship side out of storm, was well received by the local Governor left two super cargoes to find our first shore settlement on the Bay of Bengal. A **V** Williams Jackson. *History of India*, p. 220.

⁸⁶ Thomas Bowry. *A geographical account of the countries round the Bay of Bengal*. Cambridge, 1905, pp 55-56 **Richard** Temple (ed), *The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1678-80*, **Vol.II**, 1911, p.137.

in the river. 102 The port was closely situated to a cluster of weaving villages, and hence, its reputation as a famous centre of textile industry.⁸⁷ In the near vicinity of Nizampatnam there were some minor ports like Motupalli, **Kothapatnam** and **Ramapatnam** from where piece-goods were transported in small vessels to the north and the south.⁸⁸ There was a big shipbuilding industry and, both the Dutch and the English competed for trade in **salt-petre**. The Dutch companies participation in Indian trade started with the establishment of a trading port (called Factory) at Petapolee, in 1606.⁸⁹ There was, in fact, a scramble for "**romallas**" which were popular in the African countries.⁹⁰ A red dye known as "chaya" was also largely exported from here. Because of the presence of a large number of Persian merchants, there

⁸⁷ Painted cloth was the main article of trade on the east coast. Initially the Europeans had dealt in coarse **cloth,cotton** yarn and indigo. Later many commodities were added like spices, read quicksilver and broad cloth. But it was the paintings that were the pride manufacture. The principal centres were Nizampatnam, palacole and Masulipatnam. N.S. Ramaswamy. *Fort St.George.*, p.4. The Dutch and the English brought to Nizampatnam, their usual import commodities namely board cloth, lead pearls, corals, polished beads and namely the chests of money. William Foster. *English factories in India, 1616-1621*p 41.

⁸⁸ W.H. Moreland, *Relations of Golkonda*, pp.67-68.

⁸⁹ Om Prakash. *The Dutch Factories in India*, p. 2.

⁹⁰ J. Mangamma, *Early Andhra Ports, op.cit.*, p. 107.

was a constant demand for porcelain ware.⁹¹ Captain Hippon had found shelter in 1611 promised under the protection of the powerful Golkonda kings a better fortune. In 1614 Peter Flores built a halt fortified factory at Petapolee with lofty flag staff. Though the English dissolved in 1621, but resettled at Petapolee in 1633 and the factory was under their control till 1787.⁹² It appears that after the opening of the English factory at Nizampatnam the relations between the Golkonda authorities and the Dutch began deteriorating. The problems accentuated so much that in 1616 the Dutch decided to abandon their factory.⁹³ Nizampatnam was one of the first places on the Coromandel coast for the English and the Dutch to establish their factories.⁹⁴ In the early years of the establishment of the East India Companies at

⁹¹ W.H Moreland, *Relations of Golkonda*, pp 54-55 Also see, *Letters received 1602-1617* vol. I, p. 153.

⁹² Williams Jackson, A.V., *History of India. First settlements on the Coromandel Coast, 1611-1658.* pp.220-221

⁹³ Seema Singh, "Nizampatnam, A Golkonda Port During 17th Century", *IHC*, 1985, p. 405.

⁹⁴ William Foster. *English Factories 1618-22.* P XXXIII, also see, Om Prakash, *Dutch Factories*, p.2

Nizampatnam, it has enjoyed equal status with Masulipatnam the two factories in Golkonda in Masulipatnam and Petapolee were at first independent of each other. The Governor of Petapolee had the exclusive right in deciding with whom the Dutch should negotiate for cloth. In practice the two chiefs consulted each other over the negotiations for trade. Later in in 1609 it was resolved at Bantam that both the factories should be under general head.⁹⁵ Nizampatnam with its surrounding minor ports like Kothapatnam and Ramapatnam, there seems to have been some shifting around of trade and outlets in this area. The mouth of Gundlakamma river (near the present day Ongole), lying at lat. 15 o 27'N., is generally held to mark the northern boundary of the Coromandel coast proper.

There are references in earlier records to Karedu, a minor port lying between the present day district headquarter towns of Ongole and

⁹⁵ The two factories in Golkonda i.e. Petapolee and Masulipatnam were at first independent of each other Then each presided for two months by turn. The Governor of Petapolee and the exclusive right of deciding with whom, the Dutch should negotiate for cloth. In practice the two chiefs consulted each other over the negotiations for trade with the natives which was of a complicated nature. Later in 1609, it was resolved at Bantam that both the factories should be under general head. Pieter Ysaaxx of Masulipatnam filled that place, Jan Van Wesick being in subordinate charge of petopolee, T.I. Poonen *Early history of Dutch factories*, p, 275, and however, the English factory at Nizampatnam, also see, William Foster,, *The English Factories in india* , 1665-60, p. 263.

Nellore.⁹⁶ The port is located at the mouth of the river Munneru. The port, in the contemporary period, was of some significance as it was directly connected with the capital city of Golconda Kingdom by land route.⁹⁷ The port could accept vessels of medium size. The place was primarily a weaving centre. Customs duties were comparatively low at this place.⁹⁸ The port helped in the transportation of goods to the markets at Masulipatnam and Nizampatnam.

Krishnapatnam

The chief port of Nellore town was Krishnapatnam". It is situated on the left bank of the river Upputeru. The port is also known

⁹⁶ This port had some importance in the seventeenth century, a small sea port and a best town on the hitherto, Master touched this area on the way to visit the coastal ports. *Dairies of Streynsham Master*, Vol. I, p. 77.

⁹⁷ S Arasaratnam *Merchants, Companies, op.cit.* p.18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.18.

⁹⁹ Krishnapatnam otherwise known as Calitor in the records, traded in salt, which was mainly indented by government and sent to Calcutta and Chittagong. In the district there were 31 places from where salt was manufactured and it was lifted from 11 flatforms. Salt was also exported to Sumatra and out stations J. Mangamma, *op.cit.* p. 109.

as Calitor in the old records.¹⁰⁰ Though the river was shallow here, it was navigable upto forty kilometres. As Nellore district was mainly a weaving area, the river facilitated the transport of piece-goods to **Krishnapatnam** for the final shipment.¹⁰¹ Nellore on the river pennar formally exported blue chintzes for the case of the negroes on the west Indian plantations.¹⁰² Nellore mandalam has historical importance in modern India mainly because of the Europeans had trading settlements especially at Pulicat and Armagaon (Dugarajupatnam) which were among the earliest factories on the East-Coast.¹⁰³ Nellore had a coast line of 150 miles, nearly one fourth of the entire sea board of Andhra Pradesh.¹⁰⁴ Apart, the trade in salt was in vogue at this port.¹⁰⁵ Salt was

¹⁰⁰ J. Mangamma. *Op.Cit.* 109

¹⁰¹ The hinterland of Nellore and approaching the Krishna river were weaving villages whose produce was exported from these places. Thus there was **Armugaom**, situated on the left bank of the Upputeru river. S. Arasaratnam, *Martime India*, *op.cit* p. 30.

¹⁰² C.D Maclean, *A manual of the administration of Krishna district*, p. 22.

¹⁰³ Both the Dutch and the English frequented for trade in textiles. Vijaya Ramaswamy. *Textiles and Weavers in medieval south India*, Delhi, 1985, pp 31,118,135.

¹⁰⁴ M Pattabhirami Reddy, "Some features of Nellore Mandalam, in the seventeenth century", *ITIHAS*, Vol. V-2, 1970, p. 50.

exported from here the Sumatra and outstations. About fifteen miles south of **Krishnapatnam** is located another port viz., Armagaon or **Armagoan**. It was also situated on a river and the port was of considerable importance in seventeenth century. The river and port provided good anchorage facilities to European vessels. Because of the difficulties with the local Governor at Masulipatnam, the English decided to the move to Armagaon on September 27, 1628.¹⁰⁷ Armagaom was testified by the English Company presumably with the permission of the Rajah of Venkatagiri, It was in fact instance of fortified possession of the east company in India.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ John Alexander & Corrie Boswell: *A manual of Nellore district*, Madras, 1873, p. 297.

¹⁰⁶ The Port **Armugaon** was established by the English in 1628, because of the harassment by the local **Governors** It was the first fortified factory in India by the English. A V. Williams **Jackson**, *History of India*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁸ Boswell, *Gazetteer of Nellore district*, Madras, 1942, pp. 62-63.

ARMAGAON

In the Nellore district there were nearly forty minor ports. The information about these ports is scanty, as there are only European records to know about them. Since, European records concentrated only on the favourable ports and ports of some strategic and communicative utility found mention in their records and information about others are often scanty or non-existent. A few local records and vernacular sources sometimes throw light on these ports. Of all these minor ports in the district, Armagoan was the most important during seventeenth century. The port was also called in contemporary times as "Blackwood's Harbour" after the name of a naval officer who visited the area before other Europeans did so. The port offered good protection because of the anchorage at the shoal. The local **Karnam** (village accountant) obtained a site in the village from the Rajah of Venkatagiri for the construction of a factory. The village official, **Pantaswamoola** Armugam **Moodelly**, was instrumental in the developments at the port. After his name, the port came to be known as

Armugam or **Armagoan**.¹⁰⁹ Permission was granted to the traders on the condition of paying one percent on goods imported and three percent on **exports**.¹¹⁰ To be free from the ruler of Golkonda, the English established their factory at Armagoan in **1628**.¹¹¹ And even shifted their centre of activity from Masulipatnam because of the commercial embarrassment by the Golkonda officials at **Masulipatnam**.¹¹² The place was also **known** in contemporary times as Monapalem where there was a light house¹¹³. This was the only light house in the district. The object of light was to keep vessels clear of the Armagoan shoal. This shoal was 10 miles long.¹¹⁴ **Dugarazupatnam** was another name and there was an open communication with the sea that could be easily

¹⁰⁹ Boswell, *A manual of Nellore district* 1873, pp. 15-24, also see William Foster. *The English Factories in India, 1624-29*, p.343.

^{no} **J.Mangamma** *Op.cit* p. 108.

¹¹¹ John **Bruce** *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, Vol. I, 1810, p. 290.

¹¹² N.S. Ramaswamy, *Fort St. George*, pp.5-6.

¹¹³ The place is now sometimes called Monapalem from a neighbouring village with light house and sometimes Dugarajupatnam from another village where open communication with the sea can be maintained. *A Manual of Nellore district*, p.24.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

maintained. The place for important for textiles. Both the English and the Dutch frequented the place for trade in **textiles**.¹¹⁵

About thirty **five** miles south of **Armagoan** is the port of Pulicat or Palecat. **It** is situated on **lat.** 13o 26'N. Long. 80o 11'E. With a dangerous reef off shore. Larger ships were given instructions in the contemporary times to avoid the port.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the river flowing into sea by the side of the port was not deep and could admit vessels with less than 50 tons.¹¹⁷ However, the port enjoyed reputation as an important post engaged in the trade to South East Asia. It was an important place for Indian shipping even before the seventeenth century.¹¹⁸ It functioned as the spot of outlet for handloom goods as there were many weaving villages on its hinterland. The Dutch

¹¹⁵ Vijaya Ramaswamy, *op.cit* pp. 31, 118 and 135 respectively.

¹¹⁶ S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, op.cit.* p. 19.

¹¹⁷ Thomas Bowry. *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p.53.

¹¹⁸ Though the Dutch had come to Masulipatnam in 1606 and the English in 1611, the tyranny and oppression of the Golkonda officials drove them south in search of safer places. In 1610 the Dutch merchants built a port at Pulicat. Puliatic became the seat of a governor in 1617 and at the Dutch settlements were subordinate to the Pulicat government. M. Pattabhi **Ramireddy**. *Some features of Nellore mandalam*, p. 51.

constructed a fort here called Fort Geldria and slowly acquired a few nearby villages. They developed the region into a substantial port town in the later part of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁹ Fort Geldria became the chief Dutch settlement on the Coromandel Coast. The fort established close shipping links with important Dutch centres of trade such as Malacca, Colombo and Batavia. The port had rich waving hinterland villages in the Poneri taluq.¹²⁰ The port flourished for considerable amount of time.

The foregoing account of various ports in Andhra on the Coromandel Coast particularly from Nizampatnam to Nellore and in the surrounding region exhibits a few common characteristics.¹²¹ The

¹¹⁹ C.D. Maclean, *Manual*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 163.

¹²⁰ But the shifting of river estuary, the sand banks and coastal erosion appear to have made Pulicat **disfunctional** by the break of 18th century. By 19th century it disappeared as a trading port and was not in use even in the coastal trades. S.Arasaratnam, *Merchants Companies*, *op.cit* p. 19

¹²¹ The favourable political, economic and administrative policies of the rulers of this region contributed towards the development of the ports and their hinterlands resulting in an harmonious growth of agricultural production textile manufactures and allied trades as well as the facilities needed for commerce and trade. Indu-Banga (ed), *Ports and their Hinterlands in India ,1700-1950*. New Delhi, 1982,p. 10.

conditions in all these ports bring out the fact that the coast was not endowed by nature with safe heavens of shipping and trade. There is a certain monotonous similarity in the pattern of rise, growth and decline of ports.¹²² The most common situations were those where ports had roadsteads open to the ocean, made relatively safe by one or more of many factors, and a creek alongside into which either the ships could sail themselves or where smaller boats could unload their cargo.¹²³ In addition, the silting of rivers and shifting of sand banks was seen as a regular phenomenon.¹²⁴ Sometimes there was a change of entry channels and the roadsteads of the ports on the sea side were either open or narrow depending on the strength of the surf.¹²⁵ Most of the ports had their origins in tiny fishing villages or empty beaches

¹²² S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, op.cit.* p. 31

¹²³ *Ibid*

¹²⁴ The origin and growth of a port depends on many physical and cultural factors. Among the physical factors site is the most important. The site is the area of land and the associated waters on which the port and the port town are actually developed B S. Hoyle, *Sea ports of East Africa*. 8 No 13. Quoted in Indu Banga *Ports and Hinterlands in India, 1700-1950.AD.*, p. 12. There is a great deal of silting of sand banks and much soil is deposited in the ocean at which point are found sandbars or sand banks where the water is very low. S. Arasaratnam. *Maritime India*, p.7.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*

developed by deliberate state policy. A port was a good source of revenue both for the locals and the **foreigners**.¹²⁶

It was realised during the period that fleeting a port could result in destruction. Often the ports were in the strong grip of oppressive policies imposed from above by the political masters. There was plunder of ports by invading armies and external invaders. Multiplicity of ports within short distances did not allow the individual ports to expand and agglomerate. This resulted in the static nature and transient character of these ports. **I**nfluential merchants or agents did not reside in the ports. A few mariners, labourers and boatmen drawn from the nearby fishing villages often formed into small administrative bodies and manned the routine administration of the ports. To encapsulate the idea, Coromandel Coast was almost an extension of rural India into sea beds. Conditions in the hinterland allowed these ports to develop into autonomous ports.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ *Ibid*

¹²⁷ Port hinterlands, however continued to be defined as **studied** In oft cited paper, Weigend described them as organized and developed land spaces which were connected with port by means of transport lines and which receive or ship goods through that **port** **I**n more recent literature, the complexity of the port

As stated earlier, the description of the ports and details regarding sailing patterns came to us through the European accounts, estimates and records.¹²⁸ There is plentiful literature on the topography with attendant natural features and the evolution of European ports such as Pulicat and Masulipatnam.¹²⁹ We do not have in our possession any knowledge of ports like Bimilipatnam and Nizampatnam. Details regarding weavers, customs houses, limits of port towns, their residents and administration are unknown to us.

The ports on the coast were exposed to the climatic vagaries emanating from the Bay of Bengal. The mariners, pilots and merchants orally transmitted abundant information to their kith and kin. The information was subject to effective use by sea-faring persons in

hinterland concept is being acknowledged and they are being considered as economic rather than geographical regions. They represent a superimposition of layers of commodity flows connected through the medium of transport facilities, market organization, shipping services and port facilities. G.G. Weigend, "some elements in port geography" 1923-43, quoted in Indu Banga, *Ports and their Hinterlands*, p. 19.

¹²⁸ The existing port system in India began to evolve in 17th century in response to European trade which was then making its presence felt in the country. Indu Banga (ed) *Ports and their hinterlands in India 1700-1950*. p. 34.

¹²⁹ The prospectus of trade in this region attracted almost all the European trading companies, which established their collection points for textiles in the ports in the Krishna and Godavari districts. As a result of the growing export market,

describing the routes across the Bay of Bengal. Europeans added further to the existing knowledge in the more systematic manner. Sailing of vessels to or from the Coromandel Coast depended upon monsoons and the changing velocity of winds. High velocity winds naturally clipped the wings of **sailing**. The British instructed their sailors to pursue most favorable routes across the Bay of Bengal. They had chartered directions to those specified **routes**.¹³⁰ The Dutch established definite schedules for their factories on the coast in 1660s much before the English had done so. The cosmopolitan and the integrated character of the maritime world would have facilitated a smooth dissemination of knowledge from Europeans to Asians, and from Asians to Europeans.

Cyclones over the Bay of Bengal often posed natural problems and hit the coast with unflinching periodicity and frequency. This caused

ports in the region were considerably expanded and the port of Masulipatnam developed into an important port city. *Ibid.* p. 63.

¹³⁰ We have shipping lists which have been left behind by the companies, particularly the Dutch East India Company, which claim to give us lists day by day of ships that called at these ports and went out. **Indu Banga**, p. 369.

considerable damage to shipping and to structures in the **ports**.¹³¹ For example, Masulipatnam was subjected to the nature's fury many a time over a period. The storms and floods that followed destroyed the town. Many people and cattle were drowned in 1660, and the country round Nizampatnam, Narasapur and Palakol was **destroyed**.¹³² Many ships lost their anchors and were destroyed at sea while others were dashed to pieces aground. In the Dutch dockyard, during the same time, near Narasapur a new ship, uncommissioned yet, was buried under seven feet of sand. Another ship was buried under 4.5 feet. Another cyclone in 1662 hit the coast in a savage manner and affected a wider area from Masulipatnam to Port Novo, devouring thirty vessels.¹³³ Again in 1679 Masulipatnam was hit by a flash flood with cyclonic winds sweeping

¹³¹ Of the ports on Coromandel most were located up small rivers creeks or inlets, but these afforded little protection in cyclonic weather or even in the violent returning **monsoon**. Besides if the branch of the delta on which the port was located did shift, or silt-up or if there occurred sea level changes over the medium term. Ships might be forced to anchor either down river or off the open coast, taking recourse to smaller vessels to gain access to the port proper. J. Deloche. "Geographical considerations in the localization of ancient sea ports of **India**", *IESHR*, Volume, XX (4), 1983, pp 439-48

¹³² S. Arasaratnam. *Merchants, Companies, op.cit.* p. 37.

¹³³ H.D. Love, *Vestiges, op.cit.* Vol. I, p. 179

away buildings and bridges linking the port. Ships and boats were lashed and stranded on shore, a few miles inland. Contemporary estimates had it that nearly eighteen thousand people perished. "A great part of the town, both houses and people, being carried away and destroyed by the sea water which was washed among the Island before it, the Bar, town and bridges". Over a period of time the people of Coromandel Coast had learnt to live with the unexpected but frequent storms. The survey conducted on the coast revealed that dynamism, change and adaptability were essential for the development of the ports.¹³⁴ Factors of change resulted in socio-economic realignments.

The pattern of shipping and navigation played a crucial role in the trade and commerce on the coast between Nizampatnam to Nellore and its surrounding areas. In the seventeenth century, despite the more intense and diverse presence of European navigators in the Asian waters there is no corresponding increase in the evidence available on

¹³⁴ Ports rose, few grew and fell under the impact of any or all factors. The ocean, with all its hazards, was both a constant attraction and challenge for the participants. Rich rewards were offered to consignee rate risk on waters. Despite many vicissitudes, the tradition provided a foundation for continuity of commerce on the coast **Indu-Banga**, *Op.Cit*, pp.8-17.

Asian shipping and navigation. The Dutch who appear to have spent more time than other Europeans in recording Asian shipping movements, do not go beyond the superficial facts of the ships. The English had far fewer personnel and were less spread out in Asia than the Dutch recording only the skimpiest details of Asian shipping. The Portuguese used European terminology to describe Asian Craft that in their eyes distantly corresponded to the ships with which they were **familiar**.¹³⁵ Ships or vessels of large size played an important role in long distance trade of the country. The ships, which plied in the Andhra coast around Nizampatnam to Nellore¹³⁶ broadly, belonged to two main categories viz., the European and native craft. Various foreign travelers in the Middle Ages have described the building activity witnessed in the sector of indigenous shipping. They include the Arab travellers (Ninth and tenth centuries A.D.), Nontecarvino and Marco polo (13th century A.D.), Odoric and Ibn Batuta (14th century A.D.), Vasco Da **Gama** and Stefano (15th century A.D.) and Barbosa (early 16th

¹³⁵ S. **Arasaratnam**, *Maritime India*, p. 247.

century) **etc.** ' In addition there are travellers like Tavernier and Thevenot and Bernier and others who visited Golkonda kingdom during the seventeenth century. The broad spectrum of ships in use in indigenous sector which have been identified by K.N. Choudhuri from records were as **follows.**¹³⁸

¹³⁶ According to Pliny, the Indian Ship building industry already reached its high watermark during the beginning of Christian era and the Andhras were proficient in navigation. K. **Satyanarayana** *A Short history and culture of the Andhras*, p. 143.

¹³⁷ Marcopolo, the Vanitian traveller (1288-94) came to India and described about Indian shipping and navigation particularly on the coast. He visited Andhra at the time of Kakatiyas and described port of Motupalli. **Ibu** Batuta (1377) was an Arabic traveller gave valuable information about shipping, navigation and ports on the Indian **coasts**. He travelled all through the Indian coasts and gave a list of the vows and offerings made by the mariners to their patron saints for a successful and smooth **voyages**. Ptolemy, the Egyptian, had written about Telugu courts in his **writings**. Martin was made about Maisolia which is the modern Masulipatnam. William Methold from Holland, wrote about Machilipatnam, Nizampatnam, Pulicat and other places between the years 1618-1622 and their relations with outside world. **Vasco-da-gama**, the Portuguese navigator, arrived Calicut on the West Coast in India in 1498 and encouraged the other travellers to come to **India**. It was the historic **incident**, which changed the Indian politics. Antony Schorer employed at Dutch factory in Masulipatnam and was written for the riches of India and its commercial transaction between the coastal ports and Holland in 1615-1616. Dr. Akkiraju **Ramapathi** Rao. *Videsee Yatrikulu, Telugu Desam, (Telugu), Teluguvani* Hyderabad, 1975, p. 77-80.

¹³⁸ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilization in the Indian Ocean*, Delhi, 1985, p. 141.

1. Jalboot small boat
2. **Ballam** small boat
3. Boom small boat
4. Baghla small boat
5. **Sambuk** small boat
6. Shewe small boat
7. **Kotia** small boat
8. Ganga small boat
9. Galibat small boat
10. Grab small boat
11. **Pattamar** small boat
12. **Masoola** On the east corresponding all purpose vessel was the Masoola¹⁹.

The episode illuminates several aspects of Asian shipping in the mid seventeenth century. A vessel carrying more than two hundred people as crew and passengers and fifty five horses together with other cargo could not have been less than five to eight hundred tons in European measurement. The Golkonda ship was a large one according to **Tavernier**.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization*, p. 140.

It thus covered more than 2000 miles within a short span of time at the rate of forty miles per day.¹⁴⁰ Though **Tavernier** had his own doubts about the efficacy of navigational ability of Indian s and Persian, the Qutb Shahi ships proved contrary to his notions and travelled longer distances. The design of the hull incorporated multiple decking and the method of construction was strong enough for the ship to with stand gale force, strong winds and even storms.¹⁴¹ The Qutb Shahi rulers entrusted the duty of piloting and defending their vessels against pirates and also the Dutch whom "won't allow these vessels, which belong to any king or princes of India, a pilot, two or three gunners".¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ **Tavernier**, *op.cit.*, Vol.1, pp. 203-207

¹⁴¹ K.N. Chaudhuri, *op.cit.* p. 140

¹⁴² In the time of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah the seas were patrolled as far of as the island of Sacotra which lies nearly 2000 sea miles from Masulipatnam. This patrolling by Qutb Shahi naval units was effective and they guaranteed the safety of all foreign shippings as is evidenced by episode of the modernity level on the Dutch ship the *WappanVan Rotterdam* in 1623. **H.K** Sherwani. "The Reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah" *Journal of Pakistan historical society*. July, 1962, p. 276. Quoted in **H.K** Sherwani. *The reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah,- Economic aspects-II* *Journal of Indian history*, p. 678.

By the late seventeenth century the ship builders of the Coromandel coast around Masulipatnam had thoroughly mastered the technique of European naval construction and according to Thomas Bowry many English private traders had their ships built in these yards.¹⁴³ From the interesting narratives of Floria Peter Williams, who was a Dutch man in the English Company's service on the board of *Globe* which touched the Masulipatnam port for the first time in 1611 during his second trip in 1613, it is said that the ships traded not only in Europe but a profitable business was done in selling Masulipatnam goods in Sumatra and other spice Islands.¹⁴⁴ Thomas Bowrey has left behind a rich account of bouts and ships during the period of our study. On the other, the same coastal vessels of 20 tons coming from Bengal had their planks made of some kind of cord derived from the rinds of coconuts. Iron was not used in the same.¹⁴⁵ There was a constant interchange of ideas between European ship owners and ship and weights and local ship builders. Thomas Bowry thought that the Master

¹⁴³ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization*, p. 158

¹⁴⁴ K. Gopala Krishna, *Machilipatnam - an ancient port*, p. 20

¹⁴⁵ W.H. Moreland, *Relations, op.cit* pp. 36 and 40 respectively.

carpenters of the Krishna-Godavari delta on the Coromandel coast could construct and launch ships as well as any **shipwright**.¹⁴⁶

The Masoola boats, used in loading and unloading the anchored ships, were built very slight having no timber in them, save thefts to hold their sides together. Their planks were broad and thin, sewed together with coir. They were generally flat bottomed and most roper for the Coromandel Coast. A large proportion of the ships calling at Masulipatnam, for example is referred to as gurabs. The Patamar is another term referred to, more in southern India. In south India the thony is a gigantic term covering vessels ranging from small coasting boats to large oceangoing cargo vessels.¹⁴⁷ The "oloak" boats were roamed with either four or six oars. "Budgaroo" was a pleasure boat used by the opulent. "Bajra" was a kind of large and clean boat with some room in the centre. "Booras" were very buoyant and floaty light boats rowing with either twenty or thirty oars. They were generally sued for transporting commodities like salt and pepper down the rivers. They also served as tow-boats for the ships bound up or down the river.

¹⁴⁶ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization*, p. 158

¹⁴⁷ S Arasaratnam, *Maritime India*, p. 259.

Another European, Dr. Fryer, visited Madras about the year 1674. He thus describes the place and its surroundings. He went ashore in "Masoola, a boat where in ten men peddle, the two after most of whom are the steersmen using their peddles instead of rubber."¹⁴⁸

He also refers to the boats called by the name, "Catamarans" with a single sail in their midst. He himself landed at Masulipatnam by one of the country boats and, he describes it as large as one of "our ware-barges and almost of that mould, sailing with one sail like them, but paddling with paddles instead of spreads and they carry a great burden with little trouble, outliving either ship or English stiff over the bar".¹⁴⁹ A "Pinnace" or Yatch was a strongly masted ship, divided into two or three apartments one for company another for the beds, and a third as a cabinet, besides a place called verandah forward for the servants. The "schooners" which were well fitted out were capable of making voyages even to European lands. Another ship was the **Indo-**

¹⁴⁸ J.T. Wheeler. *Early trends of British India*, p. 54

¹⁴⁹ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and civilisation*, p 141-144

¹⁴⁹ R.K. Mukherjee, *A History of Indian Shipping*, London, 1912, p. 250

Arab dhow in the seventeenth century, but this original had been subject to much regional modification in the shape of hull, stern and prow, and in the riggings. A main characteristic of this type of ship appears to have been that it was shell built, with planks carved into shape and fitted together and the hull was subsequently strengthened by being fitted with ribs made out of wood of suitable shape, selected from the branches of trees. The "Grab" was a ship with three masts, a pointed prow and a bowsprit. The "Banglas" were largest Indian ships, and "Brigs" were vessels that carried goods from the coast of Masulipatnam and Malabar to Calcutta. To the coast of Musalipatnam also belonged the "Dony" with one mast resembling a sloop. Its deck consisted of a few planks fastened on each side. "Pattoos" were those ships that differed from other vessels by the virtue of there being clincher built. The boards were fastened one upon the other by little pieces of iron in the form of **cramps**.¹⁵⁰

There may have been other considerations, technical and engineering known to the local builders, but now lost to be historians

¹⁵⁰ R.K. Mukherjee, *A History of Indian Shipping*, London, 1912, p 250

unfamiliar with the tradition of sailing ships. People who earn a living from the sea seldom share the landsman's image of it, as a romantic vision or its opposite, unknown terrors. They know that for man the sea is a hostile environment, but that its predictable dangers can be partially mastered with a sea worthy vessel.¹⁵¹ Indian ships suffered from a few shortcomings in their manufacture. They were generally considered frail and uncouth with no iron. They had flimsy rudders and the rails were generally made of malting or some inferior cloth. The twine used to stitch the planks of ships was made from the coconut husk. It was, perhaps, done so, as the supple nature of a stitched boat was useful in a surf on the Coromandel coast.

