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SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ARTISANS COMMUNITY UNDER THE KAKATIYAS

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Introduction

The Kakatiyas of Warangal were the most powerful rulers of Andhra Desa i.e. the eastern Deccan who reigned from 11th and 14th centuries. Warangal, variously known as Orugallu - Vorungallu, Varungallu, Ekotpala, Ekasilanagara- Akshalinagara-, Omtikonda, andhranagari, and Urangai-General Cunningham called it Varankoi and identified it with Vorunkula of ptolemy. The rule of the Kakatiyas commenced a new era in the history of the Telugu people in many respects, especially in evolving a unique identity for their language as culture, religion and arts developed the Kakatiya dynasty. The Kakatiya period, as it witnessed politico-administrative unity and emergence of a distinct socio cultural-religious formation. The Kakatiya polity was based on the 'Nayankara System' consisting of the non-Brahmin Sudra elites, presently known as Velamas and Reddies. Under Kakatiyas, they served as soldiers, military chiefs and enjoyed local domination. The process of regional social formation in Telangana differed from the Indo-Gangetic *Varna/Jati* model. Unlike the Dwijas, it was the dominant social groups of *Chaturdakuljas*, who played a significant role in state-society interface.

About the Kakatiyas social status, when in the corpus of inscriptions in which kakatiya genealogy is traced, is not particular about *Varna* connection But eventually when Varna affiliation is attributed to them, in majority of instances it is that kakatiyas are told to have born in the fourth class.²

The origins of Varna society is attributed to the four-faced Brahma, having sprung from the centre of Vishnu's navel-lotus, created the celestial beings. Then from his own mouth, arms, thighs and lotus-feet, he produced the *Brahman*, the king, the Vaisya, and the Sudra, respectively.

According to 12th *Sloka* of *Purusasukta* of *Rig – Veda* the four castes or *Varnas* i.e. Brahmins, Kshatrias, Vaisyas and Sudras born from the God Brahmadeva.

The Sloka reads as "Brahmanosya Mukhamasit:

Bahurajamya Kruta:

Urutadasyadwasya:

Padbhagam Sudro Ajayate:"

Means Brahmins born from the face, Kshatrias born from the shoulders, Vaisyas born from the thighs and Sudras born from the foot of God Brahmadeva. The four fold *Varnas* which emanated in North Indian society was followed in the medieval society. The Brahmin community who used to get honour in the society may be divided into two groups i.e. *Vaidikas* and *Niyogis*. *Vaidikas* are *Pujaris*, perform religious duties and whereas the *Niyogis* are mainly state servants. The Brahmin community had its own dependent sub – castes. The second was Kshatria community which have rulers and protectors of the kakatiyas.

THE BRAHMINS

Brahmins were supposedly most respected men in the society since ancient times and they regarded as *Bhusuras* i.e. visible Gods on the earth. All these Brahmin men hold the greatest liberties and privileges, and are not liable to death for anything whatever they do. The kings, the great lords, the men of rank give them much alms on which they live. Some are great eaters, and never work except to feed well. We, thus, notice that the Brahmins were of four types – temple priests, officers, businesspersons and *Agraharamdars*. All of them enjoyed extra judicial powers.³

The most influential among the Brahmins were men of learning, astrologers, literatures and physicians, interpreters of law and dispensers of justice.

The expansion of agriculture into forest areas where tribal people were living, enormously added to the number and variety of castes based on professions, which have been mentioned in the various epigraphs of the Kakatiyas period as Ashtadasa-praja. Brahmanas were granted lands in many forest areas, where they inducted the indigenous aboriginal tribal peoples into their cultural fold. This process with the multiplied religious sects resulted in increasing temple building activity. The social background of the temple building activity was the monastic movement of the Saiva, Vaishnava and Jaina sects, even though Saivism became prominent later on under the Kakatiyas. Especially the Saiva Agamas usually contained a section called Kriyapada dealing with the construction of temples, installation of images and other related matters. Several sub-sects emerged from the existing religions. For example from Saivism sub-sects like Kalamukha, Pasupata, and Virasaiva emerged. The increasing number of land grants to Brahmans resulted in a process where, the Brahmans through their material culture like temple construction, rituals, tank irrigation, scripts, language and education assimilated the tribes into their religious fold

Among the Brahmin community about *Niyogis*, K.A. Nilakanta Sastry says "they first were business men, accurate and talent in knowledge but they have less devotion". The majority of the educated *Niyogi*

Brahmins sought to enter the government service, which offered them bright careers. They were specially trained to become good accountants and administrators.

