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SOCIETY AGAINST THE STATE : PERSPECTIVES ON THE
HISTORY OF EARLY ANDHRA PRADESH

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
Australian National University.

December, 1982.

This thesis is my own work.

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NOTE ON PRAKRIT WORDS

Following Trautmann's example (see bibliography), I have not Sanskritised the names occurring in the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh. This is to prevent any important linguistic details from being obscured or misrepresented.

ABSTRACT

In most historical literature the conceptual 'state' has become a yardstick for measuring the degree of civilization achieved by any society. Such a Eurocentric notion has often precluded the understanding of local processes of power. This thesis is an attempt to study such processes in the South Indian state of Andhra Pradesh between the third century B.C. and mid-fourth century A.D. The research has shown that one of the most advanced cultures of early India in fact resisted any of the conditions that could be used to define a state apparatus.

The discussion begins with the study of the process of intensification of agriculture and the development of long-distance trading networks. This is followed by an attempt to understand the nature of urbanism. Then the religious undercurrents that characterized the culture of early Andhra are discussed. The final chapter deals with the articulation of the local power structure which was characterized by a complicated strategy of marriage forging and the circulation of prestige goods in the hierarchy of the ruling groups. The thesis not only shows the importance of regional history, but also the advantage of adopting a sceptical attitude towards the current stereotypical notions about early India. It could only make research work even more challenging.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.B.O.R.I.</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
<i>A.I.</i>	<i>Ancient India</i> , New Delhi.
<i>A.R. A.S.I.</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>A.R.I.E.</i>	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.
<i>A.S.M.G.M.</i>	Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, C. Sivaramamurti.
<i>C.I.I.</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
<i>E.H.A.C.</i>	Early History of the Andhra Country, K. Gopalacari.
<i>E.I.</i>	Epigraphia Indica.
<i>I.A.</i>	Indian Antiquary.
<i>I.A.A.R.</i>	Indian Archaeology - A Review, New Delhi.
<i>I.E.S.H.R.</i>	The Indian Social and Economic History Review, New Delhi.
<i>I.H.Q.</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
<i>I.H.R.</i>	Indian Historical Review, New Delhi.
<i>I.S.S.J.</i>	International Social Sciences Journal, Paris.
<i>J.A.H.R.S.</i>	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry - Hyderabad.
<i>J.A.I.H.</i>	Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta.

- J.E.S.H.O.* Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.
- J.I.H.* Journal of Indian History, Trivendrum.
- J.M.B.R.A.S.* Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Lüders List* A List of Brahmi inscriptions, H. Lüders, Berlin.
- M.A.R.* Madras Archaeological Report.
- Mbh.* Mahābhārata.
- Periplus* The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (ed.) W.H. Schoff.
- Pliny* Naturalis Historia.
- Ptolemy* Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, (ed.) S.N. Majumdar Sastri.
- S.I.E.* Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Mysore.
- S.I.M.B.* South Indian 'Megalithic' Burials, L.S. Leshnik.
- S.S.L.D.* Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan, D.C. Sircar.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is an account of a region in the south of India inhabited by more than fifty million people. The beginnings of the history of this area have already been studied with reference to the rise and fall of various kings and dynasties, especially the later Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus.⁽¹⁾ Such an interest was endemic to the nature of the prevailing historical writing in the sub-continent and the atmosphere of Indian nationalism in the early half of the present century. We know, therefore, of the great Sātavāhana rulers who issued the first dynastic coinage of Andhra Pradesh, and the impressive achievements of the Ikṣvākus accomplished in a span of about a hundred years. But what do we know of the agrarian situation under these rulers? How did they manipulate the political and social situations so as to attain and maintain their dominant position? Since these questions have been peripheral to the studies of earlier scholars, we may address ourselves to finding out some of the answers. The conclusions will be tentative, and at times the reconstruction will depend on the cultural experience of having lived in the area and been brought up in the local traditions. Thus, in an anthropological sense, it is an attempt to provide an 'emic' as well as an 'etic' interpretation of the data.

1 See for instance, D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*; K. Gopalacari, *E.H.A.C.*; B.V. Krishna Rao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, Madras, 1942. More recently, M. Rama Rao, *Studies in the Early History of Andhradesa*, Madras, 1971. For other references, see the bibliography at the end.

Andhra Pradesh, located between 12° 27' and 19° 54' N latitude, has a tropical climate.⁽²⁾ While the variations in relief hardly account for any significant differences in temperature, they have important bearing on the distribution of rainfall. The drainage pattern is marked by two perennial rivers, the Krishna and the Godavari, and a number of smaller rivers and streams. The lower basins of the rivers are very fertile as compared to the inland black and red soils. The *Pandukal*⁽³⁾ sites not only abound in the levees of the lower Krishna basin: they are widespread also in the drier inland districts.⁽⁴⁾ It was the former which became the early nucleus of agricultural intensification. The thesis, while aiming mainly at the lower Krishna valley, focuses also on the surrounding districts.