As the ports of Coromandel were exposed to the Bay of Bengal climatic conditions in the Bay of Bengal were crucial in determining sailing in and out of the these ports. A large proportion of these sailings were north and south along the coast and eastwards across the bay.

¹⁵¹ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization*, pp. 142-143.

¹⁵² S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, Op.Cit.*, p. 33.

The winds and the waves, shallow waters posed greater dangers, and rugged rocks too would result in wreckage of ships. Strong currents, dangerous **fish** and menacing snakes added to the distress of the sailors. Piracy was another terror to the ships. Piracy was more rampant on the West Coast from where it must have spread to the opposite end. Pirates were highly organised and adopted innovative techniques in order to surround and then rob the ships.

Thus, these vessels would generally cover 100 miles on seas. When a ship was sighted, the same was signaled to other vessels within the sea cordon. Once they approached the ship, they used to seize the merchants and plunder the goods they were carrying. If a ship were driven to another shore the local people would claim their right on the entire shipment under the pretext that it was a God-sent gift to them.

In addition to dangers in navigation, Sailors had to be very careful in selecting the time of set off on the seas. Usually ships left the shores of India in summer and returned in winter. They were supposed to be ideal months for voyages. **MarcoPolo** refers to these winds as the ones which would take sailors outside home and the ones which would

bring them homeward. Weather conditions in the months of June and July were so dangerous that the ships did not dare to make any voyage on **the** seas. It is generally a month with fine weather and steady winds. For example, the ships setting on sail on Red Sea in July would reach the Persian Gulf within a month. After a brief sojourn of about a fortnight their vessels would proceed to Coromandal coast. **The** merchants used to dispose their Cargo from the beginning of October to December.

Abdur Razak gives a vivid description of his own personal experience on one such occasion when his heart was "crushed like glass and my soul became weary of life".¹⁵³ In order to face the risks on sea, the mariners were fully equipped with masts, rudder, anchor and nautical instruments. Huge ships like the Chinese junks were provided with four or six masts, three to twelve sailor and twenty oars in addition to other instruments, which helped to tow the big ships. The true sea going junks could reach huge dimensions. All were solidly built with a unique method of construction, and their rigging of rectangular fan

shaped bamboo mats was easy to handle. The Chinese junks represented a completely separate seafaring tradition in the Indian Ocean, and a whole way of life was associated with their movements. The huge wooden anchors were very useful in the ports of South India, when they had to steer through the river mouths and sand banks. Sometimes, mariners were guided by stars on days of clear sky. The mariners sailing out of their homelands were truly guided by the sun, moon and stars. As the ship masters were generally well versed in the configuration of the coasts where their ships were destined to reach, the masters used to steer the ships by stars during night and by the sun during day time. The mariners' compass was slowly emerging on the scene of navigation. The sailors always equipped themselves with charts for correct identification of places.

Among these communities there were rituals and beliefs which were central to their occupations and which contributed to giving them confidence in the pursuit of their hazardous occupations. They were influenced by certain beliefs and practices both at the beginning and

during the course of their journey on the seas. They had beliefs in astrology and consulted before setting on sail. Auspicious dates were **fixed** to set the sail. Mariners believed in the propitiation of Gods. For, it would, they believed, afford them a smooth voyage on seas. Nicolo Conti refers to various traditional performances by the sailors' abroad when their ship got struck due to clam weather and total absence of favourable blows.¹⁵⁴ While gods were propitiated to activate seas, holy water was used to be sprinkled to becalm the waves and wind. The water was carried in opaque glass bottles. Offerings to patron saints was a common practice among sailors. If any sailor died on the board, the body would be consumed to the sea waters, which was the custom among the sailors.

This unexpected but not infrequent freak storm was hazard the coastal people of Coromandel had learned to live with. During the height of the north-east monsoon, Indian vessels were either anchored in ports away from the coast, in south East Asia, Ceylon or Malabar, or were towed up the beach and secured in sheds. According to Marco

¹⁵³ Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century* Hakluyt Society, 1858, pp 7-8.

¹⁵⁴ John Major, *op.cit.*, p.26

Polo "sea faring men are never to be accepted as securities as they say that to be a sea faring man is all the same as to be an under desperado and that his testimony is good for nothing."¹⁵⁵ But, during the later medieval period, it can be seen that indigenous communities played a role in pivotal importance in the development of trade through the ports of Andhra. Despite all the risks and dangers involved in seafaring, the Telugu traders were active and adventurous. They were enthusiastic participants in the oceanic trade. They continued the tradition of seafaring and reaped rich dividends.

The flourishing of the ports during the period of our study primarily depended regular supplies from the surrounding villages viz., the hinterland. There were organic links between centres of production and centres of **trade**.¹⁵⁶ The conditions under which the hinter land

¹⁵⁵ Marco Polo, *Travels*, Vol.1, London, 1926, pp.342-343.

¹⁵⁶ The French Geographer, **Lamierre**, proposed a two fold classification of port hinterlands into regional and supra-regional. The regional hinterlands consisted of natural, geographic or static areas as well as functional and dynamic areas which were won over from other ports when the area of functional development of a port extended beyond the natural hinterland, it became supra-regional and the maritime outlet became more important for the ports development than landward outlook. **Indu Banga**. *op.cit.* p 19.

villages worked in turn were influenced by state's policies from time to time. Periods of peace and tranquility witnessed vigorous economic activity and any vagaries or shifts in the policies had a direct bearing on the socio-economic conditions. Like the ports, the hinterland villages too exhibited a volatile character during the period of our study. Added, there was also an overall similarity in the mechanisms of political and administrative control and in productive functions. Coinciding with the period of our study was the rapid disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire.¹⁵⁷

By mid seventeenth century the Qutb Shahi dynasty emerged as the strongest political power in peninsular India. With its capital located at Hyderabad, the kingdom expanded its wings of control into central and eastern Deccan. The entire coastal Andhra delta region came under its active administrative control. The **Coromandal** coast

¹⁵⁷ By the middle of seventeenth century many of the Vijayanagara rulers were reduced to a status of pensioners under the Sultans of Golkonda. From the debris of the Vijayanagara empire rose two **powerful** kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. Our period of study brackets with the rise of Qutb Shahi dynasty of the Kingdom of Golkonda S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, op.cit*, p. 68-70

starting with Srikakulam, and other regions upto San Thome were annexed by the Golconda rulers.¹⁵⁸ With this annexation went important ports like **Bimilipatnam**, Narasapur, Visakhapatnam, Nizampatnam, Masulipatnam and Pulicat in Andhra coast.¹⁵⁹ Golkonda began to occupy an enviable position in the affairs of the Bay of Bengal seaboard. During the seventeenth century, Golkonda was known among European circles as a legendary place rolling in riches. As the rulers of the kingdom belonged to Shia sect of Muslims, they forged close ties with the Safavid dynasty of Persian Empire.¹⁶⁰ The cementing of ties between these two kingdoms led to Persian and Armenian merchants flocking to the port of Masulipatnam on the Coromandel coast. The

¹⁵⁸ H.K. Sherwani *History of the QutbShahi Dynasty*: pp.456-59.

¹⁵⁹ Among the famous sea ports which brought commercial prosperity to Andhra were Nizampatnam, Masulipatnam, **Bimlipatnam Coringa, Kakinada, Madapollam**, Motupalli and **Injeram**. M.V. Raja Gopal *A.P. District Gazetteers*, p. 191.

¹⁶⁰ Though the curious historical coincidence both Masulipatnam and **Hugli** were Chosen as home ports by important communities of Shia's businessmen. This meant steady commercial contact with Persia and enforcement of India's general orientation towards west Asia at the **time**. But the Gujarats Predominance in the Red sea was not challenged and both high and Masulipatnam besides Coromandel ports like Pulicat, Nagapatnam and Porto-Novo as well as Hugh's neighbor Balasore concentrated upon the trade of the Bay of the **Bengal**. Ships from these ports maintained a steady intercourse with Pegu, **Arakan, Tennaserim** and Achin, while some trade with Macassar was done through the intermediary of Portuguese private traders. Tapan Ray Chaudhuri and Irfan Habib, (ed), *The Cambridge Economic history of India (1200-1750)* Vol.1, Delhi 1982, p.432.

Persian connection yielded rich dividends and strengthened the extant trade ties with South East Asia, Western India, Bengal and Ceylon. The revenue figures of Golkonda kingdom were an eloquent testimony to the riches resulting from royal trade connections. During the fiscal year, **1685-86** the kingdom's net revenue was 13,821,541 pagodas of which Karnatak districts alone yielded about 20 percent of total **income**.¹⁶¹ The existence of relative peace and stability in the kingdom truly laid foundations for stable commercial bonds. In the process, the ports as well as the hinterland worked to mutual benefit.

After Golkonda became a satellite state of the Mughal Empire in 1636, there was political stability in the region and, hence there was breathing scope for the Golkonda rulers to eye on the eastern territories. Soon agreements were signed between the Telugu military potentates of eastern regions and the Golkonda rulers. Following these agreements, lands across Godavari River were left in the hands of tributary rajahs on conditions of fixed annual payments. As already stated, district governors were appointed by the Sultans and these officials were responsible for fiscal administrations. These governors

¹⁶¹ H K. Sherwani, *op.cit.*, pp.655-656.

were assisted by other subordinate revenue employees like "hawaldars" or tax collectors. Taxes embraced land revenue, dues on artisans, market dues, customs duties and tolls at transit point. However, revenue from important ports or market towns such as Masulipatnam was collected directly by the royal officials.¹⁶² The period of prosperity and plenty was not disturbed during most part of seventeenth century. Rumbings in the relatively safe administrative and revenue structures began with the defeat of Golconda Sultans in 1687 at the hands of the Mughals. With the complete annexation of the kingdom into Mughal Empire there were changes effected in the region. As our steady period does not go beyond the active rule of Qutb Shahi kingdom before its fall, our estimate is more confined to the developments during the seventeenth century'.

¹⁶² No Contemporary account of the position in Golkonda during sixteenth century, but early in the seventeenth century the country was wholly under the farming system in its worst form, the amount payable being settled annually by auction. Methods. *Relations of the kingdom of Golkonda in purchas. His pilgrimage* 4th edition. The evidence regarding Golkonda and Bijapur is discussed at greater length in *From Akbar and Aurangzeb -III*, Sec-3, Quoted in Moreland: *Agrarian System of Moslem India* Delhi, 1929, p. 187.

Production and distribution of economic goods in India was based on the co-existence and, at times, inter-penetration of subsistence and a commercialized sector. The rural market was very much a feature of the **intra-local** trade of the period.¹⁶³

Export outlets had an easy access to centres of production. There were extremely favourable conditions for trade in all those places where there was a confluence between food producing areas and areas of handicraft manufacture. In the absence of this, there was an exchange of commodities across most of the region. The important centres of food production also served as centres of administration and military placements. Under a stable government most of state's officials contributed to the rapid growth of trade and commerce. Existence of peace and political stability provided them an ample scope to divert their attention to trade from their ordained duties.

¹⁶³ Tapan Ray Chaudhuri. *Inland trade* (ed.) in Tapan Ray Chaudhuri, Irfan Habib. (ed) *The Cambridge Economic History*, Vol.1, p. 325

The trade and commercial activity around various ports on the Coromandal coast in seventeenth century coastal Andhra was developed by the availability of raw material in the hinterland. Several other classificatory schemes were attempted following the pioneering works just mentioned. The different types of hinterlands identified in these studies have been summarized as follows.

- i) **Immediate** hinterland - the port-area itself and the port city;
- ii) Primary hinterland or **umland** - the above area and the area where the port and the city assume a commanding role and determine the life of that area;
- iii) Secondary or competitive hinterland - difficult to distinguish from the above, but can be taken to be the region where less than 70 percent of an area's traffic is forward by, or received from the port in question;
- iv) Advantage hinterland - an area which falls within the sphere of traffic influence of one port due to the non-linearity of inland traffic from the other ports in competition;

- v) Commodity hinterland - based on the indicated direction of shipments of particular commodities or groups of commodities.
- vi) Hinterland **functional** overlap - occurs when the hinterland of a large port overruns that of a smaller port for certain cargoes because of the greater range of port functions, and perhaps due to the greater number of sailings from a large port;
- vii) Hinterland area overlap - occurs where there is competition between ports of comparable size for cargo of the same type to and from the same area; and
- viii) Inferred hinterland - refers to a port's hegemony over a particular area, that is, the extent to which a port satisfies the demand for imports within the area it **serves**.¹⁶⁴

The goods were transported to the nearby ports from the hinterlands. In the district of Srikakulam, there was a number of weaving villages, which produced long cloth known by the Dutch as

¹⁶⁴ J.H Bird, *Seaports and Seaport Terminals*, 125, n. 14,(quoted in) **Indu** Banga, *Ports and their Hinterlands, op.cit.*, p. 20

Guinea cloth of fine and coarse **Varieties**.¹⁶⁵ There was an abundant production of rice in the river basin of Langulya-Vamsadhara. It was exported in coastal vessels from the port of Kalingapatnam to **Bimilipatnam**.¹⁶⁶ To the South of Visakhapatnam, the region watered by the Godavari and the Krishna rivers had a number of weaving villages and market towns. **In** the contemporary times they were frequented by a number of merchants of foreign and indigenous origin. The weavers in these places manufactured Cloth according to the requirements of the Indian as well as the European merchants. Tuni, about fifty miles to the South of Visakhapatnam, was the nucleus of weaving settlements on the coastal road from Masulipatnam to Visakhapatnam. The place produced fine and coarse woven goods, which attracted the English and the Dutch traders. Situated near Tuni and close to the port of Coringa, Peddapuram produced and supplied large quantities of cloth. The place was suitable for washing and bleaching of large quantities of cloth for export. Around 200 families of

¹⁶⁵ Vijaya Ramaswamy, *op.cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁶⁶ S. Arasaratnam. *Merchants Companies, op.cit.* p. 49.

washermen settled here during the period as the local textile industry could provide them **likelihood**.¹⁶⁷

According to Bowry, advanced techniques were used at the shipyards to ensure efficiency and accelerate construction. These were focus fold tackles with a system of moving blocks crabs etc. The Dutch had their own trading vessels built at their local shipyards of Bimlipatnam, Narsapurpet, Machilipatnam and Pulicat.¹⁶⁸

The place also produced shipbuilding materials like nails, ropes and **coir**.¹⁶⁹ They were transported to Narsapur and **Madapollam**, the prominent regional centres of shipbuilding. Goods from these ports were carried to Masulipatnam, fifty miles away from Palakol, by flat-bottomed **boats**.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ *Madras Public Consultations, 240/39, 1775*

¹⁶⁸ **K. Satyanarayana**, *A Short history, Op.Cit.*, p. 505.

¹⁶⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam; *Political Economy of Commerce Southern India., 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990 p.72.

¹⁷⁰ That the seventeenth century saw a comparative enlargement of the output of iron is implication in what Moreland says for the early years of the country. In the

Bowry reports that many English and other merchants got their ships built every year at Narasapur. The best timber was available here. The best iron upon the coast is for the most part vended here also. Any sort of iron work is here indigenously performed by the natives as speak bolts, anchorites, etc. Expert master builders were also available in plenty for the building of ships.¹⁷¹

It was at these Narasapur yards that large ships of the Qutb Shahi rulers were built for voyages in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea. The English authorities in England appeared to be unhappy with the Indian enterprise in ship building. King Charles II of England ordered in 1622 that "no one should teach the natives to build and navigate ships in those parts to the great prejudice of the English nation, contrary to the

second decade, we notice Narasapur on the Coromandel coast emerging slowly as a ship building centre where vessels of not less than 600 tons were substantially built of very good timber and iron. Soon it rose as a well established shipyard in the second half of the seventeenth century. A. J. Qaisar. *The Indian response to European Technology and Culture* Madras, 1982, p.26. also see, J Fryer.. 1672-81 (ed) W. Crooke I p. 326. also cf. Irfan Habib. *Banking in India. Contributions to Indian economic history. I*, 1960 pp 1-20. Also see, A.J Qaisar *Merchant Shipping in India during the 17th century Medieval India - a miscellany No.2*, pp. 195-220

¹⁷¹ Thomas Bowry, *A Geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 102.

royal character granted to the said (East India) **Company**".¹⁷² From the beginning, the English wanted to discourage Indian shipping enterprise. They hankered after hegemony first in the field of commerce and then in political sphere.

In coastal Andhra, the weaving settlements were unevenly distributed and were located within a hundred miles radius and sometimes even to 300 miles of the ports. Most of these cotton products were produced in various weaving settlements, spread mostly in the districts of Krishna and Godavari. The eastern banks of Godavari delta was particularly the area where weavers concentrated. Palakollu was an important trading place and the Dutch had a factory there and they paid annual rent to this place. **Draksharama** was also identified a major centre of marketing and it is found that there were fifteen villages around this place, coming down a bit south two important places for cotton textiles were Madapollam and **Viravasaram**. It must be remembered that these places came into prominence with arrival of European traders and the establishment of their factories here. It had the highest weaving capacity and the English had their factory there.

¹⁷² **William**, Foster, *English Factories in India, 166-64*, p. 99.

Even in the immediate vicinity of Masulipatnam a large number of weaving centres identified. Between Masulipatnam and Eluru as many as thirty two weaving settlements were identified. Nagalwancha was the main centre from where iron was sent to Narasapurpet and other places. **Nalgulwancha** was a town bustling with artisanal activity and became an important centre of commodity production in the seventeenth century. The special attraction of the place was long cloth of export variety. Indigo of this place gave brightness of colour and shine to the cloth. Iron ore mined near **Nagulwancha** was useful for ship building.

In the region of Rajahmundry too a few varieties of fine cloth like betilles (fine Muslin), **Salempores** and percalles were produced. Petapolee or Nizampatnam was the highly reputed for production of best dye root and the place supplied good quality of painted and dye goods. Nellore manufactured goods were transported by land along the coast to Armagaon, Pulicat, Madras and St. Thome, a distance of 100 to 200 miles. A further forty miles into the interior from Nellore was **Matalavare**, another pocket with some weaving villages around it.

To the north of Masulipatnam is located Eluru district. It is about 60 miles from the port. Around this district twelve weaving villages were **identified**. Eluru was famous for carpets, woolen products apart from **Salempores** and Bellies. Around Vetapalem, about 60 miles south west of Masulipatnam fourteen weaving villages were located which were known for Salempores beetles and Gingham's varieties of cloth. The other centres of textile production with their clusters of weaving villages were Linga, Malipor and Mangalagiri. The demand for any cloth was often directly proportional to supplying capacity of producers.

If the required quantity could be produced by the artisans with in the specified time, then merchants too would be in a position to cater to the demands out side. Otherwise alternatives were sought by them to meet the market needs. The Masulipatnam had considerable patches of lands where indigo crop has failed. According to contemporary estimates Masula indigo was priced at 2.43 pagodas.

Macapenta, situated on the way to Golkonda supplied goods like spices, copper, silver, perfumes and other luxury goods to Hyderabad. The ruling aristocracy drawn from the Persian, Arabic, Afghan and Turkish nobility were major consumers of the luxury goods. Thus from all these details it appears that the region of coastal Andhra particularly surrounding the areas of Nizampatnam to Nellore were vibrant with trade and tradesmen during seventeenth century.

CHAPTER – III

**EUROPEAN TRADING COMPANIES AND THEIR
OPERATIONS ON THE ANDHRA COAST
(A struggle for dominance and expansion)**

During the period under study, Indian sea coast had always been an unfailing attraction for foreigners. Indian riches and luxuries found expression in various accounts, both literary and travel. Particular mention must be made to travel accounts which served as store houses of knowledge about different aspects of the continent. They were the main fountains of inspiration for many an adventurer. They acted as the catalysts in accelerating the enthusiasm of sea bearers. It was an enthusiasm that was not purely notional and psychological. Such an enthusiasm had a distinct material goal in so far as the sea bearers hoped to reap benefits from their travel to India. For them it was a legendary place of riches and luxuries. It was this plenty that attracted their immediate attention. The travel accounts tried to whet their appetite by providing reliable accounts of the country and goaded them to try their luck in trade **transactions**¹. Excited thus by the offer

¹ The data in the letters and journals of the officials of the factories which were interspersed along with Eastern Coast or what came to be called the Golkonda Coast cover many volumes of records and are supported by the diaries and letters of many eminent travellers such as Tavernier, Bernier and Thevenot some of whom give a fairly detailed description of the

bounty in the subcontinent there was almost a bee-line of foreign travelers and traders spread over longer periods of time extending from early medieval period. The admiration of textiles attracted the foreigners since ancient times². The manufacture of Cotton Cloth was at its best in India until very recent times and fine Indian muslins were in great demand and commanded high prices both in Roman empire and medieval Europe. As far as Coromandel coast was concerned, it was Marco Polo⁴ (1292 AD), who visited the coast and kept accounts about the place. For him, coromandel coast which Nizampatnam and Nellore was integral part, as a great centre of pearl-fishing,⁵ lured by his account (Travels), several adventurers, merchants and above all ecclesiastical clergy found their way to India.⁶ Trade relations were

routes covered by them. H.K. Sherwani, *The reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah, economic aspects-II*, (sea routes and roads). *Journal Indian History*, p. 677.

² While the cotton industry in India was flourishing, in Europe cotton was still virtually unknown. At the beginning of the Christian Era Indian textiles figured prominently in the trade with Rome. The Roman historian Arrian testifies to the export of dyed cloth from Masulia i.e. Masulipatnam. Periplus of the Erythraean sea refers to Dhanyakataka (Dharanikota) on the Krishna river, near Amaravathi as an important centre of the textile industry and trade. Vijaya Ramaswamy: *Textiles and Weavers in medieval south India*, p.3. Also see, Wilfred H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean sea. Trade in the Indian Ocean*. (ed.), New York, 1912, p. 59.

³ Wilfred Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, p.1.

⁴ Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller visited the port of Motupalli in 1290 at the time of Kakatiyas and described the social and economic conditions of southern India. Dr. A. Ramapathi, *Videsee Yatrikulu*, Telugu Vani, (Telugu). Hyderabad, 1975, p. 79.

⁵ R.K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, p. 190.

⁶ A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, Vol I, Delhi, 1975, p. xxviii.

established soon and conducted without any hindrance through out centuries. The fall of Constantinople at the hands of Turks and the blockade of sea route to India encouraged European adventures to embark upon exploits on water in threading their way to Indian⁷. The excitement, India continued to create among European merchants and nations further added strength to geographical discoveries. The central concern of these exploits on seas was to discover a new sea-route to India and obtain spices and other luxury goods from the East without facing trouble from the Turks or the problem of hefty payments to the Arab merchants.⁸ It will be found in a study of India's foreign trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that we are concerned almost entirely from the point of view of Indian exports with the raw products of the country such as pepper, indigo saltpetre and so forth and with her textile manufactures of cotton and silk. In the initial stages, strictly

⁷ With the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks, the overland trade route to India was closed. From then onwards the commerce of the East became the monopoly of the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa. The other European nations became jealous of the Prosperity of Venice and Genoa and tried to discover a non-Mediterranean sea route to India. P.R. Rao, *History of Modern Andhra*, New Delhi, 1978, p.3.

⁸ 1. Bishcrwar Prasad *Bondage and Freedom*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1981, pl 38.

⁹ The main requirements of the west ware spices, perfumes, jewels and fine textiles as well as ivory both raw and worked Dyestuffs such as Indigo and Lac were in demand and several live animals and birds were exported from India on the wild beast shows of the Roman emperors, the larger animals being conveyed by the overland route throughout the desert trading city of Palmyra. Owen c. Kail. *The Dutch in India*. New Delhi, 1981, pp. 16-17. also see, C.J. Hamilton, *Trade relations, between England and India 1600-1896d* Delhi, (reprint) 1975, p.9.

speaking, the European nations had no designs of conquest in political and military terms. Their main object was to establish, rather revive, commercial relations with India, with its spices heavy of modifying effect on Europe.¹⁰ It was a commercial instinct and no other motive that led them to discover a sea-route to Indian sub-continent. India as a golden land and a wonder land haunted their memories. In their imagination, India was the richest country in the world, a country which supplied all markets of Europe with many wonderful articles of **commerce**.¹¹

Vasco da Gama, one of the Portuguese navigators, braved the storms on seas on his ship, San Gabriel, round the cape of Good Hope and cast anchor off on 17th May 1498 AD. in a village called Kappad near the port of Calicut, under the Hindu ruler, whose hereditary title was Zamorin gave friendly reception to these strangers and invited Gama for trading activities in his kingdom. It is remarked that "when the Portuguese, at last, rounding the cape of Good Hope, burst into the

¹⁰E.F. **Oaten**, *European Travellers in India*, New Delhi, 1991, p. 8.

¹¹ The geographical discoveries undertaken by foreign travellers like **Bartholomew** Fiaz and Vasco da Gama during the fifteenth century left a deep impress on the commercial relations of the world in general, and India in particular. These discoveries produced far reaching consequences and perhaps no event during the middle ages had repercussions on the civilized world as the opening of the sea route to India. B.D. **Basu**, *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 18.

Indian ocean like a pack of hungry wolves upon a well stocked sheep walk, they found a peaceful and prosperous commerce, that had been elaborated during 3000 years by the Phoenicians and Arabs, being carried on along all its shores".¹² The honour here solely goes to Vasco Da Gama. It was an epoch-making discovery. Portuguese people ranked first among seafarers during this important period to establish connections as well as a settlement in India. It is rightly said that "the discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope are the two greatest, and most important events recorded in the history of mankind".¹³ Perhaps, no other event during the middle ages had such far reaching repercussions on the civilised world as the opening of sea-route to India.¹⁴ The event had a revolutionary effect on the course of events and opened the flood-gates of European trade with India. Thus, in the initial stages, the Western Coast of India was brought under the control of the Portuguese who

¹ The Portuguese following up their first triumph by **Dagama's** discovery of the cape route in 1497 had gained the start of a century fastening their hold on the most advantageous positions from the Persian gulf to Japan. In India they had severed a monopoly of trade by emperor's **farmans**. For a hundred years they thus excluded all European **intruders**. If any intelligent observer had appraised the situation of Europeans in Asia in the year 1600 he would have been able to give good reasons for concluding that the Portuguese would hold their own at the same time that he furnished further proof of the danger of prophesying under the shifting fortunes of mankind. Sir Theodore Morisson: *British India*. London, 1926, p. I, also see, E.F. **Oaten**, *op.cit*, p. 51

¹³ *Ibid*. p. 48

¹⁴ H.H. Dodwell, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, Cambridge, 1929, p.1.

claimed maritime supremacy over the Indian ocean. Later, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes appeared on the scene and involved themselves in active trade on the Indian coast¹⁵. Soon these foreign companies entered the trade in **textile** sector and also a number of other commodities. Therefore, there was a significant change in the exports from India since establishment of European trading companies in the beginning of seventeenth century. In this connection, the Andhra coast from Nizampatnam to Nellore and beyond soon became a target of the contending European powers and played a very important role in the life of the companies. Although the centuries trade became an object of special concern particularly in the seventeenth century A.D.