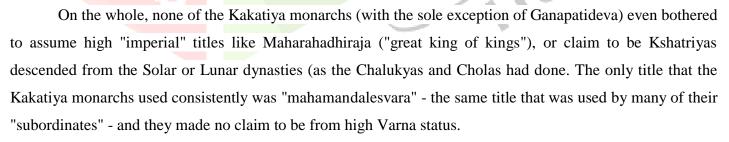
THE KSHATRIAS

The second caste was Kshatrias. Generally, according to Hindu Dharma Sastras and traditions, and the ruling class was given to the status of Kshatrias.

The fascinating characteristics of kakatiya society is that a great number of commanders made no claims to have belonged to kshtriya status but whereas the have bravely proclaimed their descent from the creator of Brahma feet. Actually it is from the creators feet the fourth or Sudra class emerged and this is how they expressed they belonged to Sudra status or the last order of the society and it papers they took pride in their status as they were the bravest. Very few inscriptions inscribed on copper plates attempts to attach the ruling dynasty with more upper strata ancestry. In these records the Kakatiyas were associated with solar dynasty of the ancient Ksatriyas.

The status title in medieval Telangana equally denotes relevance of broad social categories based on occupation. These are found in inscriptions and can be grouped in to seven categories, given below:

bhatta/pandita = Vedic Brahman amdtya/manm/pregada/rdju = se<mark>cular B</mark>rahman *cakravarti/mahdraja/raju* = royalty or nobility *setti* = merchant, trader, artisan boya = herder, pastoralistreddi = village headman, warrior-peasant ndyaka/camupati/sahini/ = military leader, local chief sendpati/rautu/lenka



THE VAISYAS

The third caste was Vaisya. They constituted mainly trading community throughout the history of the country. They played a key role in the economy of medieval Andhra. Komati is the word by which the members of this community are usually described in the region. There is inscriptional evidence to show that the word Komati has come to be used by 11th century.8 though there are different explanations as to how the term originated, none of them is satisfactory.

The Vaisyas bore the Gotras like the Brahmins of the period. However, like the Brahmingotras, the Vaisyagotras do not originate from the sages. The poet Srinatha in his Harivilasamu refers to his patron Avachi *Tippayya Settias* as ornament to the lineage of the Sage Mankana. Again, like the Brahmin community, they appear to have had subdivisions, formed from the locality in which they lived. They styled themselves as lords of Ayodhya and lords of Penugonda and usually traced their lineage to Kubera.

The Vaisyas formed the most enterprising and influential merchant's community of the land throughout the period under consideration. They were the followers of *Dharma* and obtainers of the grace of the wise. They belonged to the race of Kubera, and *Sri Vaisyapuranam* gives us an account of the community history of this Vaisyas.

According to the *Vaisyapurana*, Penugonda in the West Godavari district along with 17 other towns constituted the original habitat of Vaisyas of 714 *gotras*. The other places mentioned in the Purana and Dharma; Dhanada, Panchala, Niravadya, Jananatha, Kshirakasara, Denduluru, Eluru, Ghantasala, Trigunita, Ghana, Bhima, Visla, Kalinga, Nrisimha, Viranarayana, Achanta and Nagaram. These Vaisyas of total 18 towns formed in to a corporate community in every town had an assembly, described as *Nakaram* with a *Nagaraswami* at its head. While this *Nakaram* looked at the particular interests of the whole community, the *Nakaram* of Penugonda looked to the general interests of the whole community. Wherever an issue concerning the whole community arose, the Nagaraswamins of Penugonda used to contact the Nagaraswamins of other places. The issue could be settled only at a meeting of the assembly comprising the whole Nagarasamins and presided over by the chief residing at Penugonda. They used to transact their communal business in a specially prepared place on the *mukhamandapa* of the temple of Nagareswaraswami at Penugonda. This was the picture of the community life enjoyed by the Komati community of 714 *Gotras* residing at 18 towns of the region.