What we have attempted here is to discover the regional processes that led to the evolution of various socio-economic structures. For the purpose of this study, all the available source material has been taken into consideration.⁽⁵⁾ In the earlier historical works on Andhra, the evidence from literary sources has been discussed in detail, especially in the reconstruction of the dynastic history. For instance, *Purāṇas*, however defective, are quite crucial in the reconstruction of the chronology

2 For a detailed description of the climate and physical features of the state, see S.M. Alam (ed.), *Planning Atlas of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1974; O.H.K. Spate and A.K. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, 3rd ed., London, 1967; See also Map I. Since the spatial distribution of the evidence discussed in the thesis has been emphasized, a Map (II) of the various districts of Andhra Pradesh has been included for ease of reference.

3 See below, pp. 6-7. 4 Map III.

5 See the bibliography at the end. Unnecessary description of the source material has been avoided. The most recent publications have not been consulted since these are not available to me. A.N.U. libraries hold mostly North Indian acquisitions, and relatively few books on the south.

Relief and mean annual rainfall , Andhra Pradesh

Map I

Districts and district headquarters, Andhra Pradesh

Map II

of the Sātavāhana rulers. In the present study, literary sources have been utilized wherever relevant. The principal source material for the discussion has been archaeological.

In this category we have a large corpus of donative inscriptions, the majority of which come from two important centres, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.⁽⁶⁾ The majority of these are associated with religious establishments. They provide some valuable data for understanding the functioning of the contemporary society and the political, economic and social structures. Since one of the aims of the thesis is to understand these structures, religion itself has been taken into consideration only to the extent that it was an important ideological undercurrent.

In the absence of any literature from the region which can be specifically dated, this epigraphical material is quite crucial for the study. There is also a substantial amount of numismatic material from the region which is quite illuminating in understanding the nature of trade in the area. This material is supplemented to a large extent with evidence both from excavations and from explorations. The evidence from a number of sites which have been excavated recently has been reported regularly in *Indian Archaeology - a Review*. Very few horizontal excavations have been conducted, however, and the reports from these few cases are yet to appear.⁽⁷⁾ In order to overcome some of these limitations, field observations have been made wherever possible, and the notes have been used in the thesis.⁽⁸⁾

6 See bibliography, pp. 217-223.

7 For instance, the excavations at Nagarjunakonda were conducted between 1954-60, and the excavators finalized and submitted the reports within a couple of years. So far, only one volume dealing with the prehistory of the valley has been published. R. Subrahmanyam *et al.*, *Nagarjunakonda (1954-60)*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1975.

8 It has not been possible to make a report of these observations.

The period under consideration is from the third century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The three centuries prior to the present era are dominated by the remains of the *Pandukal* burials belonging to the early Iron Age of South India. We also get a certain amount of historical source material. In the period after the turn of the present era, early historical settlements and monuments acquire prominence. The later Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus are the two most important ruling families during this period. Their significance in the local power structure has been discussed in the last chapter. The details of the geography and chronology of these dynasties fall outside the purview of this thesis.

In order to understand the various socio-economic processes, a long stretch of time proved useful. Although the chronological importance of the material has been taken into consideration, strict time brackets have not been adhered to. This thesis does not purport to be comprehensive. In fact, all the discussion is aimed at eventually understanding the local processes of power in the region.

Before proceeding to study the agrarian situation during the first period, our preference for using the expression 'the *Pandukal*' complex rather than the 'megalithic complex' needs some explanation. The latter, stemming from European analogies made during colonial times, gives the study of these stone monuments in different parts of Europe and Asia a false unity, especially in the usage of large boulders - thereby reducing the importance of regional disparities and cultural discontinuities. What meaning does the label 'megalithic' bear when it is used to refer to simple burials in pits with skeletal remains in urns, which are demarcated by stones

the size of a fist arranged in a circle? What relevance has the expression to non-sepulchral, free-standing structures of stone, the so-called dolmens and cromlechs of South India? Where do we fit in the study of the stone monuments which serve as small shrines for folk deities?

We need to explore and understand the problem thoroughly in the context of various regions in order to make any progress in the numerous puzzles in the study of these monuments. Considering the unity of the South Indian burials which present extensive evidence for not only a single technological tradition, but also uniformity in accompanying grave goods, Leshnik⁽⁹⁾ has made use of the traditional designation of *Pandukal* or old stone graves which appears more appropriate and meaningful. Although it does not encompass the non-sepulchral monuments, studies of these may show if they have any relation to the *Pandukal* remains.⁽¹⁰⁾ This may elucidate another important facet of the regional character and complexity of the 'megalithic' people.