The coast line between Nizampatnam to Nellore and its surrounding area was a rich and fertile coast which had been always an attraction for traders. Natural creeks on the coast helped the development of several other important port-towns like Ganjam, Bimilipatnam, Visakhapatnam, Nizampatnam, Madras, Pondicherry,

¹⁵ It was the trade in spices which had originally brought the Portuguese to India and which in the **early** years yielded great profits ultimately **they** gained most from their participation in the carrying trade of the Indian ocean and the China seas. Certain trade or maritime routes were declared a monopoly of **the** king of Portugal and on these routes no other vessel could ply other than Portuguese ships. When the Dutch appeared in Indian waters the picture had greatly changed. By 1610 the Dutch had established themselves on the coromandal coast where the English Company also opened a factory in the following year. Eventually, with the English hampered for funds and the Portuguese for reinforcements, the tide turned in favour of the Dutch. **Owen** C. Kail *The Dutch in India*, *Op.cit.* pp. 19-21.

Karikal and Point Calimere, which served as important entrepots and foreigners for over **centuries**.¹⁶

In general, Indian trade dominated the eastern seas and reached out to the Mediterranean. Pepper and other spices were **carried** on from Andhra coast to the West, and contemporary accounts had full praise for trade in Andhra spices. Andhra had been in the habit of the manufacture of **fine** cloth from the earliest ages and textile industry had been an inseparable part of her economy.¹⁷ Fine cotton fabrics of this region excited the admiration of the foreign travellers from the early period. The Venetian traveller, MarcoPolo observes that "in the kingdom also are made the best and most delicate buckrams and those of the highest price; in smooth (sic) they look like the tissues of spider's web there is no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them".¹⁸ The Indian textiles, thus had an immemorial legacy in different parts of the world. In the field of textiles, an important advance was made in dyeing of cloth. Among the fast dyes, **Indigo** was another item which exported from India particularly from Andhra region in contemporary world and even today the area is known

¹⁶ Dr. R. **Ramam**: *Early European Settlements in the northern Circars*, pp. 144-145.

¹⁷ **K.A.N.** Sastry. *Foreign Notices in South India*, Madras, 1939, p. 175.

¹⁸ Textiles drawn from the weaving villages of Andhra were the chief export. Asin Das **Gupta & M.N. Pearson**: *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*. **Calcutta** 1987, p. 117.

by **the** same nomenclature.¹⁹ The knowledge of dyeing gave a great impetus to coastal Andhras trade with foreign countries. Of the coastal Andhra products purchased in the earlier times for the European markets, the most important were indigo and cotton **goods**.²⁰ **Indigo** was extensively used in Europe for dyeing purposes and it was the most valuable article of trade. Soon, however, cotton goods (plain and patterned) came into favour at home. **It** is observed that the contemporary Roman writers felt that "gold flowed (sic) from Rome to India and the East in exchange for various luxury **articles**".²¹ **It** is only an indication to the amount of trade from India and the kind of favourable trade balance, the country enjoyed during those times.

The developments during the period of our study exhibit a few important characteristics of trade and the players in the trade. By the mid seventeenth century three European Companies viz., the Dutch, the

¹⁹ The region was the Godavari where we know of Indigo cultivation in the Kakinada region and farther to the south and west as well in the vicinity of Palakollu. This **lav** to the North of river Krishna in a broad band extending from Khammam to Eluru and **w** as in the early 17th century called either '**Palewanse**' (i.e.Palvancha) or '**the land of Indigo**', by foreign observers. **Sanjay** Subrahmanyam. *Political Economy of Commerce southern India, 1500-1650*, p. 27.

²⁰ H.H. Dodwell, *op.cit*, p. 92.

²¹ Jawaharlal **Nehru**, *The Discovery of India*, New Delhi, (Reprint), 1988, **pl.** 215.

English and the French had acquired and consolidated their settlements on **the** coast of Andhra.²² Though the Portuguese were the first Europeans who traded in India but the Portuguese power had been chiefly confined to the Western coast and Ceylon although they possessed outlying factories in the Mughal empire and on the Coromandel coast'. Although their sea power no longer enjoyed undisputed sway in eastern waters.²⁴ The settlers instituted a well-knit administrative and commercial network in all these new settlements. Within their limitations, these foreign companies established effective institutions for the management of their commercial activities. Every company had its own capital on the Andhra coast. The most deeply penetrated among them were the Dutch. They had founded a castle with all the necessary fortifications in 1613 at Pulicat. The fort became a residential place for their Governor and it also served as a controlling post over their possessions on the Coromandel coast.²⁵ The

²² Dr. R. **Ramam** *The Early European Settlements in the northern circars.* pp. 144-148.

²³ Western Coast of India was brought under the **Portuguese** who **claimed** maritime supremacy over the Indian ocean with a view to having monopolistic hold on the entire produce of spices. Those who appeared late on the scene, namely the **Dutch**, the English, the French and the Danes had to get spices chiefly from other parts of **Asia** and in their quest for these commodities they entered on the trade in textiles and a number of other **items**. **K.S** Mathew: "Masulipatnam and the maritime trade of India during the seventeenth century", *APHC*, 1987, p. 76.

²⁴ Hamilton. *Trade relations between England and India*, p. 9

²⁵ A Fort was constructed at Pulicat in 1613 and given the name of '**Geldria**'. The Coromandel factories were reconstituted into a '**government**' in 1616. The

English had their foot set near **Chennapatnam** in 1639 and soon they built the Fort St. George by 1641.²⁶ Like in the case of Dutch of Pulicat, the Fort St. George became a residence for the English President and Council. This became a nodal point of control in the course of time. The Danes could secure the port of Tranquebar in 1618.²⁷

The English and the Dutch had spread out into a number of factories or trade settlements in ports all along the coast line around Nizampatnam to Nellore. Though not in any effective manner, the Portuguese continued their tottering presence on this coast at Nagapatnam and San **thome** along with a civilian settlement at Porto Novo. The Portuguese land power had been chiefly confined to the Malabar coast and Ceylon although they possessed out lying factories in the Mughal empire and on the Coromandel coast. Although their

important alteration in the Government of the Coromandel coast viz., the transfer of the head from Masulipatnam to Pulicat actually took place only in 1615 when **Samuel kindt** was appointed Commander of Fort Geldria (Pulicat) and at the same time Head and President of Coromandel. In 1617 the directorate of the Coromandel was raised into a government, it's **chief** at Pulicat being given the title of Governor. T.I. Poonen: "Early history of the Dutch franchise of Masulipatnam and Petapolee". (1605-1636), *Journal of Indian History*, 1949, p. 277.

²⁶ Sir Theodore Morison: *BritishIndia*. London, 1926, p 6

²⁷ Owen C. Kail - *The Dutch in India*. *op.cit*, p. 86, Om Prakash, *The Dutch factories*, *op.cit*. p. 7.

sea power no longer enjoyed undisputed sway in eastern waters.²⁸ "Having lost their previous possession of Morocco to the Dutch in **1641**, driven **out of the** Hughli by the **Mughal s** in 1736, deprived of half the coastal possessions in Ceylon, the writing was on the wall for Portuguese presence on the Coromandel coast."²⁹ By **17th** century, the Dutch and the English fully grasped the inherent potential of the Coromandel trade in Andhra Coast, and consequently their own interests in the same. By this time they were fully aware that Andhra coast would be the nucleus of their activities in the years to come. It was but an obvious calculation on the part of the English as well as the Dutch for known reasons. In a way, Coromandel was rediscovered for them. The earlier traveller accounts discovered for them the way to the land of destination. Their actual settlement on the coast in the seventeenth century rediscovered for them the real potential of their destined land or coast.³⁰ Now theirs was a first hand-experience of what the coast line meant for their trade. It was, then, but natural that internecine rivalries

²⁸ Hamilton, *Trade relations*, p. 15.

²⁹ S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants*, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

³⁰ The data in the letters and journals of the officials of the factories which were **interspersed** along the eastern coast or what came to be called the Golkonda coast over many volumes of records and are supported by the Golkonda coast cover many volumes of records and are supported by the diaries and letters of many eminent travellers such as **Tavernier**, **Bernier** and **Thevenot**, incidentally and this is **important**, the towns, rivers and ridges which marked the frontiers of the kingdom. **H.K. Sherwani**. *The Reign of AbdullaQutb shah - ft*, *op.cit.p.* 677.

among them erupted with strong claims over the coast as well as the trade including the productive mechanisms of the hinterland. To achieve their aims, they began fashioning appropriate investment policies and started pursuing political and diplomatic policies. Both the foreign trading companies viz., the English and the Dutch were poised for a major growth, a growth that was to be soon fostered not only by the strength of their treasury, but also by the force of their muscles as well as the power of political negotiations with the rulers of Andhra and other neighbouring regions. Thus, commercial investment was increasingly supported by the deployment of military and naval force, and by a more aggressive diplomatic involvement with rulers and the Governors of the hinterland.³¹ This multi-dimensional expansion in commercial, political and military (naval) was to lead in the second half of the seventeenth century to a close involvement between European and indigenous powers from which important political developments developed very soon. This intense rivalry for trade among European nations also served to accelerate the trend towards a deeper involvement in the affairs of the region. During the second half of the seventeenth

³¹ The Dutch and the English were at daggers drawn in Europe and elsewhere and some times they would Waylay Engbsh ships covering from Persia and Europe on the high seas as well as between Madras and Masulipatnam. The English therefore managed to get full protection of their merchant navy from the Qutb Shahi officials and when their ship the **constantinpole** merchant was nearing Masulipatnam the *Shahbander* or the port officer and *sarsimt* or the **Chief** Executive officer. *Ibid.*. p. 679.

century these rivalries resulted in the displacement and dislocation of a few weak foreign trading companies. The rapid expansion of the Dutch in the south and their destruction of the power and influence of the Portuguese who had ruled the seas for over a century had the effect of instilling a certain degree of awe in the rulers and princes of south India. These measures had serious consequences for Andhra coast particularly Nizampatnam to Nellore.

Golkonda's attitude had completely changed and the relations between the sultan and the Dutch merchants in this kingdom were radical.³² Thus, the Dutch removed the Portuguese from the coast. This was soon followed by a joint efforts by the Dutch as well as the English to prevent the establishment of the French commercial enterprise along the Andhra coast. In this rivalry, purely characterized by the rival interests of European trading establishments, indigenous hinterland powers too became involved and the stage was readily set for alliances and counter alliances of the period. All these developments had a serious impart on the region for Nizampatnam to Nellore where most of the regions hinterlands was located around this area .

³² Owen C. Kail, *The Dutch in India*, p. 88

Arasaratnam, *Op.Cit*, p. 55

During the early decades of seventeenth century there was a fascination for European trading settlements among the Rajas of the hinterland. This was attested by various concessions and remissions extended to the European traders by the Andhra rulers with the hope that the former would settle down in the ports within their political jurisdiction.³⁴ The rulers appear to have had a belief that these concessions and remissions would in turn bring prosperity attendant on European trade to their respective principalities or Kingdoms. For example, the Vijayanagar Emperor, during the period of imperial decline, had given the Dutch permission to settle and build a fort at Pulicat in 1612, together with concessions on tariffs and, judicial and police powers within their jurisdiction.³⁵ His successor, in an even worse political situation, had entitled the English to settle in Chennapatnam, with even greater concessions.³⁶ She had given them complete freedom from customs duties for their imports and exports, and half the customs on other goods traded from the port. He had also

³⁴ At the beginning of the seventeenth century Golkonda rulers, anxious to develop their trading ambitions, fastened friendly relations with the Portuguese. They took passes from them for the safe conduct of their ships to the Persian Gulf and the Red seas. Arasaratnam. *Maritime India in the Seventeenth century*, p. 50. In the spring of 1605, the vessel reached Masulipatnam then in the possession of Mohammad Quli King of Golkonda (1581-1611). The Dutch were fortunate to secure firm footing at Masulipatnam and to enter into commercial relations with the people. Although there were Portuguese merchants in the town they had ceased to receive reinforcements and their rivals welcomed by the Indian authorities. T.I. Poonem, *history of Dutch factories*, pp. 265-266 for the English trade see N.S. Ramaswamy. *Fort St. George*, Madras 1680, pp. 47.

³⁵ Owen C. Kail, *The Dutch in India*, p. 88

³⁶ *Ibid.*

allowed them to build a fort and exercise extra territorial powers within the **fort**.³⁷ The Danes had similar powers in Tranquebar given **them by the nayak of Tanjore**.

As stated earlier, the contemporary rulers and indigenious administrators believed that, in contrast to the Portuguese, the other European settlers would bring in the plenty through a speedy expansion of Commerce with consequent rise in the revenue collections. On the other hand, the Europeans realised that they held important advantages and made as hard bargains as they could. In comparative terms, the Dutch had handsome investments and large naval power than the English during the early seventeenth century. Yet no need was felt to use force to back up their trade, except where vital interests were at stake. In the post 1620 period, the Dutch and the English were forced to lay their hands on arms to settle the debts and secure more favourable trading conditions. In the year 1629, they participated in a joint military action and blockaded the Masulipatnam Port. As a result of the blockade, a major part of their debt was written off.³⁸ There was another conflict at Masulipatnam in 1641 and the Dutch were deeply

³⁷ . . .

Ibid.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66

involved in this same. This conflict too resulted in favour of the Dutch³⁹ There was always a scope for the outburst of a conflict between local administrative rulers and the foreign traders as the former often did not respect the concessions granted by a distant central authority.

One of the successful foreign trading companies that established itself on a firm footing on the coast of Andhra region was the Dutch East India Company or Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (V.O.C.). Even during the earlier stages the Dutch realised that the different private trading companies of the Dutch should be consolidated to maintain their supremacy over overseas trade.⁴⁰ This was imperative in view of the establishment of the English East India Company in 1600. The act of the English sent correct signals to the Dutch regarding the need for a concerted, instead of an isolated, effort in the arena of trade outside home. Consequently, a limited company of the Dutch was floated in a couple of years after the establishment of the English East India Company. The year 1602

³⁹ Tapan Raychudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690: A study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economics*, 'S Gravenhage, 1962, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁰ Several companies were formed which by their mutual rivalries clashed with each other buying spices in the east at very high prices and selling goods at home at very low prices. Eventually in 1602 they were united into one company to which the states general granted the sole right of commerce with East Indies for a period of 21 years. T.I. Poonen. *Early history of Dutch Factories*. 264.

witnessed the founding of Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (United East India Company of the Netherlands), popularly called V.O.C. The first fleet of the new chartered Company left the Dutch shores in the same year of establishment and sailed off from the homeland. The fleet had 15 ships with a total burden of 7000 tons.⁴¹

The main interest of the Dutch during the initial stages was more diverted towards the Indonesian Islands of Java, Sumatra and the spice islands. They concentrated on this region and consolidated their trading enterprise.⁴² Only after gaining control over the most important and profitable part of Asian trade, they began trying for Indian trade. Once set their foot on Indian shores, they had gone in for the establishment of their factories at Surat, Masulipatnam, **Bimilipatnam**, Narsapur and Nagapatnam.⁴³ Needless to say, of these five factories, three were on the Coastal Andhra region in the immediate Neighbourhood of Nizampatnam to Nellore. After consolidating their

⁴¹ It was in this last years of the sixteenth century that the Dutch turned their attention to the trade of the East. Between 1595 and 1601 not less than Fifteen Dutch fleets were dispatched to the India. C.J Hamilton *Trade relations, op.cit.* pp.12-13. Also see, M. Prayaga and M. Nagendra Prasad. "Impact of South Indian trade on the Dutch, 1602-1699", *SIHC Tirupathi*, 1994, p. 352.

⁴² Early successful voyages gave the various sea ports a footing in the East not in India itself but in Java and Sumatra. W.H. Moreland. *Relations, op.cit.* p. XXI.

⁴³ P.R. Rao, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 21-23.

position, they set their eyes on other foreign trading companies. In the process they selected these companies which were already shaky.

The Dutch were soon **successful** in driving out the Portuguese with whom they shared their trade on the coast earlier.⁴⁴ Having achieved this without much trouble from the other side, they evolved a commercial policy on the coast. It primarily aimed at developing Andhra coast as a centre of trade as the cotton goods from Andhra and its weaving hinterland formed the nucleus of trading activities in the markets of far East.

In the process of consolidation the Dutch never lost an opportunity in forging beneficial and favourable alliances with the power groups in Andhra region. This was more essential for foreign trading companies who entertained a long term perspective of coastal trade on the Andhra coast of Coromandel region. While such relations were to give them a free space for commercial activities, then, at the same time, facilitated their easy penetration into rural production centers which provided the solid strength to the trading activities in nearby ports. These considerations weighed with the options of the Dutch in spreading their wings of commercial enterprise.

⁴⁴ W.H. Moreland. *Relations, op.cit.* p. xxi.

It was but natural then that they took advantage of patronage of the hinterland powers. They secured some important concession in trade from the Qutb Shahi rulers of the Golkonda kingdom. The Golkonda Kingdom by this time as one of the most **powerful** ruling powers in the sub-continent. The Dutch entered into an agreement with Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612) and succeeded in securing the necessary permission for the establishment of factories at Masulipatnam and Nizampatnam. In 1660, they opened a factory in the city of Golkonda, whose chief merchant acted as their ambassador⁴⁵. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch possessed a number of factories on the east Coast of India. There was a **Bimlipatnam** 40 km north to Visakhapatnam and **JagannadhaPuram** 150 km to the south, near the mouth of Vasistha Godavari at Narsapur and at Palakollu were their iron foundry and salt **petre** works. North of Pulicat lake or lagoon was Dugarajupatnam, the **Armagaon** of the English which along with the villages of Kaveripak.⁴⁶ They were aware that the delta of the

⁴⁵ The great advantage which the Dutch had over **the** other European nations was that they had a permanent representative at the Qutb Shahi capital. The Dutch director of Coastal factories had made an agreement with the king that the Dutch company would pay 3000 pagodas as a **lumpsum** annually covering all import and export taxes and would thus be able to trade freely. H.K. **Sherwani**, *The reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah*, *op.cit.* p. 463, also see, W.H. Moreland, *Relations*, *op.cit.* pp. **52, 55**, 56.

⁴⁶ Own. C. Kail, *The Dutch in India*, p. 86

Krishna river was not rich in "pintados" or painted chintz which were in a great demand in Molucca Islands.⁴⁷ As this variety was freely available in the surrounding regions of Pulicat and San thome, the Dutch soon went in establishment of factories at Tegnapatnam, also called Fort St. David. In addition, they succeeded in the acquisition of a favourable site at Pulicat from the ruler of Chandragiri.⁴⁸ From now onwards the Dutch trade exhibited clear signs of steady growth on the control regions.

It was a bare trading necessity that took them to near areas arid virgin lands. This quest for favourable trading outlets bore fruit for the Dutch. While this activity symbolised their enthusiasm in striking trade roots in different regions scalted along the Andhra coast, the necessarily was felt by the Dutch to strengthen the new stations or factories. The latter assumed even greater importance in the later period after the establishment of factories. This task could not be accomplished unless they took the advantage of the economic policies of the

⁴⁷ Krishna Godavari delta was a region famous for weaving and painting of fine Chintz exported in such large quantities to Bantam, Achin, Malacca and even as far afield as Manila. K.N. Chaudhuri: "European Trade with India" (ed.) in Tapan Ray Chaudhuri & Irfan Habib. *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. I (1200-1750). p. 388.

⁴⁸ N.S. Ramaswamy. *Fort St. George*, p. 5.

indigenous ruling **powers**.⁴⁹ It was, hence, highly imperative that the establishment of both the new factories as well as favourable trading relationships with Coastal Andhra ruling elements should have a perfect equilibrium between themselves. The Dutch came out in flying colours in fulfilling the present task.

Golkonda rulers continued the policy of trade concessions to Europeans. In 1639, during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Dutch were given from a number of exemptions at Masulipatnam. After eight years again, in 1647, Mirjumla, on behalf of Sultan granted a **cowle** granting the same concessions at Pulicat⁵⁰. On the other, they were allowed to share with the Golkonda Sultan the duty on this count. The Dutch share was 25% to 50% on different categories of imported and exported **goods**.⁵¹ This was followed by some more trade concessions

⁴⁹ Though their agreements and conventions with **the** local rulers the Dutch exercised a limited form of territorial jurisdiction over the land and villages **adjacent** to their factories and had the right to strike their own gold, silver and copper coins. These privileges enabled them to supervise and direct the work of the weavers, dyers, printers, refiners of salt petre and the other workmen and artisans they employed. Owen. C. **Kail. *The Dutch. Op.cit.*** pp. 86-87.

⁵⁰ For trade or war Pulicat was their factory and fort. Neither the **king** of Golkonda nor the kind of Chandragiri and their subordinate chieftains could overawe the Dutch merchants entrenched in their fully garrisoned fortress in Pulicat. M. Pattabhirami Reddy. "Some features of Nellore **mandalam** in the seventeenth century", *Itihas*, Vol. 2, p. 52.

⁵¹ H.D. Love. *Vestigiosop.cit.* pp. 517-18.

from the Golconda rulers. Mir **Jumla**, permitted the Dutch to pay only half duty on the export of cloth from the port of **Armagoan**, i.e. (Nellore).

In the year 1658 also the Qutb Shahi government permitted the Dutch at Masulipatnam from the embarkation and disembarkation duty of 2 1/2 percent. They were also granted permission to coin rupees in the mint at Pulicat.⁵² The coins of the Pulicat mint enjoyed a high reputation on account of which the Dutch derived a high profit of 3.5% on their trade at Masulipatnam. They were also authorised to collect the mint duty of 5.5% at the place of **mint**. The Golkonda royal farman of 1658 exempted the Dutch from the 2.5% duty on embarkation and disembarkation paid at Masulipatnam.

Apart from these, favours they secured many other favourable concessions from the rulers of Golkonda. A plot of **land** near the region was given to them for the construction of residential houses. As the piece of land was an elevated area, it also served them as a place of refuge when the port and town were exposed to the **fung** of floods.

⁵² As has been mentioned above the Dutch minted the coins under a license from the Qutb Shahi king **and** the English were also coining money perhaps to a **limited extent**

⁵³ Mackenzie collection, *Collection of Treaties, Private*, pp. 20-21.

These very favourable concessions heralded a period of expansion of the Dutch trade in Masulipatnam that coincided with the height of power and prosperity of Golkonda **Kingdom**.⁵⁴ The help from the sultans of Golconda to the Dutch over a period of time was reciprocated with some amount of enthusiasm which favoured to Dutch too. The Dutch readily provided armed assistance to the Golkonda rulers in 1674 when the latter were involved in a conflict **with** the French at San Thome. The Dutch assistance resulted in the successful dislodging of the French from the place. It brought double benefits to the Dutch. It brought them some important trading concessions from the Golkonda rulers. On the other, their involvement in the conflict can also be construed as a self-help measure in the sense that a rival European power was drive out from an important trading outlet. During the same year, **Abul** Hasan Tana Shah exempted the Dutch from all customs duties in Ports north of Masulipatnam. Another **farman** gave the Dutch complete freedom from tariff in the dominions of Golkonda .

⁵⁴ In spite of all these difficulties they experienced **with** the local officials their trade there averaged as 60000 a year thought the best part of the 17th century. In 1660 they opened a **factory in the** city of Golkonda whose chief merchant acted as their ambassador. **Owen C. Kail - The Dutch in India. p 86.**

In the following year, **Abul** Hasan granted the Dutch a piece of land in Narasapur where they built a house, carpentry workshop and an iron smithy. Earlier they had a smithery in **Ponnipilli** (Pulapalli near Palakol) village where eighty people worked. Iron workers of Narasapur were highly reputed in contemporary times.⁵⁶

According to the accounts of Europeans in the second half of the seventeenth century, nearly 40000 pounds of rails and bolts were made annually in Narasapur. Golkonda, where they had operated through Indian merchants, was the most interior factors in the possession of the Dutch.⁵⁷ It was also of most profitable factory buying cloth, diamonds, and selling a variety of imported goods such as spices, copper, tin and silver. A very reprehensive act of these Dutch merchants who were fighting for human liberty in their own land was the part played in the slave trade of the time. Between the various ports of India and other Asiatic countries a great amount of slave trade was being carried on.⁵⁸ At its height, the factory had a staff of ninety in

⁵⁶ K. Job **Sudarshan**, *Great, A cloud of witnesses* Narasapur. 1956. p. 62.

⁵⁷ In Coromandel the flow of Dutch capital into the country for the purchase of textiles needed in **Indonesia**, actually stimulated some of the richer Indian merchants (and officials who acted as merchants) to participate in the overseas trade themselves **C.R** Boxer, *The Dutch sea borne empire 1600-1800*. p. 197.

⁵⁸ T.I. Poonen. *Early history of the Dutch Factories*, p. 272, from the less important ports of the Coromandel coast in Godavari district like **Madapollam** and Narasapur, the exports included cotton timber and involved in **inuman** activities of slave trade. Richard **Allen** *A Short introduction to the history and politics of South East Asia*. New York. 1970, p. 34.

total including ten Dutch officers. Indians were working as interpreters, agents, clerks peons and carpenters. For twenty long years between **1660** and 1680 the factory at the royal capital of Golkonda kingdom **functioned** very effectively as an important marketing point for Coromandel ports. The Dutch did not even hesitate to take recourse to arm-twisting methods to protect and maintain their rights. They took over the port of Masulipatnam in 1686 and held it against the siege of the Golkonda army for two months. Finally the king was forced into an agreement with the Dutch praising the restoration of all privileges and the settlements of debts accrued. Another factory of the Dutch located in an interior place was Nagalvancha.⁶⁰ This place became an important market town on the main road from Masulipatnam to Golkonda. Here, they collected cloth, indigo, iron and steel.

Unfortunately for the Dutch, the Kingdom of Golkonda was vanquished and annexed by the Mughal armies in 1687. Under the

⁵⁹ To the north east at the head of the Godavari delta, the major markets were Rajamundry and Vemagiri, while closer to **Palakollu** (the major VOC textile procurement centre, located near Narasapur) the cotton was marketed at Teeparu. **Indeed**, the Dutch records stress that these were specialist cotton markets, where as in other areas such as the Krishna delta farther **south**, cotton was sold in more general markets. **Sanjay** Subrahmanyam. *The Political economy of Commerce Southern India. 1500-1650.* p. 72. J.J. Brenning. *The Textile Trade*, pp. 229-36, citing W.H. **Moreland** (ed.) *Relations, op.cit.* p.68.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 73.

changed circumstances, the Dutch had to negotiate a fresh with the Mughal administrators for trade concessions in Coastal Andhra. Jaonna Bacheru, a sound officer of the Dutch Company, an ambassador at the courts of Aurangzeb sent in 1690, of gold and silver to the Emperor.⁶¹ The emperor was highly pleased with the glittering presents and issued a **farman** in 1690 confirming all the grants and concessions given to them from their first establishment in Andhra, now annexed by the **Mughals**.⁶² On all merchandise imported and exported at Pulicat, the Dutch enjoyed half the duties. At Masulipatnam, they were exempted from port custom on imports and exports, the ground rent, the grazing tax and the roadside duty. The lease of Palakol, **Kanteru**, Gollapalem and **Gokaram** was confirmed. In Narasapur, they were allowed to continue to maintain carpentry workshop and smithy. This were further exempted from tax on labourers of the company, tax and boats, the road duties, the duties on provisions and the mint duty on gold and silver. Road duties from **Bimilipatnam**, Eluru, Rajahmundry, Draksharamam, Palkol, Narasapur, Masulipatnam and Pulicat were also exempted in the same farman. The emperors' order also specified the rates for ox-

⁶¹ S. **Arasaratnam**, *Merchants*, op.cit. p. 73.

⁶² In 1689 the Coromandel headquarters was transferred to Nagapatnam. It may be of interest to record that **Aurangzeb's** farman of 1690 to Johan Bacherus of Surat also confirmed the Dutch in their possession of Pulicat. Owen **C.Kail**. *The Dutch* op.cit 89-90.

hire and **porters'** wages on the route between Masulipatnam and Hyderabad. Also, the emperor directed the local officials not to disturb the company's shipbuilding activity at Narasapur and the artisans employed **there**.⁶³ He empowered the Dutch Governor at the Pulicat factory to settle matters of minor importance without the interference of the Mughal officials. However, problems of greater magnitude like attacks on the Dutch settlements by other Europeans were to be referred to the Mughal Governor at **Hyderabad**.⁶⁴ The Mughal officials, on the other hand, were not happy with the grant of fiscal privileges to the Dutch as they resulted in the loss of revenue to the Mughal treasury. They were worried that local merchants trading with the Dutch carried their goods under the Dutch banner from Masulipatnam to Golkonda. On account of this, the Mughal official felt deceived and, to counteract this fraud, the Governor of the country between Masulipatnam and Golconda issued a *farman* stating that all goods belonging to the Dutch as well as indigenous merchants were to pay flat duty of **3.5%** to the government.⁶⁵

⁶³ In Masulipatnam the farman confirmed the exemption from port customs on imports and exports, the ground rent, the grazing tax and road side duties. In Narsapur the rent free grant of the plot of land for the company's carpentry and smiths workshops was confirmed and those employed by the Dutch were to **be** free of all state taxes on payment of 3 pagados per year for each family. S. **Arasaratnam**. *Merchants. op.cit.*, p. 73.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Owen C. Kail, *op.cit.*, p. 92.

