

**MUSLIM MERCHANTS
IN PRE-MODERN
SOUTH WESTERN INDIA**

by

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The location of South Western India was suitable even in early times for the development of internal and external trade. Ambitious political authorities like the Vijayanagara and the Keladi rulers facilitated the development of trade in this region. Muslims played an important role in the development of trade connections with different trade centres both within India and outside like the west Asian ports. As early as in the 10th century AD, we find evidence for trade in Barkur in south western India. *Jami-ul-Tawarikh* of Rashid-ud-Din mentions Fakanur (identified as Barkur) as one of the cities on the western coast. Barkur was a flourishing town in the 10th century and was well known to Muslim traders.¹ Two Judaeo-Arabic documents on Indian trade (12th century) mention that out of the four important ship owners, who were plying their ships between Mangalore and Aden, except perhaps one called Nambiyar, all others were Muslims.² The Jewish records on Indian trade reveal that merchant ships went from Mangalore to Aden via Diu on the coast of Saurashtra where local produce was collected.³ The menace of sea pirates is also mentioned. Sheikh Abul Qasim Ibn Qattan, a dealer in cotton, was a prominent Muslim trader in Mangalore.⁴

1. B. Vasanth Shetty, "Barakuru - A Metropolitan City of Antiquity", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Mysore, 1985, p. 313.
2. S. D. Goitien, "From Aden to India", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden), Vol. XXIII (1980), p. 43.
3. V. K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (A.D. 1000-1300)* (New Delhi, 1990), p. 125.
4. S. D. Goitien, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 62-65.

Trade Guilds (*Hanjamanas*) of Muslim Merchants

In the inscriptions, we find reference to *sudeshi* (indigenous) and *paradeshi* (foreign but not necessarily non-Indian) traders. Trade guilds like *nanadeshis* and *ubhayanadeshis* consisted of traders of different countries. The Muslim traders in South Western India formed a trade guild called *hanjamanas*, which existed and flourished from 11th century AD. A record of AD 1114 from Barkur says that the *hanjamana* of Barkur were present in the king's court when he made a grant to Markandeshwara temple.⁵ *Nakhara-hanjamanas* were associated with the Hoysala administration. A record from Barkur, dated AD 1335-36, speaks of *nakhara-hanjamana* of Barkur. The Hoysala queen, Kikkayitayi, made a grant of the entire revenue from Bailur village to one person by name Vasudeva Mudali. She sought the permission of the general assembly of *nakhara-hanjamana* of the place.⁶

On the question of *hanjamanas*, it is argued by D. C. Sircar that the term *hanjamanas* meant *anjuvannams* or *panchavarnas* or five artisan castes⁷ as found in the Tamil country (South India).⁸ However this term is connected with *Anjuman*, indicative of a Muslim settlement or colony.⁹ During the Vijayanagara period, we find a large number of inscriptions which mention the existence of *hanjamanas* in various trade centres like Ullal, Basrur and Mangalore. Suryanath Kamath believes these to be Muslim organizations because of the reference to *pallis* in inscriptions.¹⁰ But *palli* might also mean a village and not necessarily a mosque. According to K. V. Ramesh, they were an organization of Parsee and Arab traders.¹¹ It is probable that they were a guild of foreign traders who came to western coast of India from Arab countries.

In the Vijayanagara period, the importance of the *hanjamana* guild increased due to the emergence of the horse trade. The

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5. *South Indian Inscriptions* (Madras) (SII), Vol. VII, No. 380.
 6. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* (Madras), 1929-30, No. 528.
 7. The five artisan castes were goldsmith, blacksmith, brazier, carpenter and stone-mason. In the Tamil country, they are known as *panchalattar*, *panchalam* and *panchakammalar*.
 8. *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta), Vol. XXXV, pp. 291-292.
 9. R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization in South India 300 B.C. to A.D. 1300* (Delhi, 1996), p.49.
 10. Suryanath U. Kamath, "Hanjamana", *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May 1978), p. 60.
 11. K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara: From Earliest Times to the Fall of Vijayanagara* (Dharwar, 1970), p. 253.