9 For some of the details of this argument, see L. Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, pp. 1-2.

10 Some of them are conspicuous in their outward resemblance to the *Pandukal* stone tombs. Such studies may benefit from the use of ethnology, place-name study and comparative religion on the lines of the research carried out by F.R. Allchin in his study of the South Indian ashmounds, *Neolithic Cattle-Keeper of South India*, Cambridge, 1963.

Chapter II

INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE

.... *aneka-hiraṃma-kodī-go-*
satasahasā-hala-satahasā-paḍāyi...
= *Skt.* ... *aneka-hiranya-kotī-go-*
ṣatasahasra-hala-ṣataṣahasrā-praḍāyin...

One who bestowed many crores of gold
(coins), hundreds of thousands of cows
and hundreds of thousands of hala(s)
(Plough measures of land)

(An epithet of the Ikṣvāku king,
Chāntamūla).

This chapter aims at understanding the beginnings of agricultural intensification in early Andhra Pradesh. For convenience, the period under study has been divided into two phases based on the dominant cultural remains. The first, dealing with the three centuries prior to the Christian era, is marked by the burials of the *Pandukal*⁽¹⁾ complex belonging to the early Iron Age of South India⁽²⁾. Evidence, however meagre, relating to the external influences in the region and to consequent developments has also been discussed. The second phase comprising the following four centuries is dominated by early historical settlements⁽³⁾ and monuments and a large corpus of inscriptions⁽⁴⁾ which are mainly Buddhist in nature. These time

1 For an explanation regarding the use of the term *Pandukal* and its preference over 'megalith', see Ch. I, pp. 6-7.

2 K.S. Ramachandran, *A Bibliography on Indian Megaliths*, Madras, 1971; L. Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, pp. 1-13.

3 Map III.

4 See bibliography to this thesis, pp. 217-223.

brackets are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the earliest inscriptions date back to the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.⁽⁵⁾ while the *Pandukal* tradition continued into the present era.⁽⁶⁾ Such a periodization becomes more meaningful in this and in later chapters.

The beneficiaries of intensive agriculture were the people of the latter phase, and evidence from the former helps us to understand the nature of changes that came about. The dearth of evidence, however, has put considerable limitations on the understanding of the social arrangements involving the use of land and its products. It is the evidence from the Pallava and other records of the subsequent centuries which illustrates the essence of agrarian relations that endured until recent times.⁽⁷⁾

The question of agricultural intensification, an ongoing process in South Asia, can be delimited neither in space nor in time. In the third millenium B.C., while agricultural surpluses enabled the genesis of urban centres with substantial populations in the Indus and the adjoining regions, the larger part of the sub-continent was still occupied by more humble communities with meagre or no knowledge of agriculture. Two thousand years later, while the Gangetic basin witnessed the growth of numerous urban centres, all the adjacent areas appear to have been still on the fringes of food-production. Even to this day, while India is virtually self-

5 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, p. 61; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp.40-43.

6 R. Bruce Foote, *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities*, Madras, 1901, Fig. 33 and notes.

7 Nicholas Dirks, 'Political Authority and Structural Change in Early South Indian History', *I.E.S.H.R.*, Vol.13, No. 2, (1976), pp.125-158; Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 63-89.

sufficient in foodgrains, there still remain culs-de-sac where hunting-gathering people continue. Thus the question of intensification of agriculture in South Asia is relative to the region and to the period of study. It is not surprising that the process of intensification was a relatively late phenomenon in Andhra Pradesh.

Various definitions of intensive agriculture have been formulated over the past few decades.⁽⁸⁾ In a modern context, it is popularly understood in terms of increased yields per hectare. In a pre-modern context, we shall tentatively understand it as a system in which a large amount of labour input is an important factor in agrarian production as distinct from extensive agriculture. There are a number of other variables which mould its character from region to region. The transition to such a system or the process of intensification involves further questions. Is it merely a question of increased labour input? Are there any technological changes involved? Is there an increase in cropping frequency? Are any new crops introduced? What are the ideological factors behind it? These are some of the questions raised in the study of the agrarian history of early South Asia.

8 I.S. Farrington (ed.), *Prehistoric Intensive Agriculture in the Tropics*, Proceedings of the Conference held at the A.N.U., 17-20 August, 1981, in press; the argument in this chapter has been summarized in a paper titled 'Some Facets of Agricultural Intensification in Early South Asia', to be published in the same volume.