There are inscriptional evidences for their donations, which are considered as places of commercial and religious importance i.e. 1. The construction of temple Visvesvara at Nadendla by one Kami Setti, 2. Gift of sheep for a lamp in Bhavanarayana temple at Bapatla by one Nili Setti, 3. Gift of 10 Raja raja *madas* by two merchants for perpetual lamps in Mahadeva temple at Ghantasala, 4. Gifts of cows to the temple of Pattisam at Penugonda, 5. Construction of tank, and built a temple by Kesanaya Setti at Chennupalli of Guntur district, 6. Gift of sheep to temple of Gandeswara by one Narayana, 7. Gift of cows for lighting lamps for Mallesvara temple by one Nili Setti at Penugonda. South India Inscriptions record hundreds such of examples of donations made by Komaties.¹¹

THE SUDRAS

The Sudra caste was a heterogeneous body comprising several sub-castes both higher and lower. Agriculture was their main occupation. The Reddis, the Kammas and the Velamas usually tilled the soil. N.Venkataramanaiah says, "They formed the back bone of the region or country, and the prosperity of the state depended upon them to a very great extent. Several of them entered the army and eked out a living by serving the State. The Kammas and the Velamas of the Telugu region were military communities par excellence. Besides, member of these castes cultivated the soil and owned extensive estates, but their main occupation was fighting". 12

In addition, the Balijas also emulated to some extent their example although the main occupation of the caste appears to have been trade. They appear to have been a very enterprising community during the thirteenth century. The leaders of these military castes were appointed as rent farmers and *Kavalgars* in Kannada term.

PANCHANAMVARU

The community of Panchanamuvaru played main role in the construction of society. The services of the blacksmith, the stone-mason, the carpenter, the metal worker and the jeweller have always been indispensable to the normal working of any community, more truly so, to life in the medieval age. For satisfying the primary creature comforts, the tools and utensils made by the blacksmith and the metalworker and houses erected by the stonemason and the carpenter were necessary. Again, the aesthetic impulse of the people as reflected in personal ornamentation required the services of the goldsmith. The artisans not only satisfied the material and the aesthetic needs of the people but also even made the stability of the state possible by supplying ornaments to the kings and chiefs of the time.

The artisans' community of the medieval times everywhere, whether in Karnataka, Tamilnadu or Telangana, held the view that they were the descendants of the five sons of Visvakarma. The name Pancanamavaru applied to the artisan community, like the name Pancala applied to the artisans of Karnataka is said to be a corruption of the word Pancanana (meaning five faces), ascribed by the tradition to the legendary Visvakarma. Out of them were born five sons named Manu, Maya, Silpi, Thwastra and Visvagna-Daivagna. These five sons are considered the originators of the five crafts black-smithy, carpentry, stone carving, metalwork and jewellery. Inscriptions from the Telugu area style this community by a number, as the 'Seventy-Four' community. The association of a number with a community was a common practice in the medieval Andhradesa. Thus, the oil monger community of Anhdradesa was a 'Thousand community', while the Penugonda Vaisya community was a Hundred and Two community. The purport of this number is not clear; but the number serves as a useful index to the corporate nature of the community referred to. 13

A record from Vontimetta¹⁴ contains even more elaborate *Prasasti* of the Panchanamuvaru. They are like the refuge of the whole world and the mainstay for the creation of the three worlds. They are adept in all sciences and *Puranas*. ¹⁵ They are seekers of the welfare of the world, knower of the way to command respect and possessors of matchless valour. They are the 'Lords of Vara Pemdota', which contained in it all the worlds. They are the worshippers of the lotus feet of lord Kamateswara who shone with eternal brilliance.

The Sale and Sub - Caste

Weavers belonged to oldest sub caste people in the society from the ancient days. Locating of the weaving caste in the then social structure is transparent when we look at their socio – economic importance in the cultural milieu of the day. When we think of the rural environment of the medieval society, the artisans and their communities appear in the forefront of our view according to inscriptional evidences; they were patronized by the Buddhist and Jaina settlements along with the Saiva and Vaishnava religious institutions in the early days. During the medieval period, we find a general tendency in each community to claim superiority over the other working class communities and equate it with the Brahmins. For example, the Pancanamvaru claimed that

their progenitor was Viswa Brahma, the divine architect and the four artisan castes took their origin from his five faces i.e. Mayam Manu, Twastra, Silpi and Viswajana. As they were constantly engaged in the art creation work in different fields, they were also called as belonging to Viswa Karma family. 16 They used to wear a sacred thread and called themselves as Viswa Brahmins likewise the Teliki (Oil Mongers) community spread a legend to equate themselves with the Kshatrias from the North.