Vijayanagara kings needed a large number of horses to fight their Muslim neighbours. Until the Portuguese appeared in India, Muslims dominated the horse trade. To centralize the administration and organize the horse trade, the Vijayanagara kings established new territorial divisions like Barkur-vishaya, Honnavar-vishaya, Mangalore-rajya, etc. with regular offices for the effective supervision of all the trade activities.¹²

The *hanjamana* guilds were also *ubhayanadesis*, associated with inland as well as external trade, in the capacity of *vinimaya vartakasangha* (exchange-guilds), with well-established colonies. Though epigraphs are silent as to the exact commodities they transacted in, it could be that they mainly traded in horses.¹³ The *hanjamana* guild enjoyed much influence due to the immense fortunes made by individual merchants from trading in horses.¹⁴ Even local feudal principalities engaged in the horse trade. According to *Gomateshwara Charitre*, Virapandya of Karkala obtained horses from foreign countries like Vanayaja, Kambhoja and Bahlika.¹⁵ The Vijayanagara rulers imported war-horses from Arabia and Vijayanagara inscriptions make frequent references to *hanjamana* and *nakhara-hanjamana* guilds and their activities,¹⁶ indicating the importance of the horse trade in the Vijayanagara Empire with a pivotal role played by *hanjamanas* in the trade. *Hanjamanas* were found even in the interior trade centres. A copy of the inscription belonging to the period of Keladi king, Somashekhara Nayaka,¹⁷ mentions the existence of *hallaru*

12. K. P. Poonacha and M. V. Viswesvara, "Vijayanagar Port-Towns in Karnataka with Special Reference to Horse Trade", S. R. Rao (ed.), *The Role of Universities and Research Institutes in Marine Archaeology* (Goa, 1994), p. 84.
13. Kamal al-Din 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi acted as ambassador of the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh in the Persian Gulf and India between 1441-1444. He went to Hormuz, from where he travelled to Calicut in a horse-trading vessel in 1442-43. While in Calicut, he was invited by the Vijayanagara ruler Devaraya II to his court. This account shows the importance of horse trade for the kings of Vijayanagara while indicating the connection between ports on the western coast of India and the Muslims of west Asia. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Vasco da Gama*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 100.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
15. Y. Umanath Shenoy, *Karkalada Sri Gomateswara Charitre* (Kannada) (Ujire, 1991), p. 23.
16. K. V. Ramesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 253.
17. A. K. Shastry, "Selections From the Kaditas of the Sringeri Matha", Unpublished ICHR Project Report (New Delhi, 1982), p. 210.

hanjamana in Sringeri. Abdul Razzaq gives us information about a sizeable west Asian trading community at Vijayanagara and in the ports of the West coast which the Vijayanagara kings tried to control.¹⁸ In the port of Mangalore, Abdul Razzaq interviewed Amir Saiyid-Alau-din Mashhadi, who was 120 years old and well respected by Muslims as well as Hindus.¹⁹ A Muslim saint in Mangalore indicates a sizeable number of Muslims in this region while other Muslims might have visited Mangalore to meet and listen to Amir Saiyid. The Vijayanagara king, Krishnadeva Raya, offered a Muslim trader, Cide Mercar,²⁰ forty thousand *pardaos* to bring horses from Goa,²¹ showing a close relation between Muslim merchants and the Vijayanagara kings.

Relations between the *Hanjamanas* and the State

The *hanjamanas* paid tax to the State. An inscription belonging to AD 1465 records that when Pandarideva Odeya was ruling over Barkur-rajya, he gifted the amount of gold, which the *hanjamana* community was paying, for the service of god Mahadeva at Paduvakeri, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.²² Foreign traders tried to gain legitimacy in society through gifts to temples. On some occasions, confrontations arose between the state officials and the trade guilds.

The Barkur inscription of AD 1406 states that when Mahabaladeva did an injustice to *hanjamana-nakhara*, king Bukkaraya sent Bachanna of Goa to Barkur-rajya to gift some land for the purchase of cloth by the trade guilds. Thus the kings took a personal interest in redressing the grievance of the traders, who enjoyed influence with the kings.²³ The Mangalore inscription belonging to AD 1419 informs us that while *hanjamana-nakhara* were giving *poorva mariyade*, Timmanna Odeya, ruler of Mangaluru-rajya, in anger, sent his army and destroyed their villages. On hearing this, Dannayaka Bayicheddannayaka Odeya, redressed the grievance of the *hanjamana-nakhara* by granting them some villages

18. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

19. Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), *Vijayanagar As Seen by Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz (16th Century Portuguese Chroniclers) and others* (New Delhi, 1999), pp. 281-282.

20. The name Mercar indicates that he was a Muslim trader from Malabar.

21. Vasundhara Filliozat (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

22. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part II, No. 459.