Pandukal remains occur mainly in the inland districts, with significant clusters in the inland taluks of the Guntur district on the coast, ranging from a few to a few hundreds.⁽⁹⁾ Their distribution pattern in Telangana around Hyderabad is in the shape of a sickle with the handle extending northwards and then the cutting edge curving into Medak, Warangal and Karimnager districts. There are a few clusters along the middle reaches of the Godavari before the river narrows down and turns turbulent at the Bison gorge. The lower Godavari basin is virtually devoid of *Pandukal* remains, except for a solitary instance. The majority of remains are along the river Krishna and to the south of it. They become prominent from around the region of the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and span out into the Prakasam and Guntur districts. In the latter, the concentration in the Palnad and Sattenapalli taluks is significant. The adjoining Nandigama taluk in Krishna district has some important sites as well. Once again, the lower reaches of the river have not yielded any remains. Further south, while a few clusters occur in the Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittoor districts, they become more significant in Nellore district.

Archaeological work on the *Pandukal* complex has been largely exploratory in nature. In recent years some of the burials have been

9 Map III. It has not been possible to locate all the sites explored or excavated, as the necessary topographic maps of the region were not available to me.

Archaeological sites in Andhra Pradesh, B.C.300-300A.D.

Map III

systematically excavated.⁽¹⁰⁾ With more and more sites being explored and excavated by the Archaeological Survey of Andhra Pradesh, it will not be very long before we can postulate a more concrete pattern of distribution. At present, some tentative observations can be made.

The extent of the pre-*Pandukal* cultures in Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere in South India is also very ambiguous.⁽¹¹⁾ In any case, we have enough evidence to conclude that the numbers of archaeological sites increased considerably during the *Pandukal* phase.⁽¹²⁾ Within a span of five to six centuries they spread all over Andhra with a significant variation in the burial methods.

Except for the sites along the river Godavari, the majority are in dry areas with poor savannah scrub.⁽¹³⁾ They occur mostly among granite outcrops and areas with limestone and sandstone in Guntur district. Although they predominate in lands unsuitable for cultivation, there are a few in arable tracts. These exceptions

- 10) R. Subrahmanyam et al., *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 165-210; Brief accounts of excavations have been published in *I.A.A.R.* almost in every volume.
- 11) The prehistory of the area has hardly passed the exploratory stage. Clarence Maloney, 'Archaeology in South India: Accomplishments and Prospects', in *Essays on South India*, (ed.), Burton Stein, Honolulu, 1975, pp. 1-6.
- 12) Various volumes of the *I.A.A.R.*, L. Leshnik, *op. cit.* pp. 251-53; S.B. Deo, 'The Megalithic Problem: A Review', paper presented at the *Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Post-plenary session, Pune, 1978, pp. 11-12.
- 13) Map III; S.M. Alam, (ed.), *Planning Atlas of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. iii-v.

are often where the earliest historical settlements evolved.⁽¹⁴⁾

As new lands were required for slash-and-burn agriculture, and as fresh pastures were required for cattle, it is not surprising that these people were confined to drier areas where the pastures and vegetation were more congenial for semi-sedentary life. The heavier rainfall of the coastal districts, especially north of the river Krishna, would have impeded movement. The decisive factor, however, was that raw material in the form of granite boulders was readily available for the stone tombs in the inland districts. It is true that all prehistoric cultures depended on stone of some type or other. With the *Pandukal* people it acquired a special significance, being crucial for their religious beliefs.

Very few habitational sites of these people have been discovered.⁽¹⁵⁾ Even the burials in the arable tracts are devoid of any associated habitational remains. The sites in Andhra Pradesh where material remains of the *Pandukal* tradition are encountered have not yielded any architectural remains in the habitational strata.⁽¹⁶⁾ These appear to represent deposits from periodic camps. While they may have been periodically revisited as elsewhere in other parts of the world, there is no indication of their being permanent settlements.

14 Map III.

15 Mounds labelled 'megalthic' have been located at Lam, Motakada and other places in Guntur district, but they have not been excavated; H. Sarkar, 'Kesarapalle 1962', *A.I.*, No. 22, pp. 37-74.

16 For instance, the levels with Black and Red Ware at Amaravati-Dharanikota, Kesarapalle and Peddabankur. *I.A.A.R.*, 1958-59, p.5; 1962-63, pp. 1-2; 1968-69, p. 2; 1970-71, p. 2. H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

Moreover, the social organization implied by the burials is that of small itinerant groups: the predominantly martial component of the grave goods, the burial of animal remains, especially those of the dog, and the nature of agricultural implements lead us to support the view that they were nomads probably practising semi-sedentary agriculture.⁽¹⁷⁾ *Pandukal* burials are referred to locally as *Kurumbar-kudis* in Chittoor district. *Kurumbar* refers to the local shepherds who rear sheep for wool and manufacture blankets from it.⁽¹⁸⁾ A later inscription from Ganga-peruru in the adjacent Cuddapah district which has also some *Pandukal* burials⁽¹⁹⁾, refers to the erection of a memorial pillar for one Gopa who died in a cattle raid.⁽²⁰⁾

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent these people practised agriculture. We are aware of the practice of extensive agriculture in the preceding neolithic times,⁽²¹⁾ and there is no reason to doubt that it continued into the *Pandukal* phase. The elusive question is who were the cultivators: the people who built the stone tombs or some other sedentary farmers? The *Pandukal* people who were nomadic pastoralists either practised shifting agriculture or had a symbiotic relationship with sedentary communities. The former is a more likely possibility.