The extensive custom exemptions to the Dutch caused an eye sore to the Telugu Rajas who refused to recognize concessions given to the former. In the Godavari region, the local Rajas had serious objection to the concession to the Dutch given by the Mughals after the conquest of Golkonda. Upon the regional protestations, the Dutch lost their control over Narasapur. **Draksharamam**, Srikakulam and **Bimilipatnam**. They were forced to confine themselves to Nagapatnam located on the sea and the place was near Ceylon where the Dutch had another strong fortification of their own.

Even though the Dutch were very **powerful** in the early years of the seventeenth century, the Dutch lost its importance by the end of the seventeenth century due to their personnel problems. To maintain their trade and commerce, a large portion of their income had to be spent on their garrisons. Their naval power which had been the despair of not only the Indian princes but of their rivals on the coast had declined. Their astute commercial diplomacy had degenerated to the giving of bribes, gifts and flattery. Obviously, the company's organisation suffered from grave defects. Its administrative system was out dated and its strict adherence, against the advice of all its greatest Governor

generals, to the policy of commercial monopoly was a failure the severe subordination of the whole system to Batavia and the wide spread disloyalty and corruption of its' officials undermined its foundation. Great as it had been as an empire builder and able as it was a merchant the Dutch had failed as a colonial power.⁶⁶

The Dutch East India Company was commercially prosperous in the period between 1687 and 1724. Despite minor problems with local rulers, the Dutch enjoyed favourable trade relations on the coromandal coast. Nicholas de Graaff, writing at the high tide of the Dutch East India Company's power and prosperity, tells us that the voyages from Batavia to Japan, China, Bengal, Coromandel and Surat were of most profitable and popular among merchants and marines alike. A little money went a long way in the favoured regions, where everything was plentiful and cheap.⁶⁷ The concessions obtained from Golkonda rulers and the Mughal emperors strengthened the hands of the

⁶⁶ Although during the **eighteenth** century both the Dutch company in Java and the British company in India ceased to be primarily commercial corporations and became territorial colonial powers there were certain marked differences in their respective transformations. Whereas British sea power accompanied and protected the growth of Jan Company's power in India, the sea power of both the VOC and its fatherland declined noticeably during the struggle for Java. Also the Dutch dominated areas of Malayan and Indonesian waters was being seriously undermined in many regions by the phenomenal growth of smuggling and piracy. Owen C. Kail. *The Dutch, op.cit.* p. 92.

⁶⁷ C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch seaborne empire*, p 198.

Dutch. They developed number of ports in coastal Andhra. The **mofussil** political elements did not curtail the Dutch activities on a larger scale. They continued to maintain trading stations at **Bimilipatnam**, **Palakol**, **Draksharamam** and Nizampatnam.

The next company of importance on the coast of Andhra was the English East India Company. Like other European countries, England was also interested in Andhra coastal trade. But the Portuguese had already been a century in India. Apart from this the Dutch had close relations between with the local rulers made the job of the English difficult. But the very profitable trade with India lured the English⁶⁸ Despite their interest in trade with India, the English were not in a position to challenge the naval superiority of the Dutch. Especially their geographical position as well as their ill-equipped ships or long voyages prevented them from active trade with India.⁶⁹ Unlike the Dutch East India Company, the primary concern f the English was, to begin with, the European market for Indian products, particularly

⁶⁸ The lucrative **tradc** of the Portuguese with India and **thc** success of the Lavantine trade naturally created a desire among the English to expand their commercial enterprise directly to India. S. Babu. *The English trade on the Coromandel coast. 1611-1652*. Unpublished **M.Phil.** dissertation submitted to the University of Hyderabad, 1987, p. 35.

⁶⁹ What ever may have been the case during the sixteenth **century** when the Portuguese enjoyed virtual monopoly of the Indian Overseas trade with Europe there is no doubt that the advent at the end of that time of the Dutch and the English brought about a considerable extension of Indian foreign commerce as compared with any earlier **time**. C.J. Hamilton. *Trade relations op.cit.* p.6.

textiles, indigo and saltpetre. On one hand, the English ships were not suitable for long voyages and, on the other, the geographical position **of England on the** Atlantic sea board prevented it from participating in the Mediterranean trade. However, by the close of sixteenth century, England gathered enough strength on the sea. The East India Company, established in 1600 with the exclusive aim of trading with the East, decided to found a factory at Surat on the West Coast of India⁷⁰. The word '**factory**' refers to a trading depot of the European **traders**.⁷¹ In the early years of its history, the English East India Company followed in the foot steps of Sir Thomas Roe and his commercial policies.

The Company's first commercial settlements were factories, warehouses, and residences for its local represented. Most of these establishments were near the sea or a river Surat, Masulipatnam, Madras and Calicut.⁷² At the close of these two decades the English were not only trading between England and the **India**, but also sharing

⁷⁰ L.S. Stavrianos, *A Global History: Human Heritage*, New Jersey (USA), 1971, p. 278.

⁷¹ A petition was presented to Queen Elizabeth for her Royal assent, and by a charter of December 31. 1600, those interested in the venture had been incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading **into** the East Indies". The monopoly of English Commerce in Eastern Waters (from the cape of Good hope to the straight of Magellan) had been granted to them and their successors for a term of 15 years. C. Dunbar, *History of India from the earliest times to the 1939*, Vol.1, pp. 212-213.

⁷² Almost without exception the East India Companies early factories in India were situated in cities and towns or were **very** close to **them** In a preindustrial economy the economic **functions** of forms were concentrated primarily around the distributive services. K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trading World, op.cit.* p.46.

in the supply of Asiatic merchandise to the southern and western centre of Asia. During the initial stages of their expansion, the merchants were only adventurers and they were not **fired** by any political zeal or "stirred by dreams of conquest or perplexed by Prospects of Government." Their early administrative policy was governed by the company's commercial **factors**.⁷⁴ The decay of the Mughal authority in India forced the English East India Company to consider exercising control over the lands which produced staple cotton piece goods.⁷⁵ The English, however, wanted something more than a factory. They wanted a territory which they could fortify. No such dominions. The Moghuls would neither grant territory nor allow of any fortification.⁷⁶ The commercial motive influenced the policy and administration of the English. One of England's aims seemed to enrich and strengthen herself against foreign aggression and this was done by positively encouraging her national industries and foreign trade. Mercantilist philosophy dominated their overseas considerations during seventeenth

⁷³ **J.W. Kaye**, *The Administration of the East India Company*, Delhi, 1966, p. 86. It was far from the intention of the company to aim either at conquest or sovereign **power** C.J Hamilton, *Trade Relations*, op.cit. p.38.

⁷⁴ C. **Ramachandran**, *East India Company and South Indian Economy*, Madras, 1980, p. 10.

⁷⁵ Furber Holden, *Jan Company at Work*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 17.

⁷⁶ J.J. **Wheeler**, *Op.Cit*, p. 47.

and eighteenth century.⁷⁷ As a result not only the area of Nizampatnam to Nellore but whole of Coastal Andhra became crucial for them to monopolise trade.

The English East India Company soon realised that the British woollens were not in demand in South East Asia while, at the same time, there was an ample demand for Indian textiles, particularly those from the coastal Andhra region. The natives of this region had brought the art of painting or dyeing calicoes to the highest pitch of perfection. These products were great demand not only in the Europe in the eastern countries like Burma, Siam and the India Archipelago. Hence, the company decided to force its way into the textile trade of India at the dawn of seventeenth century. Later the Dutch, the French and the other European nations also devoted at least as much attention to the European as to the Asian market. This interest of European companies in trade in Asiatic region led to the tension among these companies. Which resulted in attacks on each other trade ships in the early years of seventeenth century. The English company dispatched

⁷⁷ P.J. Thomas, *Mercantilism and the East India Trade*, London, 1926, p. 3.

⁷⁸ The natives in these quarters were **gifted** with the art of painting on calicoes to the highest pitch of perfection and these products were in great demand in Europe and the countries in the South Asian region. Danvers, Frederick Charles and William Foster. *Letters received by the English East India Company from its servants in the East, 1602-13*, pp.10-15.

the ship, Globe under the command of Hippon to open trade in the Bay of Bengal. In 1611 the globe under Captain Hippon sailed up the eastern coast, touching at several ports, where he found the Dutch already established. The ship reached the Masulipatnam shores in the month of January in the year 1611.⁷⁹ On their arrival, the English traders opened negotiations with Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda kingdom. Their main request was regarding a permission to establish trade on the coast of Andhra. The Company was, consequently, permitted by the Sultan to establish their factory at Masulipatnam, Nagapatnam and Pulicat.⁸⁰ The voyage of Globe paved the way for the establishment of English factories and thus row the sueds for commercial relations with Andhra. In the initial stages of their establishment the English lacked some of the facilities enjoyed by the Dutch East India company which proved to be good for their trading outlets. They also enjoyed the privilege of paying the customs duties in **lumpsum**. Whereas the English were forced to pay customs according to the goods handled at individual **ports**.⁸¹ With these

⁷⁹ P.E. Penny. *On the Coromandel Coast*. London. 1908, p.83, see also, William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661-1664* Oxford, 1908, p. 28.

⁸⁰ The English established their **Masulipatnam** and Nagapatnam factories in 1611 but could not establish a **factory at Pulicat** till 1621. **H.K. Sherwani**. *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*.p. 413.

⁸¹ **H.K. Sherwani**, *op.cit.*.pp. 413-414.

disadvantages the English had to face the rivalry of the Dutch in spice trade. It was, now, implied for the English East India Company to arise effective defense structures to check the power of the Dutch⁸². Accordingly, Thomas Dale planned a naval attack on the Dutch fleet from Masulipatnam in 1619 A.D.⁸³ The period coincide with the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. In the battle, the English were easily overpowered by the Dutch and the English fleet of six ships was **destroyed**.⁸⁴

Owing to the difficulties thrown open by the Dutch rivalry, the English realised, for the time being, that settlements beyond Nizampattanam coast was not safe heavens for their commercial activities. The local officials under the rule of Golkonda Sultan too oppressed them. The English appealed to the Sultan for the redressal of their grievances but in vain. Now, they decided to beat a hasty retreat from Masulipatnam and establish a new factory at **Armagoan** in **1626** in

⁸² Of these the Dutch were perhaps the most favoured nation not merely because of their widespread trade which included the whole of the East **Indian** Archipelago but also because of their hostility towards the Portuguese who were known for their callousness and their fiery zeal for proselytisation. Latter there was some misunderstanding between the Qutb Shahi authorities and the Dutch **officials** but that had been made up. The English who were often at war with the Dutch in Europe closely **competed** for the favours of the Hyderabad Government. *Ibid.*, p*Ail*.

⁸³ P.R. Rao, *op.cit*, p. 8.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*.p. 26.

the district of **Nellore**⁸⁵ 40 miles north of Pulicat. But soon they abandoned it because it was found to be unsuitable for trade as superior quality of textile was not available. Moreover, Armagoan was deeply involved in the disturbing political conditions in Karnataka region of which **the** former was an integral part.⁸⁶ With a feeling of helplessness the English wanted to return to **Musalipatnam** and, by this time, the Golkonda Sultan was kind enough to offer them some concessions and privileges to them to conduct the **trade**.⁸⁷ The Sultan assured them that under the shadow of his sovereign rule in the place, the English could afford to have a sigh of relief. But the ground realities were not favourable. On their arrival, the English were highly discouraged and disappointed to witness the place and part reeling under the pain of the severe famine which forced compulsory migration on the labourers of the place.

However, the factory established at Masulipatnam was the foundation of the English trade in the East India. Under these circumstances, Francis Day visited Pondicherry and its surrounding

⁸⁵ PR. Rao, *op.cil.* p.9

⁸⁶ C.S. **Srinivasachari**, *History of the city of Madras*, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷ Therefore, when in 1632 the Golkonda authorities promised better treatment in **Masulipatnam**, the English returned, but Annagaon was not **abandoned** It was retained as a minor station under Masulipatnam authority. N.S. Ramaswamy. *Fort St. George*, p.7.

places to select a suitable site for the establishment of an English **factory**.⁸⁸ Damerla Venkatadri, the then Rajah of Chandragiri in the North Arcot region made an offer to Francis Day to establish a settlement at Madraspatnam, subject to the administrative jurisdiction of Chandragiri kingdom. The English agreed to pay a yearly rent of twelve hundred pagodas, or nearly six hundred pounds sterling, for this piece of land. They built a wall round the island. Venkatadri and his brother had well ground intentions in extending an invitation to the English. The region was rich in textile production. Any permission to a foreign trading company to trade in textiles of Chandragiri region would be highly complementary to the economy of the region. These highly calculated economic motives made Venkatadri extend a cordial invitation to the English.⁹⁰ Accordingly Venkatadri brothers issued a grant of permission to the English East India Company according to

⁸⁸ In 1639 Francis day, a member of Masulipatnam Council and Chief at Armagaon, proposed to get free of the struggle with the Dutch by founding a **factory** to the south of their Pulicat settlement. *Madras Government manual of administration*. Madras government press. Vol I, p. 161, Quoted in Hunter W.W. *A History of British India*, p. 80. William Foster. *The English Factories in India. 1637-41*, pp. 149-150.

⁹⁰ The naik of Venkatagiri invited them and the local merchants also welcomed the English Company, perhaps because they could derive a profitable bargain with the competing European companies. M.Pattabhi Rami Reddy. "Some features Nellore mandalam in the seventeenth century", *Itihas*, Vol. V, 2, 1977, pp. 52-53.

which the English were allowed to receive half the customs and revenues of the **port**.⁹¹

Whereas in the Golkonda kingdom, the conditions were slowly turning in the favour of the English. Between 1632 and 1636, the English could obtain **three farmans** from the rules of Golkonda. Of these three, the Golden **farman** of 1636, as it was famously called, was a considerable **importance**.⁹² According to it, the English East India Company was exempted from all sorts of duties in the Kingdom, a fixed amount of 12,000 pagodas were to be paid by the English instead of customs duties, royal officials were to be given priorities in purchasing the horses brought by the English from Persia or elsewhere.

On such occasions, it was a customary practice to give presents to the Sultan or his entourage by the Europeans. The English merchants according presented many gifts to the Sultan. They included

⁹¹ They were permitted to mint coins with the assurance of continued supply of textiles. Finally, the English took possession of **Madrassetnam** in 1640 and immediately undertook the construction of Fort St. **George**. The place became a settlement of weavers and began to be called **Chennapatnam** after the name of Damerla Chennappa. Venkatadri's further. C.S. Srinivasa **Chari**. *History of the City of Madras*, pp. 1-2.

⁹² In 1632, the position of the factory at Masulipatnam was much improved by the grant of the *Golden Farman* by the King of Golkonda, which gave the English liberty of trade in the ports of the king's dominions and fixed a limit of 500 pagodas. It appears, however, in a letter from the court of Directors in 1636, that these farmans were only obtained as the result of large sums spent in presents by the agent at Masulipatnam. **Bruce's Annals**. Vol. I, p.326, cited in **Hamiltons**, *Trade Relations*, *op.cit.* p. 27.

large sized minors, cut glass, drinking vessels, tumblers, brass canon, Pedigru dogs and mastiffs. The Sultan insisted that the presents must be made by the principal servants of the coastal factories and should be attended by a large train of followers accompanied by music and pomp. By virtue of the *Golden farman*, the English were freed from the port and town duties in all the port towns within the administrative domains of the Qutb Shahi kingdom.⁹⁴ Taking advantage of the royal concession, the English made investments at Pondicherry and Porto Novo in 1635. Mir Jumla, alias Muhammad said enforced the conditions of the farman in a strict manner after he became the lord of Karnataka region. Being himself an astute statesman and financier, he confirmed the privileges granted to the English by Ramraya, the titular ruler of Karnatak earlier.⁹⁵ Mir Jumla, on the other, set up his seat at Madras, San Thome and Mylapore with his subordinate officers at the head of these offices. One of the central officers, Mallapa, regularly visited the places and checked whether the share in the customs, due to Mr.

⁹³ William Foster, *E.F.I. 1661-1664*, op.cit. p. 54.

⁹⁴ W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 70.

⁹⁵ Thus realising that the Karnataka must inevitably pass from Vijayanagar to Golkonda Ivy, the English agent at Madras hastened to make an entente cordiale with stronger power. In 1646, when Mir jumla formed camp in the vicinity of Madras for the seize of Santhome. Ivy lent him a gunner and several soldiers assisted him in manyways and presented him with a brass gun. In return. Mir Jumla confirmed on behalf of the Sultan of Golkonda, the existing Qaul (regarding the grant of Madras) and Privileges of the English.

Jumla, was credited or not. He also tried to increase the revenue by encouraging the consumption of betel-leaves and herbs.⁹⁶ By 1650, the English had a port settlement in Fort St. George and factories at Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam (Petapuli) and **Veeravasasam (Veeravaram)**.

From 1654-55 the English had to face difficulties with Mir Jumla, the powerful, vassal of Abdulla Qutb Shah. He had vast interests in overseas trade. His strong army obstructed the trade of the English which led to the tension between Mir Jumla and the British. Reasons for clearly known the Dutch at Pulicat supported Mir Jumla against the British. Fearing aggression from Mir Jumla in 1637 the English constructed a wall round Madras. In 1658 Mir Jumla laid a siege to Madras but in vain. Finally the English entered into an agreement with Mir Jumla to pay yearly customs. Necknam Khan the then Governor of Karnataka after Mir Jumla tried to enhance the rent and also the royalty which led to petty squabbles between the Qutb Shahi officials and the English.⁹⁷ To quote an example was the controversy over the

J.N. Sarkar, *The Life of Mir Jumla*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 96. On September 1, 1652 Madras was proclaimed officially as the seat of the Eastern Presidency. *£77, 1651-54*, p. 175.

⁹⁶ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*. Vol. I (1640-1800), p. 592.

⁹⁷ H.K. Sherwani, *Reign of Abdulla Abdulla Qutb Shah - I*, pp.464-465.

protocol formalities whether the servants of the Golkonda governor or those of the English governor should be served first at the local grass market. The Golkonda Nawab and general **Necknam Khan**, entered into negotiations with the English to open the question of the customs duty of Madras. He thought that 380 pagodas per year was far too small for the diwani share of Madras customs. But the English countered that this was unfair as they had spent much money in developing the trade of the port. The Nawab wanted to settle the issue, where the servants of the Hawaldar collected half the customs due to the diwan from the customs post in the town. The issue was finally resolved in 1672 when **farman** was issued by which the English were to pay 1200 pagodas annually for half the share of customs, and arrears of dues for the last eleven years at 1000 pagodas per year. Even this agreement did not settle the conflicting issue permanently. Soon Sir Edward winter complained to the authorities about the persisting problems and lamented that the English would either stick to their trade by foul fair means, or bid farewell to trade in East **India**. With **Neknam Khan's** severe strictness, the financial position of the company sank slow that it had to

⁹⁸ Sir Edward winter ~~the~~ English agent at Madras, *complaining to oxendon at Surat in letter dated 2nd April, 1663* that the Governor of Masulipatnam was pressing the English further and was proposing to establish custom house of his own to collect all customs there and then perhaps to hand over half the amount to the company. They had realized that the English were making considerable underhand profits and were paying only a small portion of ~~the~~

brow money from Edward Winter himself in order to meet the day to day expenses. The Governor of Karnataka had gone even to the extent of threatening the very existence of the English East India Company and warned them of severe military action. **Neknam** Khan demanded an official of Qutb Shahi state should be placed within Fort St. George itself and, that a customs house should be establish in the Fort to see that the English maintained the correct account of customs. It was also made clear that the customs duties were to be collected directly by the Qutb Shahi officials. The English were not prepared to even, though they accepted the division of customs duties into equal halves." The English, for sometime, became so desperate with these demands that they contemplated the closure of all their factories, except Masulipatnam, on the coast region.

The Golkonda rulers wanted to remove the tariff concessions given to the English and tried to reimpose duties on goods going into and out of Madras by land. The Golkonda general brought his army

proceeds to the Royal officials. **H.K. Sherwani**. *Reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah-I. (1626-72)*, p.465, also see William Foster *EFI*,1661-64. pp. 176-180.

"The **issuc** was finally resolved in February 1672, **whcn a farman** was issued by **which** the English were to pay 1200 pagodas annually for half the share of customs, and arrears of dues for the last eleven years at **1000** pagodas per year.

close to Madras in 1656 and the English President put the town in a defensible posture to resist Golkonda incursion.¹⁰⁰

Madras was laid under siege. Finally, the English had to show down. They agreed to **1658** to pay 380 pagodas annually to the Golkonda Diwan, while the authorities allowed the English to possess the town of Madras. Again in 1662 disputes arose with the local Governors as they thought that 380 pagodas was a small amount to the Diwan. This time the Golkonda army stormed the British factory, killed some of Company's servant and even over San Thome¹⁰¹. The Golkonda government set up customs posts on all roads leading to Madras and unscrupulously taxed all incoming and out-going goods. Trade in Madras came to a virtual standstill. Meanwhile, the second Anglo-Dutch war in Europe (1665-1667)diverted the attention of the English to the defence of their forts and factories from the Dutch¹⁰². The issue of the customs duties was reopened by the Golkonda rulers in 1668 and it was **finally** solved in 1672. William Longhorne was Governor of Madras from 1670 to **1677** and in the first year of his administration the Mohammadan ruler of Karnataka made over to the

¹⁰⁰ S. Arasaratnam, *op.cit.* p. 83.

¹⁰¹ S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants Companies. op.cit.* p.84.

¹⁰² On the Madras Coast internal war no less than **the continued** opposition of the Dutch forced the company to take into it's own hands the responsibility for the defence of it's property. C.J. Hamilton. *Trade Relations, Op.cit.* p. 38

company his claim on the customs at Madras for a fixed rent of 1200 pagodas or 4200 rupees per annum. Afterwards however more energetic measures were decided upon and at a consultation **held** in **1674**, it being recorded that the interests of the company, as well as the lives of the residents at the presidency, were stacked upon the issue of the circumstances then present, a resolution was made to enlarge and strengthen the fortifications. Podile Linganna was appointed the governor of Karnataka after Neknam Khan. Linganna considered himself the sole representative of the Sultan of Golkonda and looked down upon the English as subordinates to his authority. He did not allow the English to deal directly with the government at Hyderabad in their day to day transactions. Linganna was furious when he was not accorded a cordial treatment from the English during one of his visits to Madras. He even blamed Neknam Khan to have foolishly rented Madras for a meagre amount.¹⁰³ He expressed his utter displeasure by imposing an embargo on all paddy entering Madras except through **Poonamalle**. When this measure did not unnerve, Streysham Master, the then Governor of Madras, Linganna went ahead and stopped all goods including brick and mortar to enter the area which was under the control of the English.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ H.D. Love, *op.cit*, p. 356.

¹⁰⁴ C.S. Srinivasachari, *op tit*, p. 87, also see, **Strynsham** Master. *The dairies*, Vol. 1, *op.cit*. p. 75, also see, H.K. **Sherwani** *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*. *op.cit*, p. 634-535.

Frustrated by this economic onslaughts by Linganna, **Streynsham** Master again attempted to override him and sent the Peshkash of 1200 hons to Ibrahim at Hyderabad. He even went **further** and when he heard that the Sultan was to visit Masulipatnam in the near future along with his **Prime** Minister Madanna, he directed the Chief factor at Madapollam to try and secure (1) a **farman** from the Sultan giving the English at Madras the right to coin silver rupees and copper paise in the name of the Sultan which should have currency all over the Qutb Shahi dominions (2) another farman exempting the English goods from paying toll as was the case at Masulipatnam.

They also wanted to represent to the Sultan that some other port towns like Madapollam and Viracheronne be granted to them either rent free or on a fixed rent.¹⁰⁶ However, the Plan of Master did not see light as the Sultan canceled his visit to Masulipatnam due to excessive heat at the place at the time of his proposed visit. However, things brightened up when William Gyfford took charge as Governor of Madras in June 1681. His first conciliatory measure was to send 2000

¹⁰⁵ H.K. Sherwani, *History of Qutb Shahi dynasty*. p. 632

¹⁰⁶ William Foster, *The English Factories, 1661-64* op.cit.p.391.

pagodas as an offering of place to Akkanna, the rahlashkar, and a present of 300 pagodas to podile Linganna¹⁰⁷. The present move of the new Madras Governor had the desired effect. Soon the Governor informed his council that all the pending differences with Linganna had been settled and shelved once for all. The English realised that Podile Linganna was a power to reckon with and started addressing him as His excellency. William Gyfford also abolished the tax imposed by his predecessor Streynshan Master on all the inhabitants of the town to defray the expenditure for repairs and fortifications of fort St. George to strengthen his position among natives.

By 1687 the population of Madras, Fort St. George and the villages within the company's reached a staggering figure 300,000. It clearly shows the commanding heights of the English East India Company vis-a-vis the Dutch. From the beginning, the English trading Company combined trade with diplomacy to promote their interests. In turn, they received many concessions and privileges from the Sultans of **Golkonda**, and later from the Mughal

¹⁰⁷ Streynsham Master was replaced by William Gyfford as Governor in June 1681, and with him the policy of Fort St George became a little more pliable. The Madras Council resolved that 2000 pagodas be sent as a "peace offering" to Akkanna, the Sarlaskar and 300 pagodas to Podili Linganna. **Sherwani**, *History of Qutb Shahi dynasty*, p. 633.

Emperors . However, the English had a chequered career during this period marked by acrimonious relations, tough dealings and hard bargains. When they realised their inability to fight the Mughal power after the liquidation of the Golkonda empire, they preferred to remain as humble petitioners and submitted to the Mughal emperors that the crimes they had committed may be pardoned. Aurangzeb, therefore, permitted them to resume trade on payment of Rs. 1,50,000 as compensation. On the other hand, the Dutch managed to reconcile with the new masters at Delhi. It was the English East India Company that was badly hit in the political transition at the central level. In due course of time, the English feared an attack by the Mughals on Madras and withdrew their factors from their establishments in Andhra except Visakhapatnam. When the final negotiations with the Mughals for great of concessions failed, the English East India Company captured eighty Indian trading ships on the western coast.¹⁰⁹ Learning this, Aurangzeb passed immediate orders to arrest all the British merchants and prohibited trade with the company throughout the Mughal dominions.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ 'A free **trade**, a peaceable residence and a very good esteem with the king and **people**', were the things for which the company aspired in the beginning. William Foster. *The English factories, 1618-21*, p. IX

¹⁰⁹ *Farman* of Nawab **Zulfikar** Khan to Elihuyc. 16 December 1690. *Dairy and Consultation book, 1691* Quoted in S. **Arasaratnam's** *Merchants' companies*, op.cit. p. 85.

¹¹⁰ J.N. **Sarkar**, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. VI, **calcutta**, 1912, p. 312.

Responding to the imperial orders, the Mughal faujidars in Coastal Andhra seized by force the English trading settlements at Masulipatnam, **Madapolam** and Visakhapatnam in 1689. The *farmans* granted by the Mughals in 1690 and 1692 permitted the English to raise fortifications at Visakhapatnam and keep a limited **garrison** ¹¹¹

The Mughals were able to extract large sums of money from the English at the first two factories as the Brahman employees of the company offered no resistance. It was at Visakhapatnam that the Mughals were fiercely opposed and the conflict resulted in the loss of life on both the sides¹¹². The English on the other hand, could save Madras since the Mughal rulers were more bothered, in this region, about the suppression of mendicant Telugu zamindaras of Karnataka. It was only after some that the Mughal-English relations improved when the English agreed to pay an indemnity of Rs. 1,50,000 to the Mughal monarch.¹¹³ Now, the English East India Company found an opportunity to win the favour of Mughal emperors by standing behind

¹¹¹ John Akkidas. "Agrarian Conditions in Golkonda ",(1687-1725) *APHC*,1987, p. 96.