23. *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 349.

in Kodeyala (Mangalore).²⁴ In another case of such confrontation, a serious breach occurred between the Governor, Timmanna Odeya, and Ummara-Marakala, the chief of the *hanjamana* of Honnavar, who went to Kasarkodu to appeal for help to Sangiraya Odeya, chief of the Nagire. Sangiraya despatched a Kotisvaranayaka, with a thousand soldiers, to offer protection to Ummara-Marakala and his followers.²⁵

Muslim Traders in Barkur and Mangalore

Towns like Barkur and Mangalore came up between the 10th and 15th centuries. During Vijayanagara times, commercial activity increased at Barkur, with the port and the provincial capital visited by Muslim traders, by foreign ships and ships from Malabar that took cargoes of husked rice. Ibn Batuta (early 14th century) has described Fakanur (Barkur) as a large town on an inlet having a large quantity of sugar-canes. The chief of the Muslim community at Fakanur was Basadaw (Vasaudeva?), an evildoer, a pirate, and a robber of merchants. He possessed about thirty warships, commanded by a Muslim called Lula. Ibn Batuta narrates his experience:

"When we anchored, the Sultan sent his son to us to stay on board the ship as a hostage. We went on shore to visit him and he treated us with utmost hospitality for three nights, as a mark of respect for the Sultan of India and also from a desire to make some profit by trading with the personnel of our vessels. It is a custom of theirs that every ship that passes by a town must needs anchor at it and give a present to the ruler.²⁶ This they call "right of bandar". If anyone omits to do this, they sail out in pursuit of him, bring him into the port by force, double the tax on him, and prevent him proceeding on his journey as they wish."²⁷

Thus Muslim chiefs participated in trade but also tried to exercise his authority not only over land but also over the sea. Ibn Batuta refers to Mangalore as Manjarur, which was a large town on the inlet called ad-Dumb, the largest inlet on the Malabar

24. *Ibid.*, No. 182.

25. K. V. Ramesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

26. This system is similar to the Portuguese system of issuing *cartazes* or passports to merchant ships and they were given protection by the Portuguese armada and those who did not take Portuguese *cartazes* were attacked and as a result frequent conflicts arose between the Portuguese and the Muslim sea pirates on the western coast of India.

27. H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354* (New Delhi, Manohar Publications, Reprint, 2001), p. 233.

Coast. This town was visited by merchants from Fars and Yemen who took pepper and ginger in large quantity. The Sultan of Mangalore was Ramadaw. A colony of about four thousand Muslims lived in a suburb alongside the town. Conflicts frequently broke out between Muslims and the townspeople. But the Sultan made peace between them because he needed the merchants. Ibn Batuta observed that the traders in the ship refused to land until the Sultan sent his son. When they went to meet the Sultan they were treated with great consideration.²⁸ The above account suggests the emergence of solidarity among the Muslim merchants. Another foreign traveller, Duarte Barbosa, found both Muslims and Hindus in Mangalore. Ships took black rice, which was better than the white one, and quite cheap in Mangalore, down to Malabar. Further Barbosa also notes that rice was taken to Aden in the cargoes of Muslims.²⁹

Muslim Merchants and Social Life in Mangalore Region

The Muslims played an active part in the religious and social life of the region. A prosperous Muslim trader is said to have built, in AD 1168, a Durga temple at Mulki, still open to both Muslims and Hindus. Bappanad was named after Muslim trader Bappa Beary. Beary, the local word for a Muslim, is derived from *vyavahari*, a trader.³⁰ A legend says that Bappa, a Muslim trader from Kerala, was sailing north, when his 'dhow' floundered off the Bappanad coast. Goddess Durga appeared before him and assured him that his misfortunes would soon end. Bappa sailed north and sold his merchandise at five times their price. In gratitude, Bappa constructed a temple to the Goddess and arranged for her worship.³¹

Arab traders, like the Muslim Mapillas, later indigenised and settled in Mangalore. Arab sources indicate that Arab traders were aware of trade centres like Basrur, Barkur, Bekal, Kasaragod, Mangalore and Shirur. Yaqut states that pepper was exported from Malabar, which had famous cities like Manjarur and Fakanur. Damishqui mentions that Manibar, the country of pepper, adjoined Hunnur. There were many cities and the chief of them was

28. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

29. Mansel Longworth Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, Reprint, 1989) Vol. I, pp. 195-196.

30. Bappanadu is a famous religious centre today also.

31. Om Prakash Prasad, 'Towns in Early Medieval Karnataka', in Vijay K. Thakur, *Towns in Pre-modern India* (Patna, 1994), pp. 173-174.