The *Devangas* claimed to be Brahmins and traced their origin from manu and Devala Munivar, the son of Siva. Their attitude is best expressed in the verse of Sambhulinga Murthy, a priest of the Devanga weavers. By this, they intend to indicate that they had born in the Brahmin caste as Manu belonged to the same. The Telugu Sale traced their origin to Bhavana Rishi who is said to have manufactured the thread from Vishnu's navel and made cloth for Gods..

Edgar Thurston observes that the Salee community was divided into Padma Salee (lotus Salees) and Pattu Salees (silk Sarees).¹⁷ Not only these two major groups, there were within a weaver village, several weaver castes. The study of these castes makes us believe that the groups and sub – groups within the professional group occurred due to their long standing association with certain geographical location. The variation that took place in the techniques of weaving in course of time the resultant specialization of each group, migration of the groups from place and the mutual interaction and impacts of the patterns and technologies were witnessed.

The Kurba Sub - Caste

The Kurba Sub-Caste is a pastoral community, constitute a considerable bulk of the Hindu population in Telugu regions. They are fairly distributed in Telangana and Rayalaseema districts. Kurumba in Tamilanadu, Kuruba in Karnataka, Kuruva in Rayalaseeems and costal Andhra and Kuruma in Telangana are the various expressions used to denote the shepherd caste. Kurubas are also known as Madari Kuruvas and Madarasi Kuruvas in some parts of the state. As they worship Beerappadevaru, they are also known as Beerannalavaru. It is said that Harihararayalu and Bukkarayalu, the two brothers who founded the Vijayanagara-Empire at Hampi in A.D. 1336 belonged to the Kuruba caste. 18 Their patron God is Beerappadeva and progenitor is Mallanna.

According to C.P. Brown "Kurumavandlu (Kurumagolla or Kuruvagolla) is a caste of shepherds who weave blankets". 19 The sheep breeding and wool weaving have great prospects both as an industry and trade and thus occupy a key position in the state's economy. The contribution of Kurubas to the society is manifold. Some of the Kurubas are petty landowners. The caste Kurubas are divided into two main sub-sects i.e. Patti Kankanam and Unni Kankanam.

Besides there is this class of merchants who formed separate groups, slowly, in the course of time, crystallized into an endogamous sect of Balijas or Banaligas, which was found in the Canarese and the Telugu region.²⁰ Some of the Balanja community members were not only the traders on the land but also on waters. Besides these, they acted as farmers of tolls under the kings and chiefs of the time. The Vira Balanja merchants being a rich and influential merchant community could have easily secured the right to collect tolls. They also in charge of Sunka collected in all places of commercial activity. 18 Regarding the donations, the Balinja community donated tolls to the temples and construction of temples and *Mandapas*. All these supported by number of inscriptions. 19 and they enjoyed a high order of life in society.

The society of early medieval Telangana comprised of other sub -castes also who played equal role in the society in socio - economic sphere. Those were Ghollas, Medaras, Kummaris, Jalaris, Mudrajas, Goudas, Cakalis, and Mangalis along with their dependent sub – castes. It is evident that the status titles of medieval Andhra similarly reveal the existence of broad social categories based primarily on occupation.

PANCHAMAS

Those belonging to inferior status and occupation make no mention in this scheme of Varna for the basic reason that majority medieval inscriptions record only transfers of property to Hindu shrines. In course of time, a new caste called *Pamchamas* emerged in society. This caste consisted of two groups / sub – castes i.e. *Mala* and Madigas. Regarding their origin, according to Ramayana Epic, Jambavantha was the grandfather of Vanaras who only was born first in the world. He created an Adi-Sakti with his miraculous powers then; the Adi Sakti gave birth to the sky, earth, the universe, and the trinity. Jambavantha killed one of his sons and made instruments to all castes and he became Adipurasa.

Jambavantha was believed as the forefather of Madigas and Chennaiah as the forefather of Malas and their holy book is Jambapurana. So that the both caste people honour holy Jambayantha and holy Jambapurana, which was taken place in Kruthayuga.