¹¹²On **October 15**, 1689, the Visakhapatnam factory was snaked. However the Company could again revive its fortunes from 28th December, 1690 onwards with the good will of **Zulfikar Khan**, Mughal Commissioner in the **Deccan**, with the result that the factories of Machilipatnam, **Madapollam** and Visakhapatnam resumed their work. C. Ramalakshmi. "The acquisition of the northern **circars** by the East India Company" *APHC*. 1980 p.1. also see, W. Francis, *Vizagpatnam Gazetteer*, Madras, 1907, p.37.

¹¹³J.N. Sakar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. VI, p. 339.

them in their bitter fight against the recalcitrant Zamindars in Karnataka region. During the 1689-90 revolt of the Zamindars, the English East India Company provided both material and manual help to the Mughal **commanders**.¹¹⁴ On their part, the Mughals realised the value of English support and consequently extended a number of concessions to them. Asad Khan, the grand Wazir of Aurangzeb assured the Company customs-free trading privileges, establishment of a mint at Madras, easy access to the diamond mines in Andhra and, finally payment of compensation to the English for the losses they suffered during the capture of Visakhapatnam. Though, the concessions did not materialize in an imperial **farman**, the relations between the Mughal rulers and the English East India company became cordial for quite sometime in the Coastal Andhra.

Apart from this "By 1708 the United East India Company had under its control the following factories on the coromandal coast: Madras, Tuticorin, Porto Novo, Cudalore, Pulicat, **Aramagaon**, **Veeravasaram**, Injaram, Nizampatnam, Machilipatnam, **Madapollam**, Narsapur, **Bimilipatnam**, Visakhapatnam, Ganjam."¹¹⁵ As a result of their north Coromandel trade, they could wield political and economic

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹¹⁵ K. Satyanarayana, *op.cit.* p. 591

influence in the regions of Hyderabad and Karnataka even without strong territorial roots in those places. However, the commercial plenty of the English may be attributed to Madras which gradually grew into a most important trading outlet in South India. The Company invested enormous funds to improve export trade under the supervision of Thomas Pitt, the Governor of Madras from 1698 to 1709. The disturbed political conditions on the Andhra coast in the wake of Mughal military action against the Golkonda kingdom resulted in the gradual shift of place of operation from Masulipatnam to Madras via Nizampatnam to Nellore. Soon, the merchants developed a tendency to migrate to the latter in order to escape the tyranny and confusion in the political affairs of the period. Moreover, Madras was in a position to offer many trade opportunities and personal security which northern ports like Masulipatnam failed to extend. With the active support received from the Mughal rulers, the English East India Company was bent upon giving an independent political status for Madras. On the other hand, the Mughal generals looked to the English finance in times of need.¹¹⁶ To cite an example. Zulfikar Khan, the Jinji commander and

¹¹⁶ **Zulfikar** Khan sent his officers to Madras to borrow a hundred thousand Pagados equivalent to above thirty five thousand pounds sterling. Mr. Nathaniel **Higginson**, who was Governor of Madras, sent a present, but declined to lend money, CD. Maclean. *Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency*. p. 170.

Karnatak faujdar, requested the English in 1693 to lend him Rs. 2,00,000 for his military needs.¹¹⁷

The honeymoon between the Mughals and the East India Company of London was short lived and did not continue for long. Sea piracy strained the relations between the Mughal emperor and the English. Aurangzeb blamed the trading transactions of Europeans throughout his empire.¹¹⁸ The new faujdar of Hyderabad and Karnataka, Daud Khan Panni, had already nursed a grievance against the English for not giving him a befitting present when he assumed office earlier. Using the present dictate of the Mughal emperor on European trade, Daud Khan now took up cudgels against the English. As soon as the orders of the emperor arrived, he demanded a large amount of money in arrears of revenue along with a personal gift of Rs. 10,000. He even threatened to send forces to occupy the unfortified Indian quarter of Madras.¹¹⁹

The East India Company did not keep quiet this time. They mobilised forces against the Mughal fauzidar. In the conflict that both

¹¹⁷ *Dairy and Consultation, 1693*, p. 57.

¹¹⁸ *Dairy and Consultation book, 1702*, p. 9

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

side came to the negotiating table and the talks lasted for three months. Daud Khan agreed to leave the English at Madras undisturbed as he, by this time, realised that Madras posed a direct threat to the Mughal suzerainty in Karnataka region. The English on the other hand declare that they had malice towards none. They were involved in their affairs from now onwards. Soon the English began to upgrade their trade activities and play a pivotal role in the financial sector with handsome amounts of investment as well as returns a their command. They further strengthened their Madras base and operated their other two important coastal settlements viz., Fort St. David and Visakhapatnam with Madras as the central place of their authority. Of these two coastal settlements off Madras port, Visakhapatnam became the most important trading center on the northern coast after the decline of Masulipatnam.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the pattern of conflict changed significantly, though not the political methods. Perhaps a fundamental reason for the change lay in the gradual polarisation of

¹²⁰ Daud Khan **became** military commandant of the Karnataka region in 1701. The English sent this officer letters and presents. A **present** valued at seventeen hundred Pagodas was given in public, and another of three thousand rupees was given in **private**. The Nawab however sent back the presents desiring to receive ten thousand pagodas as his predecessor had **done**. Daud Khan blockaded Madras for three months, but finally received the **present**. C.D. Maclean. *The Manual, op.cit*, p. 170.

interest between the court of Delhi and the Mughal provincial Governors on the one hand and between the Company and its servants on the other. Apart from that the provincial rulers acquired a much greater degree of financial and political control over the local areas than was possible under Aurangzeb and his predecessors. This however, proved difficult to implement, as the servants of the company had separate private interests of their own which stood to gain from participation in provincial politics.¹²¹ Qutb Shahi rule, during almost the course of entire seventeenth century, offered political stability and helped the growth of overseas trade.¹²² The English East India Company could carry on their trade without any trouble from the central authority of the Golkonda Sultans. The political stability more than compensated their expenditure incurred by extending valuable gifts to the officials of Golkonda kingdom including the king. However, the Mughal conquest and the post-conquest conditions resulted in considerable disturbance in peace and political stability of these years. Mughal officials like Fakrullah Khan in Coastal Andhra region behaved like local rulers and tried to act independent of the Mughal authority at centre. During this painful transition, transshipment and

¹²¹ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Op.Cit.*, p. 126.

¹²² T.I. Poonen. *Early History of Dutch Factories*, p. 277.

transport of goods between two ports became highly difficult. As a result, the English were forced by the contemporary realities in society and polity to follow an aggressive policy of fortifying their coastal settlements. They struck favourable alliances with important Telugu Zamindars since they had a direct control over cloth production centers in the hinter land. It may also be said that the Mughal conquest of Golkonda was an indirect boon. For, the European companies gathered necessary strength after the conquest of Golkonda.

The imperial authority was so weak that the Mughal officials did not have the required support from the emperor. The inability of the Mughals to consolidate their conquest in territories belonging to Golkonda encouraged the foreign trading companies in building and strengthening coastal city outlets. By early eighteenth century the European companies exerted great influence and gained political importance by virtue of their fortified port cities.¹²³ Their hand in possession of wealth, partly derived from the trade generated by the demographic upsurge of the protected cities. With fortified cities, wealth and military technology at their disposal, the Europeans became worthy of political power. Every stratum in Indian society, be it

¹²³ *Ibid.*

merchants or weavers or Mughal officers or local Telugu chiefs, was attracted to the British, the Dutch and the French for the fulfillment of its varied interests.

The another company French appeared late on the Indian coasts but they had a desire for eastern traffic since the early days of the sixteenth century. In 1667 an expedition was sent under Francois caron, who established French factory in India at Surat. In 1669 Marcara founded another factory at Masulipatnam by securing a patent from the Sultan of Golkonda.¹²⁴

Among them, only the French could enter into trade transactions on Andhra coast and the others remained outside Andhra coast.¹²⁵ Even the French touched only upon the fringes of Andhra trade and had an isolated presence on the coast, that too during the early eighteenth century. Though the French secured trading facilities at Masulipatnam earlier, they were handicapped from the beginning owing to the lack of help from the French government. They also encountered

¹²⁴ P.N. Chopra, *The Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 358-359.

¹²⁵ After a number of abortive attempts to develop an East Indian trade the **Companie Des Indes** was formed in 1662 and established a first factory at Surat in 1668 and in following year a farman was obtained from the king of Golkonda permitting to a factory to be established at Masulipatnam with right to trade in his **dominions** free of import or export

the problem of securing proper trade concessions and privileges from the native rulers and the antagonism of the fellow European trading companies. Soon after their arrival, the French made an unsuccessful attempt to capture San Thome from the Golkonda ruler in 1674.¹²⁶ But they were forced to surrender. However, the manner in which the French defended San Thome created a good impression on the minds of indigenous rulers of Andhra region. Meanwhile, in 1673 Francois Martin, Director of Masulipatnam factory obtained from Sher Khan Lodi, the Governor of Valikondapur a site in the old port of Pondicherry that became the nucleus of French trade and commerce in due course of time.¹²⁷ Between 1647 and 1687, the French trade began to progress in coastal Andhra from the port of Masulipatnam. After the Mughal conquest of Golconda, the French secured trading rights from the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. He issued a **farman** which allowed the French to carry on duty free trade at Masulipatnam only after the French paid Rs. 10,000 to the Emperor. However, the French trade

duty. C.J. Hamilton. *Trade Relations*, op.cit, p. 40. also see, P.R. Rao, *History of Modern Andhra*, p. 11.

¹²⁶ In 1671 a French fleet arrived in India and in 1672 the French forces captured St. Thome from the **Muhammadans**, who had held possession of it since 1646. **Shortly** after this the Muhammadan army under the command of a general named Baba Saheb endeavoured to recover the place. C.D. Maclean. *Manual of the administration* op.cit. p. 165.

¹²⁷ **H.K. Sherwani** and P.M. Joshi, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol.1, p. 387.

began to progress in coastal Andhra from the port of Masulipatnam. After the Mughal conquest of **Golconda**, Aurangazeb issued a *farman* which allowed the French for duty free trade at Masulipatnam only after the French **paid** Rs. 10,000 to the Emperor. The Dutch attacked Pondicherry in 1693. Francois Martin after defending himself there with great courage, was compelled to capitulate and the town was given up. In 1699 this town became the capital of the French possessions in India.¹²⁸ The status of the French at Pondicherry was similar to that of the English at Madras and the Dutch at Pulicat. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the **French**, under the leadership of Francis **Martin**, could obtain more concessions from the Mughals. The Mughal general, Daud Khan, gave away a few more villages to the French at Pondicherry. A large port was constructed at the sea front and, by 1700 the port custom rose to 2791 pagodas. In spite of that, France was greatly exhausted by wars in Europe which ended in 1713.¹²⁹ As many as 500 weavers were employed by the

¹²⁸ CD. **Maclean**, *Manualop.cit*,p. 174

¹²⁹ In **1693** the Dutch seized Pondicherry and expelled the French garrison and merchants. The present happening badly effected the French at Masulipatnam. George Dunbar, *A History of India*, Delhi, 1987, **pl. 313**

French by the first decade of eighteenth century. Martin's most important contribution was to fortify Pondicherry. By 1706, there were five companies and thirty officers in the fortress. The French government was given a right to mint coins independently of the Mughal administration. It caused a great alarm among the authorities of Karnataka, and soon they blockaded Pondicherry. Francis Martin could successfully retaliate the same. But a great threat was already in the offing. Daud Khan alter challenged the French and objected to the erection of brick bastions around the fortress on the ground that it violated the territorial authority of the Mughals.¹³⁰

There was an unfavourable turn in the position of the French in India after the war of Spanish succession had broken out. They had to abandon their factories at Surat, Masulipatnam and Bantam by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Further deterioration came after the death of Francois Martin in 1706.¹³¹ The French gradually lost economic and political influence beyond the confines of Pondicherry. It

¹³⁰ We made it clear that Pondicherry was only an integral part of the Mughal empire and not an autonomous administrative unit. He demanded a **payment** of Rs. 1,00,000 from the French. Martin could evade it for sometime, but was finally forced to yield. He gave away the stipulated amount of **money** as a present, and not as a tribute as demanded by Daud Khan. **C.D.Maclean, op.cit. pp.152-156**

¹³¹ **P.N. Chopra, The Gazetteer, Op.cit.**,p. 359.

is obvious from the fact that they could establish only one factory at **Yanam** near Kakinada on the Andhra coast. Thus, in seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Andhra became a region of prime importance and commercial interest for every European power. Among different companies, the Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company had many stakes in this region. These powers brought both naval and military power which were gradually used in consolidating with economic and power. By the end of seventeenth century they had settled into a pattern of concentrating their activities on one or two of their settlements. The Europeans were encouraged and patronized by the hinterland powers of the region Andhra viz., the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda and the Mughals. When the authority of the hinterland powers became weak with the progress of time, the Europeans tried to assert their territorial dominance by early eighteenth century. Their port settlements became centers not only of trade and commerce. Now, they were slowly growing as centers of political power and enveloped the entire region.

In was this process of their growth of economic influence which not only facilitated the incorporation of coastal Andhra from

Nizamapatnam to Nellore and beyond but incorporated the over all Indian economy into colonial economy in seventeenth century.

CHAPTER - IV

MERCHANTS AND MERCHANDISE IN COASTAL ANDHRA

(A Study of Commercial Transactions)

This chapter attempts to describe the mercantile activities on the Coromandel Coast in general and coastal Andhra in particular during the seventeenth century. While doing so we have discussed the nature of merchants, the different caste groups to which they belonged, the relations between the merchant class and the state, the type of trade that was carried out through these coastal Andhra ports and type of taxation system, the relations between local merchants and European merchants.¹

In the beginning it were the Hindus who dominated the entire commercial world of Coromandel, overseas, and coastal Andhra trading

¹ The European discovery of the commercial world of Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only revealed the potentials of the direct trade with Europe but also brought to light the existence of a wide spread seaborne traffic in merchandise and men between its various ports and geographical regions. K.N. Chaudhuri. *Trading world of Asia and the East India Company. 1660-1760.* p. 191

world.² Merchants occupied the third place in a four class hierarchy, subordinate to Brahmans and rulers performing hereditary occupations of trading and money lending .³ But the evidence on pre colonial commerce negates this view and shows that Indian state had evolved a system to accommodate the pre-dominance of political power in the hands of an elite with the pragmatic necessity to foster commerce. Earlier, the activity of commerce was carried on independently of rulers. Golkonda rulers maintained good commercial relations with the neighbouring rulers and with foreign countries in West Asia, Europe and South East Asia.⁴ With the non-interference of administration in commerce and merchants autonomy, the commerce seems to have expanded. Maritime and merchandise operated in a natural domain and were not the concern of the state. Indian rulers did not seek to impose regulations on merchants to curtail in anyway the

² J.N. Sarkar: "India's **merchantships**' and their shippers in the red sea **water**" *Journal of Indian History*. 1949, p 56

³S. Arasaratnam. *Maritime India in the seventeenth Century*, p. 173.

⁴ M.A. Ansari, "The Economic Conditions of Golkonda in seventeenth Century". *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1984, p 230.

freedom to depart from and enter the states territories.⁵ But in the very recent historical literature the evidence on the activities of the merchants in the pre colonial state, merchants are given a more central role and instead of being segregated and distinct political and economic functions are seen to overlap at many point. The modes-operendi of merchants differed widely in the various parts of India, depending on the diverse political and administrative situations in which they operated.⁶

Trade in coastal Andhra was carried out by merchants mainly from the communities of Chettis or Sethis, bania or Vanika, Komati and also some other communities mainly concentrated around weaving villages. Among the Hindu merchants Telugu speaking people

⁵ Merchants were favoured with certain customs privileges in those places where the European company had secured such privileges from the native powers. In the large fortified towns like Madras and Nagapatnam these privileges were quite extensive. It also gave them some status in relation to the native administration which respected and sometimes feared the influence and power of the European companies S. Arasuratnam. "Indian Merchants and their trading methods", *IESHR*, Vol. III, No.1, 1966, p. 89.

⁶ The general picture of merchant community and commercial organization which the records of the trading companies bring to light for this period of Indian history is one of a long established and highly skilled tradition which had adjusted to and learnt to live with chronic political instability. W.H. Moreland. *India at the death of Akbar*. pp. 229-30.

dominated the north of the **Palar** river and to the south as far as Nagapatnam.⁷ The vanika or vanik was called bania by the Europeans. Baniyas were most enterprising traders and amassed great wealth during the period of our study. In contemporary European records, they are described as the greedy persons. Komattis also called as Vaisyai,⁸ were the most important caste group because of their settlements along the coast and where largely engaged in commerce and handicraft production. They acted mainly as brokers and suppliers from the producing villages to coastal ports in the textile trade. They travelled far and wide from their Andhra homelands south wards upto Nagapatnam and the Tanjore kingdom. Besides being brokers and suppliers of textiles, they traded in food stuffs. The another important caste group was that of the berichettis. Many wealthy and large scale **ship owners**, brokers and **whole-salers** came from this caste.⁹ Komattis dominated in coastal trading whole sailing, retailing and banking

⁷ . S. **Arasaratnam**, *Merchants, op.cit.* 1650-1750, p. 225.

⁸ Sundaram. *Studies in Economic and Social Conditins of medieval Andhra 1600.* p. 14.

⁹ Thurston: *Castes and tribes of south India, Vol-7*, Madras, 1909, p. 26.

activities.¹⁰ They had opposition from the beri merchants of Tamil districts who also claimed to be Vaisyas.

They were **skillful** traders and dominated all along the coast right up to the port of Nagapatnam. They were suppliers of textiles from the centres of production to the ports of Nizampatnam and Nellore on the Andhra coast. Among their other commercial activities building of ships exporting goods to other countries trading in food stuffs were more important. Because of their wealth and status they became leaders of the valangai or right hand faction. The Balanja or Banajiga or Baliga merchants were other merchant communities who played an effective role in the distribution of goods. They were many sub-castes among the Banajigas, who specialized in trading in different items. 1) *Dasa banajigas, Elebanajigas or Totabanajigas (betel growers)* 2) *Dudi banajigas (Cotton traders)* 3) *Gajula banajigas (glass bangle traders)* 4) *Puvvula banajigas (flower sellers)* 5) *Nayudu,*

¹⁰ They were termed as **Komattis**, these were generally the merchants who by themselves or their servants, traveled into the country gathering up calicoes from the weavers and other commodities, which they sell again in greater parcels in the port towns to merchant strangers taking their commodities in barter or at **price** Moreland. *Relations. op.cit. p. 16.*

balija 6) *Jidipalli balija* 7) *Rajamahendra balija* (belonging to Nellore Cuddapah and Anantapur). There were two other important Telugu castes **known** as the Devangulu and sale, who were mainly weaving castes. The Devanga weavers continued to be important in Andhra and Karnataka **regions**.¹¹ The Devangulu were spread over wide area but concentrated mainly in the districts of Visakhapatnam, and Godavari, Krishna and Guntur **districts**.¹² There were many sub-castes among the sales known as padamasales, **Karmasales** and Pattusales who were specialized in weaving of silk fabrics. Salavaru seems to indicate that the Telugu sales but since they are referred as to ancient inhabitants and they were probably the Saliyar the earliest weaving community to be mentioned in **Chola** inscriptions.¹³ There were other weaving castes such as Tokatas, perikas etc. Brokers played a very significant role in the negotiations of the weaving caste. We find some of these brokers in the Golkonda region after getting good profits, they left for lower markets or ports to trade on their own as a

¹¹ Vijayaramaswamy, *Textile Trade*, p.150.

¹² A. Appadorai. *Economic Conditions of Southern India*, 1000-1500, Madras, 1936, Vol. II, p. 475.

¹³ .Vijayaramaswamy, *op.cit.* p. 151.

whole sale merchants. The merchants of Surat, Masulipatnam and Nizampatnam engaged in sending ship to various overseas **markets**.¹⁴

The merchant community in Andhra Coast also included Muslim merchants known as Coromandel moors in European records. The moors of Golkonda were in adventurous and enterprising people and even prior to the arrival of European merchants they had commercial contacts with many countries of the India and the Pacific ocean stretching from east Africa in the west to the Philippines in the east. Their ships used to sail for Bengal Queda, Arakan, Pegu, Tennaserin, Achin, Priaman and Perak etc.¹⁵ They were also known as Golkonda muslims predominantly Persian in character with a mix of Arabs, Turks and Pathans. The Golkonda muslims were mainly overseas ship traders. They participated in oceanic voyages and distant coastal routes.¹⁶ They were urban based community mostly settled in Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam and in some of the smaller ports like **Bimlipatnam** and Nellore area. As a result of their diplomatic relations

¹⁴ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trading World*, *Op.cit.* p. 48

¹⁵ S.A. Alam. *Masulipatnam: A Metropolitan Port*, p. 177.

¹⁶ **Arasaratnam**, *Indian Merchants*, *op.cit.* p. 88.

and influence they could become intermediaries between the rulers of Golkonda and the rulers of other countries which had good commercial relations with Golkonda **Sultans**.¹⁷

They were mainly overseas traders and active participants in coastal and oceanic trade. They operated their trade mainly in Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam, Vizagapatnam and Bimlipatnam. They enjoyed political patronage from the rulers of Golkonda and influenced the relations between the rulers of Golkonda and the other rulers of the states of **Asia**.¹⁸

The other commercial community in our study period known as Armenians carried out the commercial activities throughout the Andhra coast. They dominated shipping and oceanic trade as far as Manila in the East and Persian gulf and Red sea in the west. They entered into contact with the English at Madras in 1688 after the fall

¹⁷ S. Arasaratnam. *Merchants, Companies*, p.218

¹⁸ Coromandel muslins of diverse origins were a growing force in the trade of the coast in the period. Their growth was particularly concentrated in the overseas trading sector. After a century of Golkonda rule they had become domiciled in the

of Qutb Shahi Kingdom in Golkonda travelled freely in the ships belonging to the company. The type of trade and commerce and categories of merchants during Qutb Shahis regime, included overseas and coastal trading, wholesaling, retailing, brokerage banking, and shroffing. It were the Golkonda muslims who mainly did overseas ship trading and participated in oceanic voyages and distant coastal rulers. The Armenians were the foreign setts of Masulipatnam who developed their trade in Masulipatnam, Santhome and porto novo and emerged as important ship owners of the Andhra coast. The Golkonda muslims increased their trade, because freedom of trade in the ports was given to them by the Sultan of Golkonda through granting of *Golden Farman* in 1632.

Another new merchant group emerged with the growth of trade and commerce, they were grain dealers, merchants who began to act as money lenders and *shroffs*. Later they contributed for the development of rich peasant economy. Even the rulers also became merchants during

eastern Andhra districts and where referred to as Golkonda muslims. S. Arasaratnam. *Maritime India. Op. Cit.* 205.

the mid seventeenth **century**.¹⁹ For example Mir jumla, the Governor of Golkonda was a ship owner and exporter to many regions of the Indian ocean by monopolizing the Dutch company imports in Masulipatnam by using political authority. Merchants among the politicians utilized their political influence to monopolize the trade in particular commodities, in different degrees. Other than Mir Jumla, Viranna and Timmanna were the chief merchants of the time who were the major suppliers of textiles to the English on monopolizing the English imports like woolen, lead and copper. Mir Jumla concluded an agreement with the companies agent and supplied textiles to be exported to Persia. The profits of the voyage were shared between the company and Mir Jumla.²⁰ Mir Jumla represented English interests in Golkonda and secured many favours for them from **administration**. He secured favourable *farman* in 1676 AD from the King of Golkonda. The Indian merchants who were the middlemen to European trade during seventeenth century with their

¹⁹ Sources for the 17th century shows that the nobles and members of the royal family including kings, princes and ladies of the 'Harem', engaged in the commercial **activities** Foster William, *EFI* 1651-54,p For the details on **Kasiviranna** see (20) Yogesh Sharma "A Life of many parts: Kasiviranna A Seventeenth Century South Indian Merchant Magnate", (ed), *The Medieval History Journal*, Sage, 1998,pp. 261-290.

understanding with the Europeans, became monopolizers, both in export and import trade. They were allowed to import grain, betel **and** other food items duty free from the Dutch. The joint stock associations of merchants became popular in Masulipatnam, **Draksharamam**, Palakollu and Madapollam.²¹ Coastal Andhra merchants of joint stock associations wanted to trade with the English and other foreign companies.²² The merchants of Coromandel coast spread out all along the coast. The Muslim traders who came from west Asia and local Muslim merchants had trading relations with Hind **merchants**.²³ The joint stocks were not only stood for the purchase of textiles but also responsible for sailing of European imports like woolens, lead, copper, zinc, quick silver, brimstone and coral had to accept. The Merchants who were humble and obedient to the English in the trading system became very close to the English and they got benefitted in the process.

²¹ J.J Brenning, "Chief Merchants and European Enclaves of seventeenth century **Coromandel**", *Modern Asian Studies*, 1977, p. 324

²² The unique quality of English and Dutch trade with Asia as conducted through joint stock companies sprang from the attempt to impose a centralized and bureaucratically directed system of exchange and distribution on markets that were traditionally decentralized, fragmented and oriented towards individual efforts. K.N.

Chaudhuri, *Trading World. op.cit*, p. 131.(23) **M.N.** Pearson & Asin Das Gupta, *India and the Indian Ocean*, p. 146

There were many major and minor castes who participated in the trading world of this period. **Kommattis**, Chettiars, Naidus and some other castes were the main mercantile classes dominated the trade in south **India**.²⁴ The merchants of Coromandel coast spread all along the coast. These joint stock companies did both purchase of textiles and also selling of European imports like woolens, lead, copper and zinc etc.

To categorize these merchants, first category belonged to sea borne traders who were ship owners and operated on coast. Their primary activity was long distant and coastal trade. Their operations differed widely in scale, for example Mir Kamaluddin of Masulipatnam who owned fleets of vessels. The second category of overseas merchants were those who did not own ships but hired space in ships of others to transport goods which were to be sold in overseas markets. The bulk of the Indians of the seventeenth century belong to this category. The third category of overseas merchant were princes, the other members of the royal family, administrative and nobles who

²⁴ M.N.Pearson & Asin Das **Gupta**, *India and the Indian Ocean*, p. 146

took to trading in the course of seventeenth century. The rulers of Golkonda themselves were participating in commercial activities in the Coastal trade of Andhra. Golkonda kings had their own fleet of ships, **Tavernier** says that a large vessel belonging to the King of Golkonda which goes every year to Persia Laden with muslins and coloured Calicoes the flowered decoration of which is all done by hand which makes them more beautiful and more expensive than when it is printed.²⁵

There were other diverse groups of merchants operating in the ports and hinterland of maritime India. They were specialized in specific commodities dealt in mix of them. These merchants had agents in all hinterland merchants to dispose of imports. They were bulk buyers of spices, copper, tin, lead, zinc and other minerals imported by Europeans. These merchant activities included mainly the export trade. They purchased in weaving villages and sold to exporters the export and import commodities.²⁶ They dominated in large parts.

²⁵ **H.K.** Sherwani. "The reign of Abdulla"- II *Journal of Indian History*, p.678.

²⁶ The production for the market was organised mainly on the basis of contracts between merchants and weavers, specifying the quality to be supplied, the price and

Other category were middlemen and brokers servicing overseas traders. They work largely on advances from the large merchants housed them to accumulate goods in small lots for **exports**.²⁷ They also serviced the import trade by finding buyers again in small lots. They were itinerant, travelling some distance into the hinterland to producing villages and market towns. Their major area of operation was textile trade and they had close links with weaving villages where they doled out advances to many weavers. Their number increased enormously in the seventeenth century in and around European port settlements. Another category of merchants were financiers, shroffs, dealers in exchange and the minting of specie. It is to be noted that these categories by no means mutually exclusive and one person could combine the other.

States attitude and policies towards improvement of trade and commerce was an important aspect to discuss because it is the state that

the date of delivery. Omprakash. *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal*, p.4.