Fakanur.³² Yaqut referred to the Gulf of Fufal (identified with Bekal) while Damishqui said that the city of Fufal occupied a big area, within which were diving places for small pearls.³³ This reveals that similar to the Pandyan fishery coast, in south western India too, there existed pearl fishery.

Damishqui mentions Harquilya (Kasaragod) which had under its control about a thousand villages, situated on hilly tracts as well as on the coast.³⁴ He also mentions the city of Khurnal (Kumbala) as a port for the ships of Hind (India) as well as for those passing by.³⁵ Damishqui and Abul Fida give information about Manjarur (Mangalore), situated on a river known by the same name. The river emptied into the sea having ebb and low tide. Large quantity of pepper was available here. Abul Fida states that Manjarur, the biggest town in Malabar,³⁶ was situated to the east of Sindabur, Hannur and Basrur. Damishqui places Saymur (Shirur) after Fakanur in the list of cities. Saymur was on the coast, in a wide gulf, through which big ships from the gulf of Fakanur passed by, both the gulfs had ebb and low tide.³⁷

Contemporary literature mentions foreign traders and their influence on Indian culture. Ratnakaravarni's *Bharatesha Vaibhava* (16th century), mentions Arabic, Parsee and Turkish words, with reference to *pauju* (arabic, army), *gulama* (arabic, slave), *nangalla* (parsee, anchor), *teji* (arabic, horse), *jambukhana* (parsee, carpet), and *tupaki* (turkish, rifle). Ratnakaravarni refers to Muslims as *gaddada turukaru* (bearded Turks), to Ormuz as *Huramunzi* and mentions Mecca, the sacred place for Muslims.³⁸ Chandrama's *Karkala Gomatesvara Charitre* (AD 1646) refers to Arabia as a part of *mlecchakhanda*.³⁹ Local people were aware of the existence of people of an alien religion and country.

32. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainer (ed.), *The Knowledge of India Possessed by Arab Geographers Down to the 14th Century A.D. with Special Reference to Southern India* (Madras, 1942), pp. 33-34.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

38. Herenje Krishna Bhatta (ed.), *Govinda Pai Samshodhana Samputa* (Kannada), (Manipal, 1995), p. 428.

39. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, "Karnataka's Trade with the Arab World (c. 9th-18th century A.D.), *Quarterly Review of Historical Research*, Vol. XXXVI (April-September, 1996), Nos. 1 & 2, p. 30.

Muslim Settlements in South Western India

Muslim settlements developed in south western India. A Muslim colony of Honnavar was governed by Jalal-ud-din, progenitor of an enterprising Muslim community, the Navayats (newcomers). These refugees took to commerce, and soon controlled the whole of the coastal trade, with settlements in Barkur. Maybe piracy also flourished. In fact, the menace of Muslim pirates on the coast of Barkur forced the Hoysala king Vira Ballala III to post his general Ankeya Nayaka there.⁴⁰

Arab traders maintained regular contact with the western coast of India. Arabian boats used to come to Malabar sometime in July or August and after about four months of business returned in December or January. Since voyages, in those days, took about thirty to forty days, the Arab sailors were away from their homes and families in Arabia for the major part of the year. Thus while in India, they must have contracted marital unions, temporary or permanent, with Indian women, for there is no evidence to show that they brought along with them their own womenfolk.⁴¹ Several settlements of Muslim traders were established on the coast of south western India, suggesting some marriage alliances between Arab traders and the local population.⁴² It is also possible that low caste Hindu petty traders and fisherfolk may have accepted Islam.⁴³ Regional folk songs like *Ali Bhuta Bobbariya paddana* give information about the settlements of Arab traders and their matrimonial relations with local women in the regions of Manjeshwara, Barkur, Basrur and Murdeshwara. Some Tulu *paddanas* allude to the Arab trading activities in the coastal towns, with transactions in rice, pepper, coir, ginger, etc. in exchange for vessels from China, varieties of silk clothes, dried fruits, fine breeds of horses and large quantities of Persian and European gold.⁴⁴