17 For comments on this aspect of the *Pandukal* complex of South India, see Leshnik, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48; S.P. Gupta, 'Gulf of Oman: The Original Home of Indian Megaliths', *Puratattva*, No. 4, (1970-71), p.9 f.

18 N. Venkataramanayya, 'Pre-historic Remains in Andhra Pradesh', *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXII, Pts. I-IV, (1971-72), p.21. Even to this day a caste of shepherds called Kurubas live in Anantapur and Kurnool districts, and the adjoining districts of Karnataka.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

20 P.R. Srinivasan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 207-8.

21 *I.A.A.R.*, 1967-68, pp. 3-5; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp. 161-199.

It would appear that no new crops nor any new system of agriculture were introduced by the Iron Age people.⁽²²⁾ Until we have more data on the agricultural practices before the *Pandukal* phase, it will be difficult to make any inferences as to the changes brought about. As mentioned before, from a comparison of the number of sites, it is obvious that the *Pandukal* people were in larger numbers than their predecessors. Since these people were of external origin,⁽²³⁾ it would be useful if research were done to find their relation to the indigenous people. Some of the periodic camps excavated depict a continuity from the preceding Neolithic to the *Pandukal* periods.⁽²⁴⁾ There appears to be a remarkable similarity in the economic base of both cultures.

The *Pandukal* people, however, introduced iron technology and iron tools soon became ubiquitous and quite rapidly supplanted the ground stone axe industry. The variety of the iron and copper objects of these people is quite impressive. Iron was definitely in use in South India by the middle of the first millenium B.C.⁽²⁵⁾ That iron tools were in extensive use by the end of the millenium is beyond doubt.⁽²⁶⁾ But, as mentioned before, iron technology brought about no immediate change in the economy. The metal tools of these

22 F.R. Allchin, *Piklihal Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1960, p. 137.

23 S.B. Deo, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; Leshnik, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-53.

24 F.R. Allchin, *Op. cit.*, p. 137; H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

25 For a detailed inventory of *Pandukal* iron tool-types, see Leshnik, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-185.

26 D.P. Agrawal and Sheela Kusumgar, *Prehistoric Chronology and Radiocarbon Dating in India*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 142 ff; Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 'Distribution of Iron Ores and the Archeological Evidence of Early Iron in India', *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. XX, Pt. II, (1977), pp. 182-83.

people are predominantly martial rather than agricultural.⁽²⁷⁾

Unfortunately, the use of the latter is still ambiguous.

The nature of early iron implements from the Gangetic valley was very similar. There also there were more weapons.⁽²⁸⁾ Iron, however, has been attributed a special place in the process of intensification of agriculture in the Gangetic valley.⁽²⁹⁾ While the iron axe facilitated the clearance of jungles of deep-rooted, hard-fibred trees, the iron-tipped plough made it easy to till the heavier soils of the plains. In fact, iron is considered as the single factor that brought about a transformation in the material culture of the people, enabling a social surplus. While bronze technology with a scratch plough or ard⁽³⁰⁾ was adequate to exploit the lighter soils of the Indus region, the use of iron is considered crucial in the Gangetic valley for the above-mentioned reasons, probably the cultivation of rice.

In the Pandukal graves of Andhra Pradesh iron axes have been recovered. Apart from sickles, a multi-purpose cutting implement, bill-hooks are also widely found. While these tools by themselves

27 Leshnik, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-185.

28 R.S. Sharma, 'Class Formation and its material basis in the Upper Gangetic basin (c. 1000-500 B.C.)', *I.H.R.*, Vol. II, No.1, (1975), pp. 2-3.

29 R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of the Birth of Buddhism', paper presented at the *XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists*, Paris, 1973; also by the same author, 'Iron and Urbanization in the Ganga Basin', *I.H.R.*, Vol. I, No. 1, (1974), pp. 98-103.

30 B.B. Lal, 'Perhaps the Earliest Ploughed Field So Far Excavated Anywhere in the World', *Purutattva*, No. 4, (1970-71), pp. 1-3; B.K. Thapar, 'New Traits of the Indus Civilization at Kalibangan: an appraisal', in *South Asian Archaeology*, (ed.), Norman Hammond, London, 1973, pp. 85-104.

do not necessarily imply agriculture, iron hoes and 'ploughshares' (31 do.