²⁷ The artisan may own his few simple tools and even a certain amount of working capital, but he is not able to market his products without the help of middlemen. In such circumstances it becomes easy for traders and merchants to acquire control over the production process and its profits. K.N. Chaudhuri. *Trading World*, p. 5.

placed major role in any activity. In particular Qutb Shahi rulers adopted a clear cut commercial policy promote trade and to develop the economy. The sultans of Golkonda encouraged trade by granting *farmans* and by giving exemptions to the traders who came from various countries.²⁹ It is to be noted that Qutb Shahis had adopted oppressive yet devised nation system to increase wealth of the state. Towards this task Governors of the regions were given powers to impose taxes. At the sea ports, however, as throughout the country the personality of the local officers counted for very much the more so that the customs seem to have been commonly let on contract to the highest bidder. They adopted different type of taxes and different type of mercantile practices. On Andhra coast land they adopted mainly two types of taxes. One was custom duty on import and export trade, second was local tax that was to be collected by regional authorities. Custom duty was one of the chief sources of revenue in coastal

²⁸ In the time of Sultan Mohammad Qutb shah the seas were patrolled as far of as the Island of Sacotra which is nearly 2000 sea miles from Masulipatnam. This patrolling by Qutb Shahi naval units was effective and they guaranteed the safety of all foreign shippings H.K Sherwani, "The reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah", - II, *Journal of IndiaHistory*, p.678.

²⁹ W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, p. 197.

Andhra. Sea customs were collected at Masulipatnam and at other ports. These taxes were either collected by royal officers or contractors. The local Governors, Zamindars and Polegars collected other specific imports with or without the states permission. Governors during Golkonda period imposed toll percent tax on exports from Masulipatnam and Nizampatnam as a stamping and brokerage duty. The Qutb Shahi officials levied duties on import and export were comparatively low and there was a further relaxation in favour of certain European companies. They favoured the Dutch nation most favourably. During the reign of Mohammad Qutb Shah the ships entering and leaving the port of Nagapatnam paid only 2% ad-veloram duty on entry and the same amount on exit. While the Dutch controlled port of Pulicat they had to pay this amount in addition to fifteen pagodas per ship as anchorage duty. At Nizampatnam which was governed by Hindu governor of Golkonda who had farmed it, the amount charged was 3.5% ad veloram duty on arrival and the same on departure, besides the tax called **chappa dalali'** or stamping and brokerage which amounted to 11%.

³⁰ H.K. Sherwani. *Reign of Abdulla I. Op.cit.* p. 463.

These taxes were levied on foreign merchants only and the Muslims and Hindus (Moors and Gentus) could trade freely although even they had to make some presents to the Governor. The tax on exports and imports through the sea ports was fixed at 2.5% to 3% ad-veloram in all the ports of the coast. The Sultan of Golkonda permitted the Dutch to trade freely at Nizampatnam and reduced the customs duty from 12% to 4%. At Masulipatnam the rates of customs were the highest in this region at 4%.³¹ With the Qutb Shahi rulers the Dutch, the English concluded various agreements where by they got the freedom to trade and also concessions on import and export taxes.³² At ports an naval centres anchorage duty was charged on all ships. The rate of the duty at some of the ports was not known exactly. The anchorage duty was 100 pagodas per ship at Masulipatnam. All European ships over 200 tons paid 9 pagados and those under 100 tons paid six pagodas. The English, unlike, the Dutch were quite

³¹ **Seema** Singh. Nizampatnam, "A Golkonda Port during seventeenth century", *Indian History Congress*, 45th session, p. 404

³² The VOC got of good start over the EIC on the Coromandel trade but its **hold there** was seriously shaken by the wars in and around Golkonda during the last

successful in dealing with the Golkonda authorities though at times, the privileges were obtained by making expensive gifts.³³ Land customs and choultry customs were other kinds of customs that are imposed on goods that passed through these ports. The goods that came into the ports were also taxed and if the goods were re-exported by sea they paid only one import duty at the ports and governments sometimes levied these duties or reduced them to a minimum. Measuring and weighing duties, land customs and choultry customs and **sunkam** duties at the town gate. Transit dues were various revenue collections for Qutb Shahis.

Regarding commercial activities, maritime trade in Coastal Andhra benefited from the liberal regime that all Andhra rulers permitted along the coast and the autonomy they gave to the communities that dwelt there during seventeenth century.³⁴ It enabled

quarter of the seventeenth century, at a period when the English surpassed the Dutch in their capital resources. **C.R** Boxer. *The Dutch seaborne empire*, p. 200.

³³ **Seema Singh**, *Op.cit*. p 405.

³⁴ In the seventeenth century merchants acquired further levers of political influence as economic activity expanded and as merchants were called upon to assist the state in other ways. The farming out of the revenues by auction to maximize their wealth

the merchants of the coast to establish their own **modes-operandi** with the territorial regime. But this autonomy did not lead to an attempt to integrate the Andhra coast totally into the administration of the state. No major urban centres, market towns, military camps or pilgrimage centres grew along the Andhra coast. No substantial military power was located in or near the Andhra coast. The Andhra coast continued as an area through which profit was channeled to the interior. Maritime Andhra was throughout the seventeenth century a defenseless source of wealth to the state.

Maritime zones were defended by provincial and district administrators, received imperial attention only in serious times of crisis. One major observation is that the commercial activity of the seventeenth century made no substantial difference to the lives of the ordinary people of the Andhra coast. It is seen from the fact that throughout the century there was a no marked movement of population from the **hinter-land** to the port towns. The growth of population in these towns did not match the expansion of commerce. It is difficult to determine to what extent there was a free labour market in these again brought the merchants in as revenue farmers and speculators. S. **Arasaratnam**.

areas. It is **significant** to note that there was no marked migration of weavers from interior villages to the coast.

The rise of kingdom of Golkonda in the Andhra coast and hinterland made Machilipatnam and from Nizampatnam to Nellore an important regional entrepots. The sea ports that flourished during this period played a major role for the development of markets for the **imports**.³⁵ Machilipatnam trade with Burma, Bengal, Malaya and Sumatra grew. It is to be noted that the intrusion of Islamic power that is Muslim settlers into Andhra Coast effected the activities of Telugu **chettis** and we see more of them moving towards southern Coromandel and competing with Tamil chettis in their traditional preserves. The Hindu merchants of Golkonda did not have power and influence they had enjoyed under Vijayanagar **rulers**.³⁶ They lost their old revenue terms they had for generations. On the other hand Golkonda **muslim**

Maritime India., p. 177.

³⁵ Asin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson. *India and the Indian Ocean - 1500-1800*, p. 104.

³⁶ Methods description does, however, suggest that domestic consumption of cloth must have gone up, although this would apply predominantly to the north Coromandel where the muslim influence was very **strong** Vijaya Ramaswamy. *Textiles and Weavers*.p. 128.

merchants extended their influence over the Hindus and penetrated southwards from Masulipatnam to Nellore and **beyond**.³⁷ Actually the increase of trade took place with the granting of *Golden farman* in 1632 by the Sultan of Golkonda, which give **freedom** of trade in the **Ports**.³⁸

There is a need to discuss the internal trade and external trade that was carried through the ports of Coastal Andhra during the period of our study. It is to be noted that trade and industry like textiles, diamond and steel, wood carving flourished during the 17th century and even supplied articles the local as well as foreign markets. The policies of Golkonda rulers to maintain good commercial relations with the neighboring rulers as well as foreign countries in west Asia, Europe and south East Asia were an important feature for the growth of the trade in coastal Andhra.

³⁷ The Indian merchants, both Moors and Chettis, offered stiff competition to the Europeans in what has been termed 'inter-Asiatic' or 'country **trade**', i.e. both the Red sea trade as well as the trade with the spice **islands** *Ibid* p. 133.

³⁸ C.J. **Hamilton**, *Trade relations between India and England*, p. 26.

Following account gives the picture of exports and imports and the development of markets during the period of our study. The major item in export trade was textiles or manufactured cloth which the produce of handloom weavers of the Andhra coast.³⁹ **Indian** varieties of textiles have always won the admiration of the outside world and Indonesian archipelago. All foreign visitors to India paid glowing tributes to the fineness and delicacy. It formed about 1/10 of the total exports. The extensive markets and the diversity in demands encourage the export of the textiles. The goods brought from the hinterland and were exported to many countries. The east coast was dotted with ports from where textiles were exported to Europe and East Indies. Masulipatnam was the most important of these. Srikakulam was noted for Muslin export while Rajahmundry produced fine cloth. Masulipatnam was the centre Kalemenda cloth i.e. Cloth painted with **Qalam** or fine pen, while the Dutch factory at Pulicat manufactured

³⁹ The Dutch in competition with the English also provided the impetus for a great increase in the manufacture and production of Indian textiles, which now found a market not only in Asia and East Africa but in West Africa, Europe and even **America**. The increased volume of Production was not, however, accompanied by any significant changes in the techniques of **manufacture**. T. Raychaudhuri. *Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, A study in the interrelations of*

cloth painted fine-textured or plain. There was much demand for Indian-made cloth by the English, the Danes and Moors. The ports on the eastern coast especially through the port of Masulipatnam, required the merchants to have direct contact with the weavers some times through the brokers to get the goods according to the requirements of regional markets. The trade in textiles operated in two directions (1) bilateral trade from the ports of Masulipatnam and others to the markets to Achin, Malacca and etc. Which in return imported into India many of the products (2) textiles were exported to Mediterranean regions through Red sea and Persian gulf and also to Western India to exchange for the spices of Malaccas were sent to the Mediterranean and the West Asian markets.⁴⁰ The second pattern became popular among the European traders, Dying, Painting and printing of textiles in **beautiful** designs and colours especially these varieties of cotton cloth like long cloth, sari cloth, Golkonda Beeteleaves, *ercollaes*, *attejaes*, *duugarees*, *psarempores* and *moris* were the speciality of the Coromandel textiles

European Commerce and Traditional economies Hague 1962. Quoted in C R. Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, p. 197.

⁴⁰ William Foster. *EFI*, 1651-54, p. 251.

that were **exported**.⁴¹ These three varieties constituted gigantic volume of export. Weaving and leaching, dying and painting were practiced in all centres but some of them were more important than other for particular specialities.⁴² Thus the dyes obtainable in the northern centres Masulipatnam and Petapolee were superior to those found farther south.⁴³

The **salempores** were reputed to be produced in Nellore district and also round about Masulipatnam.⁴⁴ Mori was also own in the district of Nellore. Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam and Narsapore were famous for the production of printed cloth⁴⁵. Guinea cloth made of cotton thread which was dyed in bright colours and its Dutch modification was exported to south East Asia and also to Africa and

⁴¹ *Records of Fort St. George, Masulipatnam* consultation book of 1682-82, pp. 29-53. *Despatches from England 1680-1682*. Madras 1914, pp 13,28-29,63,66. *Dairy and consultation book*, 1679-80, Madras, 1912, pp. 11,72,90. *Letters from Fort St. George to subordinate factories 1679*. Madras, 1915, pp 6,28.

⁴² However, our interest lies in the fact that the Europeans did not bring their own techniques in the textile craft to India, at any rate during the first half of the seventeenth century. In fact, Europeans did not possess any superior technology in this field during this period. **Ashan jan Qaisar** *The Indian response to European technology and culture. 1498-1707*. p. 83.

⁴³ **Peter Floris**, *His Voyages to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615*, p. XX

⁴⁴ **Lotika Varadarajan** "Golkonda Cotton dying, A Dutch Grant", *Itihas*. 1977, p. 77.

⁴⁵ K. Satyanarayana. *A Study of the History & Culture of Andhra*, Vol. II, p. 553.

also southeast Asian countries, it was available in **Bimlipatnam** and surrounding areas. Painted' cloth was the main article of trade on the east coast. Initially the Europeans had dealt in coarse cloth, cotton yarn and indigo. Later many commodities were added, spices, lead, quick silver, porcelain and broad cloth. But it were the paintings that were the pride of manufacture. The principle centres were Masulipatnam, Palacole and Petapolee, now called Nizampatnam.⁴⁶ Next item of articles which were exported were **known** as *allegias* which were cotton fabrics are cotton mixed with silk are with gold threads worked into colour combinations red and white or blue and white. These were exported mainly to West Asia, Bandar Abbas and Mocca and later to the European countries. They were known near Masulipatnam, Palakollu and **Draksharamam** areas. The other item which was exported was Chiavovis which were a light and thin white cotton cloth knotted with silk of different colours which were blended in Masulipatnam and Palakollu. The other two varieties which were exported from Masulipatnam to the Malay states were known as cassa

⁴⁶ N. S. Ramaswamy, *Fort St. George*, p 4.

Putah and **Cassamera** which means cloth in white and red colours in Malay origin.

The other item was sasthrakundis or sacegundis which was a cotton cloth made of a thread before weaving and produced in Masulipatnam. It is a Sanskrit name traced from the Sanskrit word sahasra grandhi which means thousand knots. Sukatoons was another **material** which was exported to Burma and Persia and it was own in around Bimlipatnam. This was a material which used to be very heavy cotton cloth being used for palking and also as blankets. **Romals** were small cotton or silk pieces used as hand kerchiefs were produced in and around Nizamapatnam,⁴⁷

These centres were famous for various manufacturing materials like cotton, muslin, chintz. The textiles from various parts of the regions of the kingdom were brought to Masulipatnam.⁴⁸ The small villages produced various kinds of textiles such as **bettiles**, sarangs, **salumpores**, unbleached bettiles and so on and so forth supplied to the

⁴⁷ **J.Mangamma**. "Early Andhra Ports and activity around them", *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress*. p. 107.(48) This town was known for the manufacture of large quantities of muslins during the first century after christ. R..C. Majudar. *The classical accounts of India*. p. 307.

town of Masulipatnam. Fine muslin was manufactured at Masulipatnam and Srikakulam and it can be compared with Dacca muslin. The production of cloth and other manufactures gave rise to some urban development. The industrial towns, commercial villages **comeup** and developed as main trading centres Coastal Andhra. Rajamundry became famous for a fine quality of cloth, such as bettiles (muslin), **salempores** bordered calico, which were the best calicoes in the markets. Weaving, bleaching, dying and printing were practiced both in the northern and southern centres on the Andhra coast. Masulipatnam and **Armagaon** were superior for the dyes and dyed pieces cloth were ordinarily brought by merchants there.⁴⁹ *Kalamkari* a famous cloth was a product of Masulipatnam painted with *Qalam* or fine pen was exported to the European markets. Cotton yarn also plain and dyed became an item of export. The commercial interaction between the weavers and the merchants and the advancement of cash by the Europeans benefiting both the weavers and the Indian merchants helped in increasing the export of textile trade. The Indian

⁴⁹ P.A Sangar, "The Cloth Manufacturers, on the Coromandel Coast in the seventeenth century, 32nd Session, *proceedings of Indian History Congres.* 1970. p.241.

merchants working for the English Company and the weavers scattered in different villages and market towns of the hinterland continued to be in a relatively advantageous position. Rather the benefits of the flourishing textile industry and the export trade occurred as much to the European trading companies as to weavers and native merchants. A substantial chunk of the incomes and profits thus derived remained in the hinterland to the benefit of its **inhabitants**.⁵⁰

In addition to the textiles animal skins particularly Rhinoceros and leopard were exported from Masulipatnam. These were available in Palakollu and these were exported by the Dutch to Batavia and to Japan. Leather items procured in **Draksharamam** and Palakollu were exported to other countries. Saltpetre was another item, exported to European **and** west Asia, it was founded the mouth of river Krishna **was** the port of Nizampatnam.⁵¹ Krishna delta was well supplied with the principal dyes for indigo was grown in the neighbourhood and Petapolee itself was noted for the high quality of its Indian madder

⁵⁰ **Indu Banga**, *op.cit.* p. 69.

⁵¹ H.K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, p. 477.

or chayroot. It was used in the manufacture of the gun powder. Iron and steel found in the Golkonda region was brought to the coast and was exported to Pegu, Tennaserin, Arakan, Arabia and Persia. As trade and commerce increased, silk and ivory were added to the exports. The coastal Andhra iron mines were in Vetapalem near Nizampatnam, Nirmal and Indore which were situated in the north of Golkonda were the centres of iron and steel industry. The diamonds⁵³ found in Golkonda and Bijapur kingdoms were exported to the south east Asia.⁵⁴ Tobacco was exported from Masulipatnam to the main land of South East Asia and to Arabia. Redwood found in the Godavari delta was exported to Mocca. Red dye that was extracted from lac and used for painting calico came from the hinterland of Nizampatnam were exported to from here.⁵⁵ Drugs and Cassamba were exported to Burma

⁵² W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangazeb*, p. 33. See,also, Om Prakash, *DFI*, 56-64

⁵³ R.C. Sarma "The diamond mines of the Deccan during second half of the seventeenth century", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1984, p. 236.

⁵⁴ Contemporary records provide us, by and **alrge** with detailed accounts of mining, but only about two sectors, salt and diamond. Ahsan Jan **Qaisar** *Indian response*.p. 78. This town was known for the manufacture of large quantities of muslins during the first century after christ. R.C. Majudar. *The classical accounts of India* p. 307 This town was known for the manufacture of large quantities of muslins during the **first** century after christ. R..C. Majudar. *The classical accounts of India* p. 307.

⁵⁵ J. **Mangamma** "Early Andhra Ports and activity around them", *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress*, p. 107.

and to the West Asian countries. Slaves had also become a part of export trade and became a market for south east Asia. It was due to the expansion of European settlements on the coast.⁵⁶ Hundreds of slaves were exported from Nizampatnam and Masulipatnam to Batavia between 1640 AD to 1660AD.

During the Qutb Shahi period not only the exports but also many items were imported in order to meet the requirements of the internal trade as well as needs of the people. Major import categories were spices and pepper because there was a great demand for them for the weather as the food ingredients. The different items imported were nutmeg, cloves, sandalwood, eagle wood, mace, pepper, gold from **Siam** coarse porcelain etc. **cardamoms**, cinnamon from Sumatra Malacca and **Ceylon**.⁵⁷ These were used for medicinal purposes also pepper was imported from Burma and Thailand. Another largest single commodity of import was metals like tin, copper, lead and **zinc**. Lead

⁵⁶ From the important ports of Coromandel coast in Godavari district like Madapollam and Narasapur, the exports included cotton, timber and involved in the activities of slave trade Richard **Allen** *A Short Introduction to the Industry and Politics of South East Asia*, p 34 (57) K.S. **Mathew**. "Masulipatnam and the maritime trade of India during the seventeenth century", *APHC*, p. 81, also see, Om Prakash.. *Op.cit.* pp 39, 65, 98-99..

Another category of imports were aromatic goods such as sandalwood and sample wood which were imported from Java, Malaya and Thailand. Machilipatnam was the main centre of import of Persian and Arabian goods. Natural gum, **dama**, lac, perfumes were imported from South East Asia, Achch, China, West Asian countries respectively. Coconuts, coir, cashew nuts, carpets, brocade, dye foods, wines and dye roots were imported from Achch, Kedah, Perac, Thailand, Ceylon, Persia and Ugbekistan respectively. Masulipatnam was the major port where the elephants were its embarked and then taken in to hinterland, Porcelain Was an important item from China.

Thus exports and imports formed a crucial aspect of coastal trade in the Qutb Shahi period the continuous expansion of import trade was due to the expanding demands of the then ruling class in spite of the heavy exports the balance of trade was favourable to the state, because the cost of imports did not exceed the value of exports.

In addition to exports and imports interregional trade was also formed an important aspect of inland trade. According to the **Tavernier** rice, floor, butter, milk, beans and other vegetables, sugar sweet meets

from England, broad cloth from France horse from Uzbekistan, Arabia, Persia and Ethiopia, dried fruit from Bhukhara and Persia, Cowries and ambergris from Maldives porcelain from China, pearls from Tuticorn and Bahrain cloves and cinnamon from Ceylon were on the port folio of imports. Ships laden with articles like quick silver, vermilion, gold and silver ingots, iron, cannon and articles meant for presents came principally from the west. Salt Petre, which **was demand** for the manufacture of gun powder, was imported from Bengal.⁵⁸

Tin was imported from south Asian countries, Copper from Japan. Copper was imported to make implements, utensils and minting of coins. Precious metals like gold and silver were also imported to build up metal industry. A large quantity of gold was brought from Achch and west **sumatran** ports of Pegu and **Palembang**. Gold and silver bars were imported from Europe ship laden with gold and silver mainly came from Europe and also from the Malay Archipelago, China, Japan and other neighbouring countries and Ceylon and Bahrain pearls were imported.

⁵⁸ H.K.Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*. p. 478.

were available in the villages in abundance, which were on sale imported articles which were also on sale though they were expensive.⁵⁹ The interregional trade comprised of food stuffs and textiles. Rice was exported from surplus areas to deficit areas very large scale. A kind of grape called **Anab-I-Shahi** or royal grape was developed under Qutb Shahis. Mangoes were sent from Bengal.⁶⁰ Thus interregional trade was an exchange of food stuffs and wide range of textile products.

Trade routes are to be discussed when analysing the trade and commerce in any period. As far as Qutb Shahis concerned there are valuable sources to know about the trade routes. By their accounts we get a fairly good idea about the network of roads connecting the different industrial centres. Ports and markets **facilitating** both internal and external trade. The sources were corroborated by journals and letters of officials of factories in coastal Andhra. The data in the letters and journals of the officials of the factories, which were

⁵⁹ The achievement of an extraordinarily high degree of market dependence is suggested by bits of evidence like the poor peasants of the rice growing revenue systems of southern coast depended for a large part of its raw material on Maharashtra and Berar. **D.A. Washbrook**. *Progress and problems - South Asian economic and social history*, C-1720-186QMAS, 22 (1), 1988 pp. 57-96 cited in Om Prakash. *New Cambridge Industry of India*, II. 5, p. 156.

⁶⁰ H.K. **Sherwani**. *The Reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah-I*, p. 457.

interspersed along the eastern coast or what came to be called the Golkonda Coast over many volumes of records and are supported by the **dairies** and letters of many eminent travellers such as **Tavernier**, Bernier and Thevenot some of whom give a fairly detailed description of the routes covered by **them**.⁶¹ The trunk roads enabled trade on a large scale. Roads from Surat to Hyderabad, Hyderabad to Machilipatnam,⁶² Hyderabad to Madras via Gandikota road from Vijayawada to Madras,⁶³ Masulipatnam to Srikakulam, Hyderabad to Tamallakota diamond mines were the important roads that were **developed**.⁶⁴

Bullock carts constituted the important mode of transport to transport goods from one region to another and also between one port to another on **land**.⁶⁵ Even water transport with the ports was also used as mode of transport as a part of the interregional trade to transport the goods like food grains, salt and salt petre. Sea routes were

⁶¹ H.K. Sherwani, *The Reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah - Economic Aspects-II. Journal of Indian History*, p 676.

J.B. Tavernier. *Travels in India*. Vol I. pp. 203-4.

⁶³ *Ibid*. p.204.

⁶⁴ H.K. Sherwani, *Op.cit.* p. 685-693. (65) Sanjay Subrahmanyam. *Political Economy*.pp. 71-72

used by merchants from the port of Nizampatnam also from other ports. To other countries were the sea route to Africa and Europe, sea route to Persia and Arabia, sea route to Far east, sea route to Africa and Europe from the port of Masulipatnam was either through the Persian gulf route or by the red sea route. The sea route to Persia and Arabia from the port of Nizampatnam went to Port **Harmaz** and Bandar Abbas. The sea route to Far east or south east Asian countries was from the port of Masulipatnam across the Bay of Bengal following customary line to Achin and then to Bantam, Batavia and from there to Bornia and then to China and Japan.⁶⁶ Thus the sea routes from the ports of Masulipatnam, **Bimlipatnam**, Nizampatnam and other ports went to all parts of the world, connecting the eastern coast with the other parts of the world, resulting into promotion of commerce during Qutb Shahi regime.

⁶⁶ The high sea trade carried on from Pulicat and other Coromandel ports, there was also a fair amount of coastal trade carried on with the Bengal ports in the **north**, the Srilankan and other port in the south and with ports on the Malabar **coast** While the **ships** from Bengal usually returned from north Coromandel itself, those from the Gingelly coast went **further** south to supply central Coromandel as far as Pulicat and Santhome. Om **Prakash**. *The New Cambridge history of India*, Vol. V, 2. pp. 19-20.

During seventeenth centuries India in general and in coastal Andhra particular, markets concentrated in both villages and towns. Satish Chandra writes that during seventeenth century we find the chain of villages which acted as collecting centres of grain *Mandis* leading upto a bigger *mandi* for a region. These bigger *mandis* holding to the big grain dealers known as *banjaras* in the larger towns. Small town ships known as *Qasbas* came in to existence during this period only. These *Qasbas* were the regional centres for the collection of grain. So also every large sea port had three types of markets. (1) Purely local market (2) wholesale spot market (3) latter's offshoot market, called as forward market. During Golkonda period industrial, agricultural raw material and other commodities were bought at the dealers counter or even directly at the theatre of agricultural or industrial production. Given the principle of free trade to the merchants of all over the **world**, the local markets in Europe maintained their entreports in the bazars of Surat and Masulipatnam. The Dutch and the English played an important organizing role to market industrial and agricultural products. The local Sahukar and middlemen were also responsible for organizing business financially.

In mid seventeenth century whole sale markets of Masulipatnam supplied 20 ships of large tonnage. But with the advent of Europeans developed the means of transport and developed market centres. With the arrival of the European companies many merchants **felt that** it was more profitable and less risky to act on behalf of **the** companies. So they started to act as brokers and suppliers in the textile trade from the villages to the ports. The companies depended on them to pronounce textiles for exports and to sell their home products.

In the wake of the establishment of the settlements of the English company and the increasing demand of supplies there evolved an office of chief merchant held by one or two of the most prominent merchants of the region. Due to the increase in the business he appointed his own men as his assistants and sub-brokers to meet the necessities of the companies.

The indigenous merchants acted as middlemen between the producers and **companies**.⁶⁷ They served as linguists to overcome the language barrier to a great extent. The indigenous merchants acted also as brokers between the English merchants and the local producers and received commissions or brokerage, and some times they became the financiers to the companies. They advanced money to the weavers on behalf of the company.

The indigenous merchants expanded the money market and improved the credit facilities by raising the many for the companies. In fact **all** the commercial operations in India during the seventeenth century were in the hands of brokers.⁶⁸ The major marketing centres developed on the coast to manufacture fine variety of cotton for Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam, Madapollam, Palakollu, Rajahmundry, Srikakulam, Rajahmundry, Nellore and Pulicat became important centres for manufacturing materials like cotton, muslin and chintz. In

⁶⁷ Indian merchants were employed as brokers, interpreters, agents, **attorneys, writers**, money changers, cashiers, intermediate brokers and subcontracting **merchants** Asin Das Gupta & M.N. Pearson. *India and the Indian Ocean*, p. 306.

⁶⁸ Ashan Jan Qaisar. "The role of brokers in medieval India", *IHR*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1974, p. 223.

Nizampatnam and Masulipatnam ship building industry developed. Thus the markets flourished not only due to the availability of raw material and its demands and also due to transport and communication facility that were developed during Qutb Shahi period.

Different ports had different currency, the native coins as well as Mughal rupee were freely in circulation in the kingdom. Given the diamond⁶⁹ business in the kingdom and also textile business, there were simple weights and measures. The mining, refining and cutting of diamonds were the most profitable industries in the region. Golkonda was for centuries the only source of large diamonds in the world. By the middle of the seventeenth century there were 23 mines in operation. Several thousands of labourers, artisans craftsmen, contractors, money lenders, merchants and officials were engaged in Golkonda mines.⁷⁰ The pit diamond also known as the Regent along with several of the

⁶⁹ The English also sent in large amount to Masulipatnam especially to procure **diamonds** *Despatches from England, 1680-82, pp* 56-60.

⁷⁰ The mining of diamonds, particularly in a belt from south of the Krishna to the latitude of Pulicat, exercised great fascination for contemporary observers. The most successful of the mines in the early seventeenth century, Kolluru is said to have provided employment for about 30000 people in that period. Sanjay

largest stones in existence came from this mines.⁷¹ The other items were produced for exports like garnet, amethyst, topaz, aget etc. Textile manufacture was encouraged through the chief ports. There were district price levels during his period of our study. Duties levied on imports and exports were comparatively low and there was a further relaxation.

From all this information it becomes clear that the commerce and trade had tremendous impact on society polity and economy and culture in Coastal Andhra. There was a rapid urbanization because of trade and commerce. Cities and towns became cultural and political centres promoted economic activity and attracted merchants business men and entrepreneurs of native or foreign. Town on the coast became more prosperous and stimulated administrative framework. Politically the rulers are also became merchants and encouraged trade and commerce, foreign rulers, and Indian rulers had to have good commercial policies to encourage the mutual trade. Economically both

Subrahmanyam. *Political Economy of Commerce Southern India, 1500-1650*, Cambridge. 1990, p. 30, also see, **W.H** Moreland. *Relations*, op.cit, p. 31.