From the mythological story, it is under stood that the Mahadigas (Maha – digira) or descendants of Jambavantha come to be known as *Madigas* and the descendants of Chennaiah as Malas (*Malo okadu* by Gods).²¹ Mala and Madigas were found mention in the Barabalvathandars of the village in olden days. They played vital role in the village administration. The *Mala* and *Madigas* have their own dependent sub - castes.

TRIBALS

Besides, above five Varnas the tribal communities can be found in the Hindu society in India in general and Telangana in particular since ancient times to medieval times. They were popularly known as Chenchus, Koyas, and Lambadas, who were also considered as part of the society though they lived in forests.

Apart from the tradional broad based *Varna* system the sub castes if re grouped alongwith professions can be formed into following five groups²²;

- 1) Agricultural Cases: This groups comprises of various sub castes i.e. Reddy, Kamma, Velama, Kapu, Telga, Mutarasi, Golla, Naidu, Begari, etc. and these sub - castes have their own dependent sub - castes.
- 2) Artisan Castes: This group also comprises of a number of sub castes, i.e. Pujaris like Brahmins and Jangals, devotees like, Gosai Jogi and Dasaries and Sales, Malas and others. They have also their own dependent sub - castes.
- 3) Trading Castes: Komatis, Vanis, Chettis, Lingayatas, Balija, etc. were formed in to trade group. Like above groups, this group also have dependent sub - castes.
- 4) Village Service Castes: Padmasale, Devanga, Panchamas, Kammari, Kummari, Medari, etc. were the members of the group. In addition, village traditional servant sub - castes like Cakali, Mangali, Bhandari,

Kasi, etc. were also the members of this group. They have also dependent sub - castes. This group played an important role in the social construction.

5)Nomadic: This group comprises of the dependent sub - castes and folk - artist sub - castes that used to entertain their donating sub - castes. Except this group in the society, the other four groups respectively involved in the administration, trade and commerce, production and service.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF KAKATIYAS

a) The Family

Family is the base unit of any society. The foreign travelers observed that in South India family ties were stronger among the family members, relatives and friends. All these were considered as one family. During the Kakatiya period, extended families were frequently noticed through epigiraphical and literary sources. For example, an inscription at Papayapalem and Inugurti, the donor is mentioned with all his blood relations. Almost all the inscriptions of the period testify to the emotional attachments, which existed among the members of a family. 23

The society of the period was patriarchal. The ideal was father who should be respected as the head of the family. He managed the family and all members of the family obeyed him in every respect. For example, an inscription dated AD. 1219 states that Ganapambika gave the village Mogulutal to a Brahmin with the permission of her father Ganapatideva. The Kridabhiramam refers to the fact that the father was head of the family and he took all responsibilities for his family.

The society of the Kakatiya period as known form epigraphical and literary sources indicates that they were familiar with joint family system. An inscription at Duppalli in Ramannapet taluq of Nalgonda District, states that the donors shared the village in the ratio of 1:3 after the death of their father. The sons and brother of a person shared the property in the society of the Kakatiya period, several polygamous families were noticed. For example, an inscription of AD. 1280 states that the Karanam Rammayya had two wives, Mallasani and Ganga Sani.²⁴ The *Pratapa Caritra*, a late legendary account of the Kakatiya king Prataparudra refers twice to his chief queen Visalakshi. Another queen of this king, by name Lakshmidevi is mentioned in an inscription found in the village, Yelagandu in Karimnagar District.

b) The Institution of Marriage

The essential thing about marriage is that it is a stable relationship in which a man and a woman are socially permitted, without loss of standing in the community, to have children.²⁹ The earlier *Smritis* as well as the contemporary texts mention the traditional eight forms of marriages namely, Brahma, Daiva, Arsal Prajapatya, Gandharva, Asura, Raksasa and Paisaca.²⁵

Inter varna/caste marriages occurred only in the royal and noble families. For example, the Kakatiya princess, Ruyyama was married to Induluri Annaya Mantri who belonged to Brahmin caste. 31 The Kshatriya prince, Virabhadra married Kakatiya princess Rudrama. These were Anuloma marriages. However, among the common people, these inter caste marriages were not allowed even by Samaya Sabhas or communal organization, except in case of the settlement of a rape. According Vijnaneswaram, if a person rapes a girl, he

should marry the girl if she accepts; otherwise, he should be given a death sentence. The Vaisays were very rigid on this social issue that they were ready to sacrifice life rather than accepting an inter caste marriage.