There is considerable dispute over the exact nature of the artifacts categorized as 'ploughshares'. They do not have a socket but rather straight side flanges which could grip the sides of a wooden shoe or knee-shaft. They are not only narrow, but rather small in size (20 - 28 cms). In the present state of our evidence, it is difficult to ascertain whether they were ploughshares or ard-shares, pick-axes, quarrying or tool-making implements. (32 Even if these were to be considered ploughshares or more precisely ard-shares, they suggest the use of a light plough in dry land cultivation which was probably unsuitable for intensive agriculture, as they could only scratch the surface of the soil. All these finds are relatively late and can roughly be dated to the century before the turn of the era. (33 They do not appear to have been used extensively or else we would have found more of them. Their distribution in Andhra Pradesh and to the north in the Nagpur region makes their introduction from the Gangetic valley a possibility. But a comparative study of these tools with those of north India has to be made before we can deny the other possibility: that of their being survivals from the Indus technology.

- 31 Specimens of these tools have come from Polechetti Cherugudda in Warangal district, K.M. Admad, *Preliminary Excavations at Prehistoric Sites near Janampet*, Hyderabad, 1950 (five samples); Yeleswaram in Nalgonda district, M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1963; and Guntakal in the Anantapur district, now in the Sewell Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Analogues from outside Andhra Pradesh are from Junapani and Kampti in the Nagpur district, *I.A.A.R.*, 1961-62, p. 32.
- 32 S.B. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 8, refers to these implements as coulter; F.R. Allchin, *The Development of Early Cultures in the Raichur District of Hyderabad*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1954, pp. 441; Leshnik, *op. cit.*, pp. 213; 180-81.
- 33 See n. 31 for references.

The plough itself was not indispensable in the tracts where the Pandukal people operated. During the dry summer months, the Black Cotton soils and other soils in the inland districts lose moisture and shrink considerably. The resultant deep gaping cracks in the soil let in abundant air and sunshine. Sufficient aeration is achieved by this natural process without any artificial means of intervention.⁽³⁴⁾ This has given rise to a very appropriate saying that the Black Cotton soil ploughs itself. Such a method, however, would have permitted a very low level of productivity. Similarly iron tools were not indispensable for extensive agriculture. The Black Cotton soils of Maharashtra appear to have been cultivated without iron tools.⁽³⁵⁾

Numerous hoes of two categories have been recovered from the graves. A long narrow spud with overlapping side flanges at the butt was probably used for digging up roots and tubers.⁽³⁶⁾ The second type had a short or long broad blade with a convex tip and inturned side flanges at the butt. These are multi-purpose tools which are useful not only for the preparation of seed beds but also for thinning broadcast crops, weeding, ridging and so on. Evidence from medieval Japan shows that intensive agriculture could be carried out successfully with hoes alone.⁽³⁷⁾ Such a possibility for the *Pandukal* phase is remote.

34 L.S. Leshnik, 'Land Use and Ecological Factors in prehistoric North-West India', in *South Asian Archaeology*, (ed.), Norman Hammond, pp. 81-82.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 80 ff.

36 For the classification of hoes, see Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, P. 180.

37 Hirashi Horio, 'Farm Tools in the "Nogu-Benri-Ron" ', *Tools and Tillage*, Vol. II, No. 3, (1974), pp. 169-185.

A possible diet of pulses, millets and rice⁽³⁸⁾ suggests that if the *Pandukal* people did not have a symbiotic relationship with sedentary cultivators, they were certainly part-time agriculturalists. The poorer soils of the inland districts and the meagre rainfall were suitable for pasture and forage crops.⁽³⁹⁾ While the red soil (*chalkas*) located at higher levels in the Telangana districts was poor in organic matter and could hardly retain moisture, the Black Cotton soils are not only rich in nutrients but also have a good capacity to absorb and retain great amounts of water. But due to the meagre rainfall, agriculture in the inland districts is entirely dependent upon dry-farming techniques.

Under these conditions, pasture and forage crops thrive. The latter included millets, *rāgi* and *jowar* which provided food both for cattle and for human beings. *Rāgi* has been grown in South India from very early times⁽⁴⁰⁾ and *jowar* was introduced around the turn of the present era.⁽⁴¹⁾ The straw from these crops was used as fodder for cattle and a 'hay'-fork has been discovered near Hyderabad (identification questionable).⁽⁴²⁾

There is evidence for rice cultivation during this period. Husks and grains of rice have been discovered in excavations.

38 S.B. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *op. cit.*, p. 261; B.R. Branfill, 'Old Slabstone Monuments in Madras and Maisur', *I.A.*, Vol. X, (1881), pp. 97-100, has been informed by local villagers of Cuddapah district that the burials used to contain ancient vessels filled with rice; B.K. Gururaja Rao, *Megalithic Culture in South India*, Madras, 1972, pp. 299 ff.