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40. George M. Moraes, "Haryab of Ibn Batuta", *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. 15 (1939), p. 37.
 41. Victor S. D'Souza, *The Navayats of Kanara: A Study in Culture Contact*, (Dharwar, 1955), p. 4.
 42. We see similar matrimonial relations between the Portuguese in India and local folk, leading to the emergence of *casado* traders. See Martin Page, *First Global Village: How Portugal Changed the World* (Lisbon, 2002).
 43. When Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore, invaded Malabar, he is said to have converted large number of low caste Hindus to the Islamic Faith. See Dhanagare, *Peasant Movements in India, 1920-1950* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1983).
 44. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

Navayats, mentioned earlier, were found along the coastal strip of Kanara region, between the Sharavati and the Suvarna river, with their settlements invariably situated either by the seashore, at the mouth of rivers or a little interior on the banks of the rivers, with an easy access to the sea. They were found in Sirur, Baindur, Gangolli, Basrur, Kandlur, Hangarkatte, Bengare, Tonse and Malpe.⁴⁵

Victor S. D'Souza stated that owing to special facilities obtainable at Malabar, Arab traders first established their colonies there and carried on their trade with other convenient places. Adventurous merchants settled down at places advantageous to their trade. These temporary settlements eventually developed into small colonies, which were patronised by Muslim merchants who came directly from Arabia and Persia.⁴⁶ Some settlements like Mangalore and Bhatkal developed later into trading centres and facilitated the process of urbanization. The Muslim traders who came to South India from the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia settled down permanently. The Navayats of Canara and Mapillas of Malabar seem to share the same origin and social function.⁴⁷

Both Arabic and Indian sources allude to the existence of Indian trade centres in Arabia and vice versa. Ubla, Mecca, Petre, Baghdad, Oman, Dubai, Sanas, Aden, etc. were prominent Indian trade centres in Arabia. Nileshwara, Kasargod, Manel, Mangalore, Kumbala, Mukka, Barkur, Basrur and Bhatkal were Arab trade centres on the west coast of India, where Arabs traded in commodities like swords, silk, textiles, wood, ginger, spices and various kinds of medicines.⁴⁸ In the early modern period, Sturrock mentions Mapillas and Navayats as major groups among the trading communities of south western India.⁴⁹

The role of Muslims in diplomacy and trade continued even in the post-Vijayanagara period. Pioto Della Valle speaks of a Muslim associate of the Keladi kings. Musa Bai, captain-general of the local principality, Banghel, was sent to represent the Keladi

45. Victor S. D'Souza, *The Navayats of Kanara*, p. 35.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, Vol. 1, *Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam, 7th - 11th centuries* (Delhi, 1990), p. 70.

47. *Ibid.*

48. K. G. Vasanthamadhava, *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

49. Sturrock, *Madras District Manuals - South Kanara* - Vol. I (Madras, 1894), pp. 155-156.

kings while meeting the Portuguese. Musa Bai offered a gift to the ambassador of the Portuguese.⁵⁰ Della Valle also mentions the existence of Muslim settlements in various urban and trade centres of south western India.

The Muslim merchants participated in both internal and external trade and had become an integral part of polity, economy and society. The reason for some conflicts between Muslims and the other communities were political and economic rather than religious. Their religion and place of origin facilitated contact with important trade centres of west Asia. Thus in the pre-Portuguese period, we find the complete domination of Muslim merchants in south western India. There did exist other trading communities like the Gauda Saraswats and the Jains, who gave donations to temples and participated in internal trade, mostly in the interior trade centres. But they lacked the advantage of Muslim traders to maintain contact with trade centres of west Asia. Another important reason for the pre-dominance of Muslims in foreign trade was the brahmanical *taboo* on sea travel. Traders belonging to the brahmanical religion were not allowed to travel over sea. Thus there existed a difference between the caste-ridden brahmanical society in the interior and the trade oriented Islamic society in the ports on the coastal zones.

Muslim Merchants and the Portuguese Maritime Power

With the emergence of the Portuguese in Asia, the Muslim domination of trade in south western India gradually declined. The legal trade of the Muslims was converted into an illegal trade by the Portuguese, who introduced the *cartazes* (passport) system, in the attempt to monopolize the trade and commerce on the western coast of India. The Portuguese armada gave protection to the licensed ships, while they attacked the ships of those traders who did not carry the Portuguese license to trade. This obviously led to conflicts between the Muslims and the Portuguese resulting in migration of Muslim traders from Calicut and other regions of Kerala to Mangalore in south western India.