⁷¹ Owen C, **Kail** *The Dutch in India*, p. 33.

indigenous and foreign trade increased with maintaining the balance of trade. Indian local poor artisans got **economic** support from the foreign merchants given the needs of trade. There was political capitalism implying accumulation of capital in the hands of kings, princes, princesses and ladies of the imperial *harem* as they were directly engaged in formation of joint stock companies was another economic impact. Traditional traffic and also maritime routes developed and coexisted simultaneously in seventeenth century.

CHAPTER - V

QUTB SHAHI STATE AND TRADE IN COASTAL ANDHRA

Though the establishment of European merchant companies gave immense boost to trade and commerce in Coastal Andhra and facilitated the traders interaction with the vast hinterland. But the political developments in the seventeenth century had serious consequences for good giving of commerce in the region. Qutb Shahi state realized the significance of the coast line and had from the very initial stages extended. Promotion and patronization to trade and traders. One of the significant features necessary for the promotion of trade was the internal security and this was very carefully looked after by the Qutb Shahi state, despite varied political constraints. The Qutb Shahi state evolved, an effective administrative system to **mann** its affairs. Richards very rightly remarks "the rapidly growing wealth and population of the capital accompanies and parallel the evolution of a centralized political and administrative system. Although not overly complex or bureaucratized, the administrative presided over by the Qutb Shahs was remarkably effective in securing

the kingdom from internal revolts or from outside attack, as well as in raising revenues apparently which in excess of the requirements of the state. The success of the system rested on the maintenance of preponderant force kept in readiness to serve the king at the capital. But equally importance was the readiness of all important segments of the indigenous population to accept the legitimacy of the regime.¹ There is lot of evidence that Golkonda state intervened to establish the freedom of trade on the Andhra coast. Because the important benefit to the Golkonda Kingdom from overseas trade was the availability of bullion in to interiors of the kingdom² Silver and gold billion reached into interiors of coastal Andhra in the seventeenth century only through trade. Besides this the other benefit to Qutb State from this commerce on the coastal Andhra access to foreign goods which were used by the nobility and the royalty. Some of these luxury goods included silks, tapestries, carpets, perfumes, porcelain coral, cut glass and precious **stones**.

¹ J.F. Richards, *The Mughal Administration in Golkonda*, p. 13.

² Arasaratnam, *Maritime India*, Op.Cit., pp.226-228.

³ *Ibid.*

Interestingly the merchants some time offered these goods that rulers and their agents voluntarily because they wanted to purchase political influence.⁴ What ever intention the Qutb Shahi state had it took lot of interest not only for growth of the internal and external trade through various oldest of Coastal Andhra but also facilitated the proliferation of trading goods into domestic markets. The Qutb Shahi state carried out various necessary measures connected with the prices, tax exemptions, currency and matters related to the administrative effectivity for protecting the coastal trade.

The kingdom of Golkonda was established in the early years of 16th century, and was ruled by a Turko-Persian dynasty. Most of the subject people the indigenous inhabitants of the region were Telugu-speaking Hindus.⁵ With the rise of Qutb Shahi dynasty under Quli Qutb Shah in the second decade of the sixteenth century and especially from the time that the Krishna-Godavari delta as far as

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The inhabitants of the kingdom were almost entirely Hindu, speaking in Telugu **language** The bulk of the other resident Muslims was regarded as of foreign **origin**, whether merchants who had settled at the sea ports, or soldiers and adventures who had followed the flag from the north. W.H. Moreland, *Relations of Golkonda*, p. XVII.

Ellur (Eluru) and **Rajamundry** was brought under **Qutb-ul-mulk**.⁶ By the middle of 17th century, the boundaries of Golconda closely coincided with the Telugu linguistic and cultural region.⁷ To be more precise, during the reign of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612 A.D.), nearly the whole of Andhra Desa was **conquered**.⁸ The Qutb Shahi state was installed as a powerful kingdom in the region with the extension of its wings of power and administrative jurisdiction from Warangal to the port town of Masulipatnam. It was under Sultan Quli, the scattered parts of the country were united in strong political and economic terms.⁹

2. K.S. Mathew. "Masulipatnam and the maritime trade of India during the seventeenth century", *APHC*, p. 76.

⁷ Richards J.F. *Mughal administration in Golkonda*, p. 1. also see, H.K. Sherwani. "The reign of Abul Qutb Shah- I", *Journal of Indian History*, p. 443.

⁸ R. Soma Reddy. *Hindu and Muslim Religious Institutions, Andhra desa: 1300-1600*, Madras, 1984, p.3.

⁹ The kingdom was founded by Sultan Quli the descendant of a Turkish dynasty of Iran who, at the time of the establishment of the kingdom, served as the governor of the province of Telangana. Upon founding the Golconda kingdom, he realised the important need of carving out a united Telangana under a centralised government. Dipping his sword in blood, he soon conquered Rajkonda, Devarakonda and Pangal situated in the Krishna valley. The occupation of these areas and, in particular Pangal, successfully checked the progress of the territorial ambitions of the Vijayanagara rulers. In no time, the Qutb Shahi suzerainty extended over further regions such as Koilkonda and, this provided the rulers an ample scope to control Krishna and Tungabhadra riverine regions. The defeat of **Sitab Khan** alian Sitapati of Khammamet brought a greater part of North Telangana under the active rule of Qutb **Shahi** s Sultan Quli checked the Vijayanagara forces from their encroachments upon the Qutb Shahi territories

Sultan Quli was followed by Ibrahim Qutb Shah and he became one of the most important and real architects of the kingdom. His era was a period of prosperity and plenty and witnessed the progress of moral and material factors, necessary for a healthy amalgamation of different components of life under the Qutb Shahi state. It was under his leadership, the fertile belts of Godavari including Rajahmundry¹⁰ and Ellore were attached to the Kingdom.¹¹ The administrative structure was thoroughly reorganized on sound principles and its net consequence was the progress of commerce and industry. After the defeat of the Vijayanagara state in the historical battle of Tallikota (1565), the kingdom of Golconda extended its physical boundaries upto Gandikota¹². The political power of Qutb

and forced them to surrender Bellamkonda and Kondavidu to Qutb Shahi rulers. The territorial aggrandizement under Sultan Quli registered the final success in the conquest of Nalgonda Within a brief span of three decades. A.M. Siddique. *History of Golkonda*, Hyderabad, 1956, pp. 24-26, also see S.A.A Bilgrami, *Land marks of the Deccan*, Hyderabad, 1927, p. 112

¹⁰ In 1565, Ibrahim captured Rajahmundry and annexed the whole territory as far north as cicacole C.D Maclean *Manual of the Administration*, p. 49.

¹¹ A.M. Siddique, *op.cit*, p. 81

¹² The decline of Vijayanagara over lordship occurred in two stages, both marked by decisive battles. The first was the defeat of Rama Raya by Golkonda and Bijapur along with a coalition of with two other muslim states Ahmad nagar and Bidar on the banks of Krishna river at Tallikot or Rakshatangi in 1565. The

Shahi rulers reached its zenith during the reigns of Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah and Mohammad Qutb Shah. Mohammed Quli initiated various steps to protect the boundaries of the state¹³. Rajahmundry and Guntur received greater attention of the rulers and they were rendered militarily strong holds of the Qutb Shahi state.

His mind was peace-oriented and, he maintained cordial relations with the Mughal emperors. Despite the fact that northern Deccan was dominated by the conflicting military interests between the Mughal empires and the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda was blessed with relative peace and harmony¹⁴.

The events that followed the fall of Ahmadnagar which, till now, served as a strong buffer state, exposed the Qutb Shahi

second military set back between Vijayanagar rulers and two sets of Telugu **naiks** Burton Stein. *The South* (ed) in Tapan Ray Chaudhuri and Irfan Habib. *The Cambridge economic history of India*, Vol.1, (1200-1750), Cambridge, 1982, p. 204.

¹³ In Sultans of Golkonda do not seem to have partaken directly of the trade though, until the late 1580's In this epoch, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad there commenced a trade between Masulipatnam and Red sea involving one large ship of the Sultan. Sanjay **Subrahmanyam** *Improvising empire*. Delhi. 1990, p.131.

¹⁴ The Coromandel coast on the other hand ruled by a number of warring dynasties, and its economic life was being continually disrupted by wars of conquest first between the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar and muslim Golkonda and later between Golkonda itself and the Mughals K.N. Chaudhuri *Trading world, op.cit.* 149

kingdom to the perils of military designs of the Mughals. By 1635, the Golkonda kingdom was forced to sign a subjugation documents and, this act acknowledged Mughal supremacy¹⁵. After this, the Qutb Shahi government threw its attention on the north-eastern parts to gain new areas to compensate the loss elsewhere. The Qutb Shahi state took Vizagapatnam in 1656. The new annexation extended the Qutb Shahi boundaries to extreme north of Andhra and, Samalkota soon became its military headquarters.¹⁶ The annexation was immediately followed by the conquest of the southern parts viz., Sidhout, Cuddapah and Gandikota. The occupation of Gandikota, says Tavernier, provided a strong foothold to the Qutb Shahi rulers in the eastern Karnataka.¹⁷ These conquests brought Qutb Shahi rulers into close contacts with European settlers on the Andhra coast, which conquered by the end of sixteenth century.

¹⁵ With the accession of Shahjahan to the throne the scene was **changed** Shaista Khan was despatched to capture of Deccan **states** The news of armament cowed Abdulla the king of **Golkonda**, and without striking a blow in defence of his independence he agreed to become a vassal of the **Mughals** Jadunath Sarkar. *History of Aurangazeb, Vol I, pp* 18-19.

¹⁶ A.M. Siddique, *op.cit.* p. 178.

¹⁷ Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol. 1, p. 227.

After the conquest of Karnataka, a couple of greedy military general like Mir **Jumla** of the Golkonda Kingdom, opened clandestine parleys with Aurangazeb and the consequence was the latter's invasion on Golkonda in 1655.¹⁸ This signaled the beginning the decline of the Qutb Shahi kingdom. Aurangazeb again invaded Golkonda in 1686 and the kingdom began to tatter. The Mughal emperor laid siege to the fort of Golkonda for eight long months in 1687 and, the fort yielded to the Mughal monarch. He named Muhabat Khan as the first Mughal Governor of the conquered Golkonda kingdom.

The relative freedom from intense military exploits provided the Qutb Shahi kingdom a breathing space to concentrate on strengthening domestic economy. In the contemporary period, it stood

¹⁸ When the Mughals invaded the **Deccan**, the local rulers formed an alliance against them, but after defeating the invaders they fell out among themselves thus enabling the imperial troops gradually to subdue the country. In 1635, **Shahjahan**, who had then become emperor, sent a *farman* to Golkonda which was well **received**. The Khutba was read in the name of the Emperor in the chief mosque and coins were struck in his **name**. Mir Jumla, the king's minister appealed to Aurangazeb for help against his master in 1655 and this afforded a pretext for Aurangazeb to invade the territory. Hyderabad was plundered, but Abdul la sued for peace and paid arrears of tribute. Hamilton, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. I. p. 14.

only next to the Mogul empire in material strength. The economy under Qutb Shahis was prosperous and various factors, both internal and external contributed to economy. Golkonda state, at the peak of its power during the greater part of seventeenth century, represented a fertile and irrigated territory and was ably supported by industrious population. Golkonda abounded in mineral resources and it was particularly famous for its' diamonds all over the world. The kingdom was also famous for weaving centres round Masulipatnam and the carpet manufacture at Ellore.¹⁹ In addition, the kingdom had in Masulipatnam, an eastern port on Coromandel, "the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal and the only place on the east Coast whence ships sailed for Pegu, Siam, Bengal, Cochin, China, Manillas and even Mecca and Madagascar".²⁰ Crops like tobacco and palm were abundantly grown which yielded large revenue from the excise duties imposed on them.²¹

¹⁹ J.D.B. Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, London, 1896, p. 269.

²⁰ Travemier, *op.cit.* pp. 150-58.

²¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 23.

The Persian Chronicles are not wealthy in their information on economic activities within the kingdom of Golkonda²². But from the time the Europeans set their foot on Andhra coast and founded trading houses during seventeenth century, they began to maintain factory records, in addition to a few personal accounts, which yield a lot of information on the economic set-up. In addition to these, there are accounts of foreign travelers and the *Mathnavi* verses.²³ The primary resources that contributed for the prosperity of economy under the Qutb Shahi rulers were agriculture, trade and handicrafts in addition to the revenue derived from subsidiary taxes and duties.

Prevalence of farming tax was a significant feature of the agrarian system in the Golkonda kingdom. It was not, however, unique in the sense that the same system of land revenue was much in vogue and practice in the Hindu kingdoms of South India dating back to the 13th century.²⁴ In the land structure, characterized by

²² Our Persian Chronicles are mainly a records of events at royal courts and the lives of noblemen of the kingdom and they throw little light on the economic structure of the country. H.K. Sherwani. *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*. p.412.

²³ *Ibid*,

²⁴ Ramakrishna Mukerjee, *Rise and Fall of the East India Company*, Bombay, 1973, p. 175.

exploitation, the revenue was shared among the Sultan, *Muqasadars*²⁵ (great nobles), *sarsamatus* (distinct governors) and *Hawaladars*.

In a few parts, the central revenue ministry was involved in collection of taxes on its own and, in other places the *maqasadars* were given specified lands as revenue assignments.²⁶ the *sarsamatus* were invested with revenue powers in places like coastal Andhra and *Hawaladars* were given jurisdiction over small patches of lands for the purpose of revenue collection.²⁷ The *sarsimt* or district governors of coastal Andhra also indulged in rapacious tax farming. Before securing his appointment each Governor had to agree to pay the central treasury a fixed sum each year. Once established, the Governor was free to try to recoup his expenses and make a profit on the tax collections²⁸. In every instance, collection of land tax was carried through a long procedure of leases and sub-leases.

²⁵ The *Sarsimt* was evidently appointed by the King, but there was another officer, the *Hawaladar*, mainly responsible for collection of royal taxes and the office was publicly auctioned or 'farmed' and given to the highest bidder. H.K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*. p. 511.

²⁶ 6 J.F Richards *Mughah Administration in Golkonda*, Oxford, 1995, pp.22-24.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ Moreland has presented a very depressing picture of the system of taxation and its effect on trade. He saw the Golkonda administration as the most oppressive yet devised and characterized the taxation as oppressive, arbitrary and uncertain with Governors of districts being given free rein to impose what they

A significant aspect of seventeenth century economy of Andhra was the exacting attitude of revenue administration and prosperity of country-side existed at the same time. "The Kingdom of Golkonda, generally speaking, is a rich country bounding in corn, rice, cattle, sheep, bows, and others commodities necessary to life" Agriculture was dependent on both natural and man-made supplies of water. One of the *mathnavi* versus of the Qutb Shahi period refers to the existence of "field channels" which word implies that there were artificial sources for supply of water to the fields.³⁰ Tank irrigation and fertile delta regions must have surely contributed to the existence of plenty in the field of agrarian economy and the abundant growth of various crops like indigo, tobacco, rice, wheat, corn, sugarcane, chillies, onion and betel leaf.³¹ In addition, a foreign traveller noticed the cultivation of garden crops such as mangoes, figs, oranges, lemons, papaya, jambolons, banana, sapota,

liked and grab whatever wealth was created by enterprise. S. **Arasaratnam**, *Merchants, Companies, Op.Cit*, p. 322, also see, Moreland. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* p. 242.

²⁹ **Tavernier**, *op.cit*, p 121.

³⁰ 4. Quoted in Salma Ahmed, *Qutb Shahi stale in the Deccan, (1518-1687 A.D.)*, M.Phil. **Dissertation**, Univeristy of Hyderabad, 1992, p. 34.

³¹ **S.N. Sen**, *Indian Travels of thevenot and Careri*, p. 153.

pomegranates. Supply of water, without any interruption, resulted in the growth of beautiful flower gardens and **Tavernier** was so impressed that he called Haidarabad as city of gardens or **Bagh Nagar**.³² During the second half of the seventeenth century, tobacco, along with salt, was counted upon as principal revenue earner for the rulers. The sultans, in fact, used to farm out 100 miles of land around Masulipatnam to revenue officials who were given the monopoly over the purchase of tobacco from the **cultivators**.³³ There was an obsession with the growth of tobacco among the growers that, at times, they neglected the standing crops of tobacco as it was shown on large tracts beyond the possible control of human endeavours to take care of the vastly sown lands.³⁴ These examples are only a few evidences to throw light on the prosperous agrarian economy of the hinterland that also fed the seventeenth century trade.

Despite the visible signs of agrarian progress, cultivators were in need of incentives as major portion of their produce was

³² Tavernier, *op.cit*, p. 63.

³³ A J Qaisar *Indian Response to European Technology*, p. 121.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

devoured by exacting tax **collectors**.³⁵ The scope for taking under advantage in tax collection was reduced by some of the in built measures undertaken by the kings. The system of Perfect Assessment or *Jami-i-Kamil* specified a tax for each area from the level of a small village to the level of a **district**.³⁶ Under this system, revenue demands were not increased frequently and successful cultivators were amply rewarded by the state.

Besides diamonds, iron ore was found in abundant quantities and it was exported to places like Punjab, Gujarat and Persia.³⁷ The famous Damascus swords were made of iron ore from Golconda region. The Damascus swords which were world famous for their quality were manufactured from Golkonda steel.³⁸ According to Thevenot arms like swords, daggers and spears manufactured at

³⁵ The village commune in the kingdom of Golkonda was a feudal unit dominated by the hereditary land holders and village officers, it continued to organize the collective life of the village in a way which suited the interests of the exploitative **society** And the state recognized the powers of the commune to the extent if **furthered** it's own interests namely enhancement of **production**, payment of revenue and maintenance of law and order. **K. Satyanarayana** *A Study, op.cit.* p. 486

³⁶ J.F. Richards, *op.cit.* pp. 22-24.

³⁷ **Tavernier**, *op.cit.* p. 128.

³⁸ A. M. Siddique, *History of Golkonda*, p. 351.

Indalvai near Indore or Nizamabad were supplied to markets all over India.³⁹ They have not mentioned that swords, daggers and spears were manufactured at Indalvai in Nizamabad (**Indur**) and were supplied to markets all over India.⁴⁰ The mining as well as smelting of ores was undertaken by peasants of the respective regions. These peasants were employed as smelters and small commodity producers by merchants in the hinterland areas on specific terms and wages. The best and highly qualitative iron ore was found along the east coast, and it was sold by local blacksmiths at Narasapur shipyard. Different varieties of spikes, bolts and anchors were indigenously manufactured around this place by local people.⁴¹

In the field of textiles,⁴² Golkonda was highly famous for the export of fabrics of *Qalamkari* art in which cloth was patterned

³⁹ S.N.Sen, *Travels of Thavenõll*, p. 235.

⁴⁰ 1. S.P. Sen, *op.cit.* p. 235.

⁴¹ 2. J.N. Sarkar, *Mughal Economy-Urbanisation and Working*, Calcutta, 1987, p. 63.

⁴² The production of textiles for export was concentrated mainly on the Coromandel coast, in Gujarat and in Bengal while the northern Coromandel. The area between the rivers Krishna and Godavari-specialized in the production of plain textiles. The weavers were not concentrated in towns but rather dispersed in industrial villages scattered throughout the coastal districts. In the weaving villages of Krishna **delta**, a good part of the production was of the finer grades of

on the loom using coloured yarn. In general, the printing on cloth was facilitated by applying colour on cloth with a pen or brush by hand as at Masulipatnam. The same was conducted also by imprinting the **cloth with** engraved wooden blocks dipped in paint. Fabrics were also exported abroad, particularly the patterned cloth called *Qalamkar* of Masulipatnam was in great demand abroad. The major centres of production of *Qalamkari*⁴³ variety were Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam, Narasapur, **Armagaon** and Madras. The workers of Masulipatnam activity in the production of cloth and its market potential led to the growth of urbanization of the areas with the development of industrial and commercial centres like Narasapur, Nizampatnam, Masulipatnam and Vetapalem. The process was further stimulated by the trading activities of the Dutch and the

fancy cloth while weavers in the Godavari delta concentrated on the production of plain caticoes. The census contains evidence regarding eighteen producing centres in the area around the Dutch factory at **Draksharamam** in the Godavari **delta**. More specifically in the east Godavari villages of **Gollapalem** and **Gondavaram**, the existence of ground water with specific chemical properties enabled the local painters and dyers to achieve **dinstinctive** results. Om Prakash. *The new Cambridge history of India. II*, 5 Cambridge, 1998, pp 163-164.

⁴³ **Kalamkari** was practiced mainly at Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam and **Palakollu**. The word '*Kalamkari*' literally means 'working with a **pen**'. The instrument is made of a bamboo **stick**. There were two types of **Kalams**. One is a pen like sharp pointed **kalam** and other a brushlike instrument. K. Satyanarayana. *A Study of the history and culture of the Andhras Vol II* p. 50.

English . The delta district of Rajahmundry was known for its production of superior variety of cloth viz., betelles (muslin), salem pores, calico with stout borders and percalles. The calico cloth, in particular, was considered the best in contemporary market. Dying of cloth too became a subsidiary industry at the place like Nizampatnam. Warangal was known for the carpet-making industry under the Qutb Shahis.

There was a brisk activity of trade along the entire coast. The advent of European nations provided a further impetus to the trade of Golkonda kingdom. Its location in the south Eastern part of the sub-continent which covered the Coromandel coast gave Golkonda a unique advantage to promote her trade and commerce. The Qutb Shahi port of Nizampatanam attained the position of considerable importance during the reigns of Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-1672) and **Abal** Hassan (1672-1687), due to the commercial activities of the English and the Dutch companies. Multiple number of factories that dotted the coastal areas like Narasapur on the banks

⁴⁴ *Ibid* pp 46-47.

of Godavari attest the fact.⁴⁵ These factories were engaged in building big steamers for the purpose of conducting long voyages, some of the foreign traders too placed orders for the ships and, the order by an English servant for the manufacture of a particular ship by name Globe is an example.⁴⁶ In case of large scale shipping, most regular and commercially significant was the traffic from Bengal and Golkonda along East coast⁴⁷. The vessels set on sail to places like **Galle** and **Jafna** throughout the year except during unfavourable conditions of North-East monsoon. Most of the ships were owned by powerful Muslim merchants of Golkonda with a few Nawabs of Bengal and cuttack owning a less number of ships.⁴⁸ The Golkonda merchants invested handsome amounts of money in ship-building

⁴⁵ These factories had been in existence till the early decades & 19th century. When the British acquired a monopoly over the indigenous economy and, with Madras becoming the hub of activities, both political and economic, many of these factories in Godavari region were abandoned. The closure of the factories had severely affected the artisans of the region and they protested the measure as it rendered them without any employment. They sent petitions to the Governor of Madras Presidency to redress their grievances in this regard. For details see, *Petition Registers*, Vol. 18, No. 930, Tamilnadu Archives.

⁴⁶ W.H. Moreland, *Relations*, *op.cit.* p. 63.

⁴⁷ M N Pearson & Asin Das Gupta, *India and the Indian Ocean*, pp. 229-230.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

activity and each ship was placed under the charge of a *Nakhoda*,⁴⁹ who could transact business on behalf of owners and shareholders of the cargo.⁵⁰ The kings of Qutb Shahi dynasty, on the other hand, had their own fleet of ships for which the Dutch supplied pilots, sub-pilots and gunners for the safe conduct of the vessels. In the time of Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah the seas were patrolled as far off as the Island of Sacotra which lies nearly 2000 sea miles from Masulipatnam.⁵¹ This patrolling by Qutb shahi naval units was effective and they guaranteed the safety of all foreign shipping as is evidence by episode of the indemnity levied on the Dutch ship.⁵²

⁴⁹ The '*Nakhoda*' was not the navigator indeed on the Mughal hajj ships he was a Mansabdar. On most ships, the *Nakhoda* was an eminent merchant but he was also the agent of the owners of the ship, and often also an agent for other merchants. The rulers had links with Coromandel officials who would then give every facility to the incoming vessels and their *Nakhodas*. Asin Das Gupta & M.N. **Pearson** *India and the Indian Ocean*. pp. 15 & 120

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹ In the reign of Muhammad Quli, it was decided to send every year a large ship from Masulipatnam to the red sea, which would fly the Sultans flag. They were to perform three roles: First, of exploiting the middle eastern market for north Coromandel textiles, while at the same time enabling gold and silver to be imported directly from the Red sea ports, second, of permitting the Sultan to have alms distributed annually in his name at Mecca; and third, of ensuring the easy passage not only of Pilgrims on the Hajj, but of immigrants from the middle east to Golkonda. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese. The travails of Masulipatnam shipping in the Western Indian Ocean", 1590-1665. *Modern Asian Studies*. 1998,p.505.

⁵² Sherwani, H.K "Reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah", Economic aspects, *Journal of Indian History*, p 678

Madapollam and **Narasapur** become the major ship-building⁵³ centres which supplied vessels to **Masulipatnam**.⁵⁴ The east coast was dotted with ports from where textiles were exported to Europe and the East Indies. **Srikakulam** noted for fine muslin export, while **Rajahmundry** produced fine cloth. It may be mentioned here that **Masulipatnam** rose to prominence as the leading port on the East Coast during late 16th century. **Sultan Quli** established his kingdom upto **Masulipatnam** by 1543⁵⁵. The consolidation of the Sultanate under **Ibrahim Qutb Shah** and, the rise of a network of ports within the Bay of Bengal region were the major factors behind the consolidation of coastal **Andhra** ports as leading ports. In fact, it was **Nizampatnam** which was one of the principal ports for **Qutb Shahis** between the

⁵³ The **Andhras** were a great sea faring people. The sea faring activity of the **Andhras** gave rise to the boat making and ship building activity in **Andhra** desa. The steady rise in the exports from the **Andhra** districts to foreign lands from the beginning of the seventeenth century gave rise to an ever increasing demand for boats and ships and that accounts for the flourishing nature of the port towns and ship building industry in some of these centres. **P.S.R. Sarma**, "Factors leading to the decline of the boat making and ship building industry in **Andhra** Desa. AD 1600-1850", *APHC*, 1978, PP. 116-117. The Ship building at **Narasapur**, an important port in coastal **Andhra**, has been referred to elsewhere Here the best timber, iron and other materials were available in sufficient quantities. **K. Satyanarayana** *Op.Cit.* 556, also see, **Noone John Babu**. "Coastal trade of **Madapollam** and **Narasapur** during the later quarter of the seventeenth century". *APHC*, 1986, pp. 160-162

⁵⁴ *Ibid* (55) *CD. Maclean, op.cit.* p. 149.

reigns of Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-72) and **Abul** Hasan (1672-87)⁵⁶ it was the period which witnessed intense commercial activities of the English and Dutch companies. The port soon emerged as the most important centre for Cotton manufacturers on the east coast and, it commanded a large market in Bantam and the far east in the early seventeenth century. The Nizamapatnam **port**, unlike others, was busy throughout the year with intensive loading and unloading activities. It became so important for foreign traders that the English East India Company secured for a second time favourable commercial privileges from the Sultan of Golkonda. It may be noted that the company temporarily withdrew from the port for two years between 1628 and 1630. The Nizamapatnam port, thus, became a centralized trade centre of Golkonda kingdom continued to enjoy its present status during the major part of seventeenth century.

In essence, the commercial relations with the port towns centred mainly around European companies mainly the Dutch and the English. The establishment of factories necessarily involved direct

⁵⁶ **Salma** Ahmed, *op.cit.* p. 49.

contact with the regional powers. The relationship between the regional states and the Europeans were generally economic rather than political. Fore most it involved a permission to construct a factory followed by concessions like customs duties, port duties, embarkation and disembarkation duties weighing duties etc. The regional states benefited from the establishment of factories as they generated additional income.⁵⁷ It is perhaps for this reason that Golkonda invited all the three European companies to trade at Masulipatnam and Petapolee but never encouraged exclusive rights to a particular company over the ports. This led to the severe competition between the companies and the Indian merchants as well which further increased the revenues of the state. If a factory is constructed by getting permission, fortifications on the other land are obtained through a grant in perpetuity from the local powers. The Dutch were

⁵⁷ In Bengal for example, the inland factories though capable of some resistance, were never allowed by the Mughal rulers to build any kind of real **fortification** But in the coast of Coromandel and in Bengal, the presidency towns founded by the company enjoyed much greater measure of commercial success as local trading ports than did Bombay in western India. K.N Chaudhuri. *Trading world op.cit.* p. 51, Long distance trade, in its Asian context, was an object of interest to indigenous rulers and governments primarily for the revenue they could derive from taxing the merchants. Tan Roy Chaudhuri & Irfan Habib. *The Cambridge economic history*, p. 384.

the first to start their trading activities here. An agreement was signed in 1606 between Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah and the Dutch according to which the latter were granted permission to establish factories at Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam and Pulicat.⁵⁸ Sultan Mohammad encouraged the Dutch and the English to establish their trade centres on the east coast and strengthen them by fortifications. The Dutch had their emporiums otherwise called factories at Masulipatnam, Nizampatnam and Pulicat, while the English had their own at Masulipatnam, Pulicat and Nagapatnam. These centres were intended to organize the production, Purchase and sale of a large variety of textiles, spices and miscellaneous articles saleable abroad- especially in south east Asia, Middle east and Europe.⁵⁹ The royal officers at the port demanded 16% tax on exports from the Dutch, but the Sultan fixed the same at 4% when the matter was referred to him. The English too were exempted from a toll tax known as *Jankens*, levied within the kingdom on goods transported from place to place.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ H.K Sherwani, *op.cit*, p. 413.