39 For material on conditions suitable for various crops, see S.M. Alam, *op. cit.*, pp.iii-iv.

40 M.S. Nagaraja Rao, 'Significance of pottery headrests from neolithic sites of Karnataka', *I.A.* (3rd series), Vol. IV, Nos. 1-4, (1970), pp. 141-48.

41 L.S. Leshnik, 'Land Use and ecological factors...', p.72.

42 B.K. Gururaja Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Given the small amounts of water, the cultivation of rice, even of the dry variety, must have been limited. It was probably introduced into South India some time before the turn of the era, unless we can consider it as a survival from the Indus civilization.

The other crops grown during this period are pulses such as green gram and horsegram, and cotton. Terracotta spindle whorls from the *Pandukal* burials of Nagarjunakonda⁽⁴⁴⁾ and other places in Andhra Pradesh suggest that cotton was grown. The Black Cotton soils of the inland districts are ideal for growing cotton. Although cotton is a *rabi* crop, it must have been cultivated wherever possible, but the preference was obviously for food grains. Cotton, however, became quite important in early historical times.

The main diet of the people must have consisted of meat, milk products, a gruel of millets or rice. One of the innovations of the *Pandukal* people was the pots with lids which were probably used for steam-cooking rice. Their pottery also included shallow tray-bowls presumably for eating rice and deep bowls for gruel.

An important aspect of the cultivation of foodgrains was the availability of water, and since the *Pandukal* people operated in the drier districts, how did they cope with the shortage of water? While irrigation in Andhra Pradesh, as in the rest of India, seems to extend back into remote antiquity, it is difficult to establish its beginnings with exactitude. An important feature of the settlements of the neo-

⁴⁴ R. Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 174, 176 and 182.

lithic people of southern India was the terracing of hills.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This helped not only in conserving soil but also in maintaining moisture after the monsoon. Such terracing is considered as a step towards the earth and stone embankments of the *Pandukal* people.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Is it surprising then that they devised means of collecting the waters of streams in natural hollows of the relief and in artificial basins for agricultural purposes? Vestiges of tanks of the period have been discovered in South India.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The reservoirs, often referred to as tanks, were always very ingeniously placed at the foot of mountain drops where waters gather or infiltration sources appear. Their immediate contact with arable plains and their dimensions relative to the size of the terrain they had to water are still to be investigated. Considering the communal effort involved in building their monuments, it is not difficult to appreciate how the *Pandukal* people were led to constructing these tanks.

Tank irrigation was practised on a large scale in the inland and coastal districts south of the river Krishna in Andhra Pradesh. The terrain was suitable for this type of irrigation. There were also many large catchment areas or hollows in the relief where water collects during the rainy season. The majority of these tanks or reservoirs had a large water surface in relation to volume, resulting in rapid

45 Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

46 *Ibid.*

47 K.R. Srinivas and N.R. Banerjee, 'Survey of South Indian Megaliths', A.I., No. 9, pp. 103 ff. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, London, 1959, p. 163.

evaporation.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The seepage was also high. With the exception of a few cases, these tanks must have been seasonal. Thus the agricultural system required spurts of activity after the rains. During the dry months, relieved of the agricultural tasks, they probably migrated to areas where they worked on the stone chambers for their dead.

Another source of water was wells. The early Indian texts not only refer to the use of wells but also give details of the actual drawing of water.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Considering that the *Pandukal* people were located in semi-arid areas, we must accept their use of subterranean waters. It is very probable that the excavation of funerary caverns led to the discovery of these waters, and we have some evidence for this.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The wells and channels of this period, especially when they are rudimentary and disappear without leaving a trace, afford only meagre evidence. Wells during this period were probably not lined. The dearth of habitational sites also makes it difficult to ascertain the irrigational practices.

Throughout the *Pandukal* phase, there was a gradual development in communication networks with the outside regions, and especially with the Gangetic basin. This is not to suggest that Andhra Pradesh was formerly an isolated region. On the contrary, its *Pandukal*

48 O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, 3rd ed., London, 1967, pp. 231-32.

49 For a review of the material in these texts, see Emmanuel Adiceam, *La Géographie de l'irrigation dans le Tamilnad*, Paris 1966, pp. 154-161.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 155; J.M. and G. Casal, *Sites urbains et rites funéraires des environs de Pandichery*, Pondichery, 1954.

culture was part of a complex covering the whole of peninsular India.⁽⁵¹⁾ We shall examine in the next chapter in detail the trade links of the region with the rest of India. Such links became more significant when the introduction of Buddhism and the Mauryan penetration of Andhra Pradesh led to the influx of new ideas and institutions which in turn led to gradual changes bringing about a structural transformation in the subsequent centuries.