The Muslims functioned as sea pirates or as navigators. Vasco da Gama himself was helped by Muslim navigators. A study of the Portuguese document, *Livro do Cartazes*, indicates the large number of ships manned by Muslims. Even in the Portuguese period, there were many Muslim traders, who owned ships and

50. Edward Grey, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Vol. II (New Delhi, Reprint, 1991), p. 247.

maintained trade relations with various west Asian ports. Thus Portuguese could not completely stop the activities of Muslim traders. When they were not allowed to trade in a regular way, the Muslim traders resorted to smuggling of goods. They also became sea pirates and looted the wealth of some Portuguese ships and other ships protected by the Portuguese.

With the coming of the Portuguese, there was a change in the composition of trade as well. While earlier, the Arab traders were known for the trade in horses, the Portuguese maintained close diplomatic alliance with the Vijayanagar rulers so that the Muslims could not compete with the Portuguese in the horse trade. Caesar Frederike records that in the year 1567, he went from Goa to the capital city of Vijayanagara with two other merchants taking 300 horses with them. The value of these horses varied from 300 to 1000 *ducats* a horse. The Portuguese also increased their revenue by imposing customs duty on each horse that crossed the border of Goa to Vijayanagara.⁵¹ This forced the Muslim traders to concentrate on trading in rice and pepper and such other commodities, which they sent to west Asian ports like Muscat and Ormuz.

The relations of the Portuguese with the Arab traders was not cordial. The Portuguese had to wage many bloody wars to establish their supremacy over the Muslims in the global political conflict. The Portuguese in India deliberately followed an anti-Muslim policy. The Portuguese king often instructed his officials to favour Christian merchants rather than Muslims. To create a rival group to compete with the Muslim merchants and to overthrow them, the Portuguese made special efforts to encourage the Hindus in matters of trade.⁵² However, the Portuguese were not always successful in their attempts to exclude the Muslims from trade since there was no alternative to the well-connected trade network set up by native Muslim merchants both in the ports

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51. Vasundhara Fillozat (ed.), *Op. cit.*, pp. 318-319. The fall of Vijayanagara adversely affected the Portuguese trade in India, especially the trade in horses. Subsequently, many dynasties arose, prominent among which was the Keladi kingdom also known as Ikkeri kingdom. The Portuguese continued trading with the Ikkeri rulers. However, by monopolising the trade in rice and pepper, Ikkeri rulers tried to sell goods to Portuguese at unfavourable terms and conditions.
52. K. S. Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar Coast during the Sixteenth Century", Teotonio R de Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions* (New Delhi, 1985), p. 7.

and in the hinterland. The Portuguese found it difficult to procure commodities like rice and pepper from interior regions for a regular supply to the ports to be exported to their factories in Goa, Ceylon, Aden, Muscat, Congo, etc. Yet, due to the military strength of the Portuguese, the Muslims of south western India had to negotiate with the Portuguese to obtain *cartazes* to trade with the various west Asian ports. Thus we can say that there was a change in the nature of the trade of Muslim merchants after the arrival of Portuguese to south western India.

The entry of the Portuguese on the Asian scene marked the transition to globalization and a 'world system'.⁵³ Some claim that it was not the Europeans but the Muslims who created a world economy in the Indian Ocean by initiating the process of connecting the regional economy of south western India with the important trade centres in the world.⁵⁴ The Indian economy, which was mercantilist, entered the global market in a big way. Muslims supplied commodities to various ports like Aden, Muscat, Congo and other west Asian and African ports. The Portuguese carried spices to the European markets. The role of Muslims in the global trade network has to be acknowledged.

Many Muslim merchants worked within the Portuguese system of *cartazes*. The *Livro do Cartazes* mentions Muslim names like Chica Ahmad Bary of Mangalore, Xequê Aly Binsultande Abdul Xequê, Mulam Abdul Gafar, Abdul Rahiman of Basrur, Musse of Mangalore, Saida Miram of Ankola, Abdul Razaeh of Karwar, Abdul Gafur of Surat. These traders maintained trade contacts with Mecca, Aden, Congo, Ormuz, Maldives, etc. Within India they supplied items of trade to Surat, Malabar and Bengal. The Ikkeri kings, successors to Vijayanagara, challenged the Portuguese domination in the 17th and 18th centuries. Muslim merchants again patronized ports like Barkur and Mangalore, thus strengthening their position in south western India. The State patronage to the Muslims at the trade centres increased under the rule of Tipu Sultan, Ruler of Mysore - till his fall in 1799, when this region became a part of the British empire.

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53. See, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, Vol. II: *Mercantilism and Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750* (New York, Academic Press, 1980).

54. Andre Wink, *Op. cit.*, p. 4.