⁵⁹ Satyanarayana, K *A study of the history and culture of the Andhras* Vol II, p. 451. (60) H.K Sherwani, "Reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah, Economic Aspects. I", *Journal of Indian History*, 463.

The kingdom of Golkonda had various taxes and duties like duties of rivers and towns transit duties and city gate toll.⁶¹ The English East India Company established their factories at Masulipatnam and Nizampatnam in 1611 and the one at Pulicat in the following year. The conditions under which the Dutch and the English factories operated were different⁶². The English were required to pay customs duties on the goods handled. Whereas, the Dutch were asked to pay the royal officials a lumpsum of 3000 pagodas of 12,150 Mughal rupees per annum for the clearance of goods.⁶³ These taxes were levied on the foreign merchants and the muslims and Hindus (Moors and Gentus) could trade freely although even they had to make some presents to the Governor.⁶⁴ There was a severe competition between the English and the Dutch for new articles of trade which could be

⁶¹ Foster William. *EFI*, 1622-23, p. 73.

⁶² The Dutch had already settlements on the Coromandel coast, and when the english in 1611 attempted to open up a trade at that place they were refused permission by the local ruler on the ground that exclusive privileges had been granted to the Dutch. The Dutch placed every difficulty in their way and although the English obtained authority for their trade from the distant court of Golkonda and the Dutch had usually the influence of the local **governors** upon their side. C.J. **Hamilton** *Trade relations between England and India 1600-1800*, pp. 24-25.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 414. ⁶⁴ H.K. Sherwani, "Reign of Abdulla Qutb **Shah**, **Economic Aspects. I**", *Journal of Indian History*, 463.

presents to the Governor.⁶⁴ There was a severe competition between the English and the Dutch for new articles of trade which could be sold in European market to their benefit. The Chief Port Officer, *Shah Bandar*⁶⁵ was so powerful that the Dutch factory records often addressed him as "His Majesty". Apart from *Shah Bandar*, there were lower and subordinate officers who were also the revenue collectors of the locality.

In spite of many concessions, the foreign traders wanted virtual immunity from the duties and customs. The troubles of foreign merchants in Golkonda usually centered either in heavy local duties which were claimed in addition to the customs or in demands for presents and forced loans to the Governor as a condition of his favour.⁶⁶ Initially, the Dutch began appealing to the sultan of

⁶⁵ The posts of *Shah Bandar*, *Hawaldar*, *Sar-Samtu* were largely preserve of Persians in the first half of the seventeenth century. These officials as well as other Persian residents in the ports and towns figure in the records as the principal ship owners of the port of Masulipatnam at the turn of the seventeenth century. Sanjay Subrahmanyam. *Persians, Pilgrims*, *op.cit.* p. 505

⁶⁶ Peter Floris. *His voyages to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615* (ed. by) Moreland, W.H. London, 1934, p. XXII.

Golkonda for remission of duties.⁶⁷ The tone of request was to gradually change. The Dutch later threatened the Golkonda rulers in this regard.⁶⁸ The mood could be noticed in some of the issues submitted by the Dutch to the Sultan of Golkonda for the latter's favourable consideration regarding the trade activities of the Dutch and the customs duties there upon on the Coromandel coast. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch were in good position to get the things done. They got impressed the King and secured favourable *farmans*. The following are some of issues raised by the Dutch.⁶⁹

- i) exemption of duty on all goods brought to Masulipatnam from places beyond the jurisdiction of the Dominion of Golkonda.
- ii) the Dutch should not be harassed while loading and unloading their vessels.

⁶⁷ The Dutch launched their mercantile activities during reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, (1612-1626) H.K Sherwani & P.M Joshi (ed) *History of medieval Deccan, 1295-1724*, Vol. p. 420.

⁶⁸ An analysis of the basic features of the many conflicts that took place between the Europeans and the Asian powers in our period reveals a remarkable consistency of methods. When ordinary negotiations failed to resolve a dispute, both the contenders threatened to use force. K.N. Chudhuri *Trading World, op.cit.* p. 125.

⁶⁹ Abul Khair Muhammad Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 181-183.

iii) the Governors (of ports) should be forbidden in granting any monopolies or disastrous leases like the bills of exchange which were detrimental to the interests of general trading activities.

iv) every general trade should be given **freedom** who "is **inclined** to do business with us, to buy from us and sell to us such goods as the king's license allows us to import or export."⁷⁰

v) the Dutch should be allowed to export their goods in their own vessels to any country of their choice irrespective of the relations of those countries **with** the king of Golkonda.

vi) there should not be any kind of royal impositions on the Dutch in buying either goods or provisions in the king's dominions and, the inhabitants of the kingdom should be allowed a free hand in selling any articles to the Dutch.

vii) the Dutch should be freely allowed to pounce upon any Spanish or Portuguese vessel even in king's own ports, and to take their persons and

goods without any claim on the booty being made by the Golkonda Sultan.

viii) the people of Golkonda should be forbidden (by proclamation of a royal order) from trading with the Portuguese and Spaniards. If the people were caught by the Dutch, when the former violated this, the king of the port governor should not interfere in the matter.

ix) no further duties should be levied on any subjects of the United Netherlands residing at Masulipatnam other than those in force already.⁷¹

The English, on the other hand, could secure a *Golden Farman* from the Sultan of Golkonda in 1632 according to which they were allowed to trade freely in the ports belonging to the kingdom

⁷¹ It is, however, debatable whether the present demands from the Dutch were granted; whether the Dutch could have pressed for such terms or whether they would have made any impression on the king of Golkonda. These attitudes of foreign trading companies excited the feelings of the contemporary rulers and did

on payment of duties worth 500 pagodas or rupees 1750 per **annum**.⁷² A fixed amount of customs duty, irrespective of the volume of trade in periods of plenty, was certainly beneficial to the English merchants and, the same clause of trade was duplicated in another *Farman* of 1634 issued by the Sultan⁷³. The present *Farman*, however, did not relieve the English East India Company from the demands of local officers which were equally bending on all subjects.

The collection of taxes was not carried in the name of the Sultan. Thevenot says that in the kingdom of Golkonda, toll duties were collected, not in the name of the king but in the name of private lords who had been given lands along with a right to collect *rahdari* as and when they were **pleased**.⁷⁴ This is indirect indication of the fact that the toll collectors, posted on the boundaries of the Kingdom and interior regions used to brass the travelers for unjustified reasons. Thevenot further reports that "when all is **paid**, it is no easy matter still

not fail in instilling antagonistic feelings in their minds towards traders from abroad. *Ibid*, pp 181-183.

⁷² *Ibid*

⁷³ H.K. Sherwani. *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, p. 482.

⁷⁴ *Rahdari* was a toll duty levied on travellers at entry and exit points.

to get rid of **them**".⁷⁵ Most of the tax collectors under the Qutb Shahi rule were Brahmins. The custom duty must have certainly yielded handsome revenue to the King and, "there is hardly any sort of provisions in his (Sultan) kingdom from which he hath not considerable duties"⁷⁶. Outsiders into the kingdom city were subject to a thorough research for tobacco and salt as these commodities provided much revenue.

In case of imports, the major commodities under this head that found their way into the kingdom of Golkonda were cloves, pepper, cinnamon, silver, copper, tin and lead. They were brought into the kingdom by the Dutch traders who used to make an annual profit of 1200000 French livers.⁷⁷ As pearls and other precious stones were much in demand among the elitist circles, they too were imported on a large scale from other regions. **Tavernier** himself travelled from Masulipatnam to Golkonda in 1652 with the exclusive purpose of

⁷⁵ S.N. **Sen**, *op.cit*, pp. 130-131.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 142

⁷⁷ S.N.Sen, *op.cit*, p. 136.

selling some pearls and emeralds to the King.⁷⁸ As was dominated the political affairs of almost all contemporary kingdoms, horses and saltpeter (an important ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder) constituted principal imports of Qutb Shahi **economy**. the history of the Golkonda kingdom, with the exception of a few peaceful interludes, brings out the fact that wars were knocking at the doors of the kingdom more often than not. Saltpetre was refined and supplied by the Dutch at their factory to Pulicat. Other important imports were carries from Maldives, sugar from Bengal⁷⁹ and, tea and coffee.⁸⁰

Despite large scale imports into the region from and within the outside India, the balance of trade often remained in favour of the Qutb Shahi state. The cost of imports rarely exceeded the cost of exports from the kingdom. Bernier writes that though transactions were conducted in the import of different articles, the same "did not occasion the export of gold and silver" from the country as the "merchants who bring these take back the product of the land". The statement is a clear indication that bullion was flowing into Tilang-

⁷⁸ **Tavernier**, *op.cit*, p 207

⁷⁹ **Bernier**, *Travels in Mughal Empire, 1656-1668*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 437.

⁸⁰ **S.N.Sen**, *op.cit*, p. 115

Andhra and hence, the balance of trade was in favour of the Qutb Shahi kingdom.⁸¹

During the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672 A.D.) three foreign travellers viz. **Tavernier**, Bernier and Thavenot visited the Deccan and left behind them valuable accounts on the contemporary social, political and economic conditions in the Qutb Shahi kingdom.⁸² They provide a wealth of information regarding coinage, prices and wages. Coins such as old and new *Pagodas*, rupees of **Mughals** and Golconda rulers and, *Fanams*, *paise* and *Gazer* were in circulation in the kingdom of Golconda.⁸³ The old pagodas were small and thick pieces of gold coins issued by the rulers

⁸¹ A very important benefit to the state from overseas trade was the import of bullion through the ports into interior. Silver and gold both as precious metals and in the form of specie from different regions poured in to India in the 17th century through the medium of trade. S. **Arasuratnam**, *Maritime Trade of India in the seventeenth century*. Delhi, 1994, p. 227 Also see, **H.K. Sherwani**, *op.cit.* p. 478.

⁸² It was during the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah that Tavernier, Bernier and Thavenot came to Deccan and wrote their memoirs regarding the condition of life in the Qutb Shahi dominions. We have again a mass a information regarding the coinage, weights and measures, prices etc. contained in the letters exchanged between the Dutch and the English factors on the Golkonda coast and their principals in Europe **H.K. Sherwani**. "The reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah", economic aspects-I, (1626-1672), *Journal of India History* p 445.

⁸³ P.M. Joshi, "coins current in the kingdom of Golconda" in the *Journal of Numismatic society of India*, June 1943; Also see, **H.K. Sherwani**, "The Reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah - Economic Aspects-1", *Journal of Indian History*, 1964.

of Vijayanagar. **Tavernier** fixed their value at 4.5 rupees⁸⁴ and Thevenot put the same at 5.5 rupees.⁸⁵ The new pagoda too was a gold coin the value of which was 3.5 rupees according to Tavernier.⁸⁶ and four rupees according to **Thevenot**.⁸⁷ The Dutch and the English obtained a license from the Golkonda Sultan to mint these coins to the limited **extent**.⁸⁸ The overlapping of the functions of minting resulted in some degree of confusion in market operations. Though the old and new pagodas came to contain equal quantities of gold, the old ones were more valued and apart from these, the rupees issued by Mughal emperors was in free circulation in Qutb Shahi kingdom. There were both gold and silver rupees⁸⁹. The gold rupee was more in circulation among the noble families and it was not a common currency with the **masses**.⁹⁰ According to a contemporary **Farman** of Shahjahan and the Deed of submission of Abdullah Qutb Shah of

⁸⁴ Tavernier, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

⁸⁵ S.N. Sen, *op.cit.*, p. 136.

⁸⁶ Tavernier, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

⁸⁷ S.N. **Sen**, *op.cit.* p. 136.

⁸⁸ For example, the Dutch operated a public mint at **Pulicat**. They were allowed to mint pagodas at Nagapatnam in **1658**. The company minted pagodas as well as fanams in the mint. For details see, J.F. **Richards**, *Imperial Monetary system of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1987, p. 184.

⁸⁹ The Kingdom of Golkonda attracted the imports of Gold and copper in exchange for textiles. J.F. Richards. *The imperial monetary system of Mughal India*, p. 249.

1636, the Golconda Sultan was under strict obligation to mint his coins with the Mughal motif embossed on the **same**.⁹¹ *Fanams* were made of both gold, copper and silver and, the coins contained equal quantities of both these metals. 6.5 *fanams* made one rupee and 26.5 *fanams* equaled one Pagoda.⁹² According to the accounts of an anonymous contemporary chronicler the value of one Pagoda was put at 15 *fanams* and it was an indication to the deterioration of pagoda over a period of time.⁹³ The *paisa* was a copper coin minted at Haidarabad and 55 *paise* constituted one rupee.⁹⁴ The metal was supplied by the Dutch. The smaller denomination of copper coins included *Gazer* and they were minted by the Dutch at Pulicat. According to Thevenot 40 *gazers* made one *fanam*.⁹⁵ Besides these there were a few European coins current such as Spanish *reals* of eight, Portuguese *Pardoes*, Dutch *guilders* Siamese **Tiuls**, Persian *Laris* and *Abbasis*, Venitian *sequins*, Gujarati *Muhammadis* and the

⁹⁰ Tavernier, *op.cit.*, p. 15. Gold **rupee** was called Mohur.

⁹¹ H.K. Sherwani, *op.cit.* p. 467-469.

⁹² S.N. Sen, *op.cit.* p. 148 .

⁹³ W.H. Moreland, *op.cit.*, p. 93.

⁹⁴ S.N. Sen, *op.cit.* p. 136.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p.148.

English double Albert noble and raider.⁹⁶ Cowries or small shells were used as small monetary units with inverted edges and they were seen in circulation in Golconda as well as Bijapur kingdoms. Needless to state, the value of different denominations of money underwent changes from time to time.

Copper began to be used in the minting process from the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah and the practice was to continue later.⁹⁷ Thevenot refers to the availability of copper coins in multiple number during Abdullah's rule. The introduction of coins minted by foreign companies refers to the dependence of Golconda state on external sources and, the Mughal motif conveys an unmistakable impression that Tilang-Andhra was a virtual protectorate of Shahjahan. The gradual increase in copper coins over gold and silver

⁹⁶ H.K. Sherwani, "Reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah" - *Economic aspects* I. p 444.

⁹⁷ Copper was sold well in Masulipatnam, where the Dutch supplied the mint of the Golkonda kingdom and in their coastal ports of Coromandel. Copper also served for vessels and utensils and for the ornaments of the poor. It is possible that copper price remained stable in India in the latter half of the sixteenth century, only because copper currency was being repalced by silver. Once the process of replacement ended, copper prices in India rapidly rise to the International level. Tapan Ray Chaudhuri & Irfan Habib. *The Cambridge economic history*. op.cit.p. 371. also see, S. Arasaratnam. *Merchants* op.cit p. 138. also see, J.F. Richards. *The Imperial monetary system of Mughal India*. pp 253-260.

coins was the net result of a bullion scarcity in world market between fourteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

Aurangzeb's military exploits had a devastating effect on the economy of Deccan. It has been observed that the Deccan "had so far been a separate economic zone, symbolized by its gold money as against silver money of North India. The separateness is shown in distinctively higher interest rates that prevailed in the Deccan throughout the seventeenth century: even after the overall fall in rates during the 1640s, these continued to be higher than at Agra or **Surat**."⁹⁸ The introducing of silver coinage in the Deccan, apart from establishing a uniform monetary system in the South also had a desired effect on Northern parts of India. The Deccan mints could check the inflationary tendencies in the North by absorbing most of the influx of silver into India in order to replace **gold**.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ For details see, Shireen Moosvi, "**Mughal Empire** and the Deccan: Economic Factors and consequences" in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 43rd session, **Kurukshetra**, 1983, p. 377.

⁹⁹ Shireen Moosvi, *Economy of the Mughal **Empire**. a statistical study*. Delhi, 1987, p. 378.

A brief discussion on price levels, weights and measures provides us further insights into operational aspects of economy under the Qutb Shahi rulers. During the contemporary period, all articles for sale were displayed in shops with selling price written on them. The dealers and merchants used to pocket a profit of one and half times since they generally resorted to objectionable practices like hoarding the commodities. The following table gives us an idea about the rates and price levels prevailing in Golkonda during early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁰

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 01. Rice | 40 to 60 sers a rupee |
| 02. Wheat | 20 sers a rupee |
| 03. Butter | Two rupees per maund |
| 04. Pepper | Rs. 125 for approx. 240 sers |
| 05. Nutmeg | Rs.135-Rs.270 for approx. 250 sers |
| 06. Cloves | Rs.25-Rs.45 for aprox. 240 sers |
| 07. Sandalwood | Rs.450-Rs.520 for aprox. 240 sers |
| 08. Lead | Rs.77-Rs.90 for approx. 240 sers |

¹⁰⁰H.K. **Sherwani**, *The Reign of Abdullah*, - **I.op.cit**, pp. 460-461.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 09. Tin | Rs.335-Rs.360 for approx. 240 sers |
| 10. Alum | Rs. 54 for approx. 240 sers |
| 11. Sulphur | |
| 12. Quicksilver | Rs.100-Rs.112 per maund |
| 13. Camphor | Rs.18-Rs.19 per ser |
| 14. Musk | Rs.45 - rs.54 per ser |
| 15. Raw Chinasilk | Rs.180-Rs.202 per maund |
| 16. Sugar | Rs.14-Rs.64 for 17 sers |
| 17. Ox | Rs.4.5 - Rs. 5 for one |
| 18. Goat | Five annas to ten annas for one |
| 19. Fowl | Rs.4.5 for 60 or 80 |
| 20. Spotted deer | Rs.0.5 to Rs.2.5 for one |

The most commonly used measures for weighing articles were the seer and the man.¹⁰¹ Gold and silver was weighed in

¹⁰¹ Tavernier, *op.cit.* p. 32. *Seer* and *Man* represent the modern *seer* and *maund*. However, the weight of *seer* and *man* varied from place to place. For more details see, H.K. **Sherwani**, *History of*, *op.cit.*, p. 471. also see, the chief Indian unit of weight bore the name '*man*' familiar as *maund*. All of those with which we are concerned contained 40 ser but the weight of the ser different widely. The change is recorded in Methold's dairy for 1636, February 12th South wards upto east coast as far as Masulipatnam the *maund* was apparently not subject to official interference and was equal to about 261 b(1b more or less) we have 27 at **Nizampatnam**, 26 at **Masulipatnam**, 25 at Madras, and in this region the candy

tolas. To check any manipulation and fraudulent practices, brass weights were used which bore the stamp of Sultan Diamonds were weighed in *mangelines* at Kollur (Golconda) and **Ramallakota** (Bijapur) and in the Mughal territories they were weighed in *ratis*¹⁰³ Material such as cloth was measured in cubits with each cubit **further** divided into 24 *tasus*.¹⁰⁴ physical distances were measured in *cos* and *gaz*.

An advanced stage of banking system existed in the country from 17th century onwards. Tavernier records that even a small Indian village had a money changer known as *shroff*, who acted as a banker to make remittances of money and issue letters of exchange.¹⁰⁵ When a foreigner coming from Surat to Golconda fell short of money,

or bahar was usually 20 **maunds** W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*. pp.334-336.

² Tavernier, *op.cil*, p. 12.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, **Vol.II**, p 69.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.p.* The most characteristic credit institution in India was the '*hundi*' or bill or exchange promising payment after a specified period, usually two months or less at a particular place and allowing a discount which included interest, insurance charges and cost of transmission of **money** This business was mainly in the hands of the professional money changers, the sarrafs or shroffs - who thus acquired a new and crucial role as commercial bankers, providing a specialized service as suppliers of credit. Tapan Ray Chaudhuri & Irfan **Habib** *The Cambridge economic history*, **op.cit** p. 346.

¹⁰⁵ Tavernier, vol. I, *op.cit*, p.24. (106) *Ibid.*, p.24.

he could take a loan and clear the debt upon return to **Surat** by paying a high rate of **exchange**.¹⁰⁶ The rate of exchange **imported** from Surat was 4 to 5%. Tavernier cites the example of his own personal experience. One *shroff* at Aurangabad who had to receive payment of a letter of exchange on Golconda helped him in receiving some amount of money in new silver at **Golconda**.¹⁰⁷

From the foregoing brief description of various operational aspects of economy it becomes clear that the two main sectors from where the Qutb Shahi state derived its resources were agriculture, trade and crafts. In addition to these two important means of sustenance, a host of minor economic activities played major role in economy. Together they facilitated a smooth functioning of a multi-faceted economic network. It is otherwise true that most of the economies are generally dependent on the revenue derived from agrarian sector. But we do not come across any such data where it can be established in definite terms that the Qutb Shahi state responded by the offer of concessions either to the crafts-man or merchant communities. Nevertheless there were a few and periodic rewards given to them in

periods of improved commercialization . Instead, revenue farming, which had become an established practice in the collection of land revenue in the Qutb Shahi state, suffered from several exploitative tendencies which further added to the already burdened peasantry.¹⁰⁸ Exploitation could be clearly seen in the revenue farming sector. With insolence of tax collectors and enhancement of tax in the port cities, the producers were left with hardly anything on hand and were forced to part with a lion's share of their income. Even the seemingly friendly administrative countercheck like District governors could not curtail these adverse tendencies.

The study of foregoing aspects of economy in Golkonda state provides us insights into the nature of state's exploitative structure, and how the resources, more often, were used for personal ends and the consequent reverses felt by common people in the state. Thevenot refers to both the insolence of tax collectors and how these revenue officials under Qutb Shahis appropriated maximum amounts of collections from their collection points. The weakness of the

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁸ **Salma** Ahmed, *op.cit*, p. 65. (109) W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 33.

central authority provided an ample scope for these people to adopt exploitative **measures**.¹⁰⁹ Though the king was supposed to be the real centre of power, it always depended on the individual merits and his sphere of influence which had a direct bearing on state's administration. Hand in glove with the nobles, the *Sarsamantus* or the district governors too were involved in monetary manipulations and unjust tax farming. In Golkonda the chief executive posts were held on the farming system, and fell usually to the highest bidder at an annual auction. The Governor, as he was called by Europeans, when he had once secured the farm had in practice very wide powers. The business of administration was thus highly speculative and Governor had the strongest possible motives for collect in every **penny**.¹¹⁰ Before being appointed out, every Governor, in principle, had to agree to pay the central treasury a fixed amount of money annually. Once appointed, these governors enjoyed full powers and authority. Such an absolute power over their jurisdictions was certainly to corrupt them **and**, the accounts of contemporary travellers

¹¹⁰ Peter Floris. *His Voyages to the Indies. 1611-1615*, (ed), W.H Moreland, London-1934, p. XXII.

in the Golconda state collaborate these fiscal aberrations and monetary maneuvers. Many a time, these governors enhanced tax in the port towns. Definite periodicity in tax enhancement became an important feature under the rule of these greedy administrators. Though *Amils* were authorized to check the misdeeds of the district Governors, they seldom did so.

Though all these developments portray a very positive attitude of Qutb Shahi state, towards the trade of coastal Andhra. But it also points to some of the symptoms of deterioration that had set in both the conducting of trade and the attitude of state. Because when agrarian economy got contracted and states revenue fell increasingly, the Qutb Shahi state began to extend fanning system to the revenues that accrued to the state from trade and commerce. It was in this process that the Muqusadar not only let loose his corrupt methods in the hinterland and destroyed agrarian economy but also plundered the traders and merchants. Besides the effects of Qutb Shahi state to protect its sovereignty from the threat of the Mughals went into disarray. It was in these processes of conflicting contradictions

between Qutb Shahis and **Mughals**, between Telugu Rajas and the Qutb Shahis between Coastal merchants magnates and the rural landed aristocracy that resulted in facilitating the autonomy and strength of European merchant companies from mere traders to political power brokers.

CONCLUSION

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The forgoing discussion of various aspects connected with trade and commerce in coastal Andhra has fully established the significance of trade in seventeenth century Indian economy. The Coastal Andhra ports from Nizampatnam to Nellore and the surrounding areas registered a visible growth in the volume of trade and commerce. But there were number of forces that worked behind the scene. Trade and commercial activity in various parts of coastal Andhra were generated by the availability of raw materials from the vast hinterland, which was bestowed with rich geographical location and natural resources. Besides this there were various groups of villages surrounding the growing port towns with skilled artisans and **un-skilled** labour to correspond to the growing commercial enterprise. The other two significant developments that gave boost to commerce in this region were in the shape of external responses. One was the rise of modern world economy that led to various

discoveries and technological changes which resulted in linking the European and Asian commerce in seventeenth century. All these developments played a key role in growth and **functioning** of the exchange net work on global level. This established a relationship of mutual dependency and advantage between Europe and Indian economy in which coastal line of Andhra played a major role.

The main corporate entrepreneurs which participated in building and carrying forward this commercial network of Euro - Asian type were the Portuguese, the Dutch ,the English and the French . Each of them subsisted these sectors on the coastal trade of Andhra and vibrated the feeling of India's potential for import and export throughout the European markets. The other factor which also facilitated the growth of this region as commercial mart was the **ethn-religions** relationship of the regional rulers (i.e, Qutb shahis), with Persia . In 17th century the Persians came in a big way to participate and benefit from this commerce in coastal Andhra. This century witnessed a remarkable increase in the European **demand** for the varieties of Indian goods. The 17th century also saw the Portuguese redistributing enterprises giving way to the Dutch and

English Companies which further resulted coalition of European trading activities beyond Nizampatnam and Nellore thus enveloping the interior of the hinterland and the vast coast from Ganjam to Pulicat . It was in 17th century that the Dutch established their presence even as far as Agra, core of the Mughal empire which led to the growth of volume of trade . According to one estimate a modest figure of under f.3 millions over the three year period of the 1619-1621, the imports had gone up to f.15 millions during 1678 -1700. Considerable activity centred round not only the procurement of the commodities for import and export but also concentrated on evolving the new methods and means in shipping, transportation, organisation, banking and other aspects. Though these developments introduced an element of rival competitiveness among the European merchant companies and eliminated some of them from occupying dominant position in coastal Andhra trade but these things did not deter the growing enthusiasm of merchant groups in Coastal Andhra and in India indeed.

Number of enterprising trading groups from various caste background took to retailing and wholesaling of the various commodities which were imported in coastal Andhra in a similar manner in the hinterland. Various trading magnets developed a chain of intermediaries for procuring both the agricultural and artisanal production for export purposes. In fact one of the significant features of 17th century coastal commerce was the market determined relationship between Europeans and the Andhra merchants who dealt with the artisanal production in hinterland. With all its exploitative nature the commerce in 17th century coastal Andhra threw up a great scope for a prosperity and a dream for economic development of the region but internal political developments willed its otherwise.

The state gave exemptions by patronising and promoting trade and issued few *farmans* to grant concessions to various European Companies. But that was not enough to provide security for the investments in the region of Coastal Andhra because the Mughal relationship with Deccan was dominated by

perpetual violence and instability in the region. Eventhough Mughal state incorporated the region into Mughal empire but that happened at a time when the empire was enveloped with crisis and collapse of central authority had commenced . This situation let loose the disgruntled nobles who perpetuated coercion while extracting surplus from the peasants and artisans and thus threatened subsistence economy as well . By the end of 17th century the situation could not be remedied by the construction of fortified settlements which often became the core of European statements in Coastal Andhra region. The state encouraged these things not realizing that these centres would ultimately facilitate the growth of the colonial power in region. Hence the coastal areas of Nizampatnam and Armagaon (Nellore) from where the commercial activity had begun, became the centres from where the colonialism made its beginnings in the region of Coastal Andhra.

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