The Smriti writers imposed certain other restrictions on marital relations. For instance, one could not marry a girl of the same Gotra, and these restrictions continued even to this day. The lawmakers have disapproved marriages amongst Sapindas or Sagotras unanimously. Alberuni also observed that Sapinda and Sagotra marriages were prohibited amongst the Hindus.²⁶

STATUS OF WOMEN

The early and medieval Telangana society was a male dominated one, women appear to have enjoyed a position of respect and reverence. A large number of inscriptions of this period make it clear that women had considerable freedom to make liberals gifts to the religious institutions like temples for the merit of not only their husbands but also of parents. However, many were adept in fine arts quite a few inscriptions make it clear that some of the women particularly of royal families were great diplomats and even brave warrior. Many inscriptions form various temples attest to the important part played by women in different capacities. The women of Kakatiya period actively shared their responsibility in social activities along with their husbands.

Rare examples are found in the history of Medieval Telangana where the female lineage was selected to the throne. Firstly, it was in the case of Rudramadevi, the daughter of Ganapatideva, who had been chosen as Pattodhrti in AD. 1259 and enthroned in A.D. 1262 by Ganapatideva, though he had two sons, namely Hariharadeva and Murarideva by another wife. Ganapatideva was known for his liberal policies in administrative, socio-religious and legal matters and was wise enough to choose Rudrama, who the first among his children and was capable of administering the entire kingdom. He trained her in warfare, polity and diplomacy and declared her as his heir to the throne. Secondly, when Rudrama was blessed only with three daughters, she had chosen the son of her first daughter, Pratapa Rudra, as her heir, on the advice of Ganapatideva and during his lifetime. Though valiant, her abilities were under estimated as she was a woman and she had to fight against the external enemies and struggle to suppress the internal revolts. She could successfully beat back the enemies and protected the kingdom, which was given to her by Ganapatideva, till her death at the age of 86. The forgoing instances discard the prescriptions of *Dharmasastras* about the father lineage inheritance.

Besides, some prominent women administrators as feudatories and ministers surfaced. Nayakurualu Nagamma, according to *Palnati Viracaritra*, was a minister under Nalagamaraju and led to battle of Palnad. Some female persons are found to be able administrators in the Kakatiya dynasty. Ganapamba, the younger sister of Rudrama and wife of Kota Betaraja, Changi chieftain Muppaladevi, Nagasani of Viriyala lineage, Kota chieftain Bayyaladevi etc, had exercised political power by assuming the official royal titles and family Prasastis.

Besides these, we have many references to the construction of tanks and temples by the wives of chiefs belonging to the Kakatiya period. Mailama, the sister of Ganapatideva constructed Bayyaram tank on the name of her mother Bayyaladevi. His sister Kundamamba constructed a village called Kundasamudram in Adilabad district. Likewise, the village Muppavaram and Muppasamudram were constructed on the name of the wife of Mahadeva. Mailamba gave an Agrahara to 108 Brahmins for the merit of her son Bhima was also found from Panugallu inscription of A.D. 1124.

Throughout Rudrama's twenty-seven years of her reign, she took active part in the Government of the kingdom. She ruled the kingdom as Rudradeva Maharaja engaging herself in incessant wars in protection and expansion of the kingdom till her last breath. Her successful rule from Warangal indicates the society medieval Telangana in which women were accepted as equal partners in social life each having opportunity to rise to any level depending Chalukya Virabhadra, son of Indusekhara and Udaya Mahadevi of Nidadavolu and got three daughters namely Mammadamma, Rudrama and Ruyyama. Pratapa Rudra succeeded the throne after Rudramamba who was son of her daughter, Mummadamma.

These included from dominant castes of Andhra and Telangana, consisting of Reddys, Kammas, and Velamas all trace their origins to 'Kakatiya Nayakas' who later became much more prominent in the region during late 13th and early 14th century. As a clear social organization was not visible as established, it is evident there was social mobility and multiple social identities and fluidity in social status in that period.

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