An important aspect of the new developments was the introduction of the early *Brāhmī* script. The earliest extant evidence of writing in Andhra Pradesh, roughly dated to the 4th century B.C., is from Amaravati.⁽⁵²⁾ It is in the form of a potsherd, the inner surface of which was roughly incised with *Brāhmī* letters reading "... *thusa pāta*...". The same site has yielded the evidence for Mauryan authority in the region in the form of the first known pillar inscription of Aśoka.⁽⁵³⁾ Thus with the introduction of a script we have a number of inscriptions which provide some evidence for understanding the changing agrarian situation.

We shall now briefly examine inscriptions from Amaravati and other Buddhist sites datable to the third and second centuries B.C.

- (1) At least three inscriptions refer to the donations of pillars to the *Stūpa* by the Dhānyakāṭaka *nigama*.⁽⁵⁴⁾

51 Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, pp. 1-13.

52 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. 1, pp. 61, 66.

53 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 40-43.

54 R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, Nos. 4, 5 and 15.

- (2) Five inscriptions refer to the donations of various components of the *Stūpa* made by people called the *Pakotakas* which includes Dharakasa, a *senāpati*.⁽⁵⁵⁾
- (3) A community, called *vita-pālas* from the village or *gāma* of *Nhāpita* donated a cross-bar of the railing.⁽⁵⁶⁾
- (4) A *gāma* called Kalavaira (not identified) made the donation of a massive pillar for a *Stūpa* railing.⁽⁵⁷⁾
- (5) A fragmentary inscription records the gift of a sculptured slab by a village whose name is lost.⁽⁵⁸⁾
- (6) An individual donor, Revata, is one of the *Paḍipuḍiniyas*.⁽⁵⁹⁾
- (7) A number of fragmentary inscriptions refer to various parts or components of the *Stūpa* which were donated by individuals: *Gōpiyā*, *Likhitā*, *Retī* - an inhabitant of *Malāmavuka* (unidentified), *Apakū* - *Utā* - mother of *Dhanamala*, sons of, and *Kumbā* - mother of *Utika*.⁽⁶⁰⁾
- (8) Donations of bars of the railing of the *Stūpa* were also made by a monk, a nun and a female lay worshipper.⁽⁶¹⁾

55 *Ibid.*, No. 8; A Ghosh, 'The Early Phase of the Stupa at Amaravati, South-East India', *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Asian Archaeology*, Colombo, 1969 (mimeo), Nos. 24, 25, 32 and 7A.

56 *Ibid.*, No. 14.

57 *Ibid.*, No. 1.

58 R. Chanda, *op. cit.*, No. 2.

59 *Ibid.*, No. 10.

60 *Ibid.*, No. 1, 3, 6, 9, 13, 14, 16 and 17.

61 *Ibid.*, No. 11; A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, Nos. 10 and 13.

- (9) Sāmadatta, the wife of a royal scribe (*rājalekhaka*) donated a rail bar.⁽⁶²⁾
- (10) A massive oblong pillar was donated by Avatakama, a *kumāra*, probably a royal official of Mauryan type.⁽⁶³⁾
- (11) Donation by Saṃmaliyā, a princess (*rājukumārī*) along with her attendants.⁽⁶⁴⁾
- (12) Donation of a pillar by Muḍukuṭala, a general (*sēnagōpa*).⁽⁶⁵⁾
- (13) Gifts by a merchant-banker (*sethi*) named Maūka, and a foreman of artisans, *āvesani*.⁽⁶⁶⁾
- (14) An inscription from Kesanapalli refers to a store-keeper (*bhaṇḍākārika*).⁽⁶⁷⁾
- (15) Inscriptions from Bhattiprolu mention a committee (*goṭhī*) of the *nigama* headed by a king (*rājan*) and the pious activities of various people who include a treasurer (*hiraṇakāra*), a village headman (*gamaṇī*), monks and so on.⁽⁶⁸⁾

These and other inscriptions which are damaged record mostly gifts of architectural components at different Buddhist centres. They

62 R. Chanda, *op. cit.*, No. 12.

63 A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, No. 2.

64 *Ibid.*, No. 37.

65 *Lliders List*, No. 1266.

66 A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, No. 38.

67 M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on An Early Stūpa at Kesanapalli*, Hyderabad, 1969, No. 15.

68 *Lliders List*, Nos. 1329-1339.

record not only collective donations made by villages and anonymous communities, but also those by individuals. The latter often bear official designations and indicate an incipient local power structure. The various officials with Mauryan type designations such as *senagōpa*, *kumāra* indicate the impact of the extension of Mauryan authority in the region.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The mention of a few villages (*gāmas*), although important, cannot be stretched to cover the whole region under study. The extent and nature of these villages is not known. They may have been the first settlements of the region where 'sedentarizing' communities received the precepts of Buddhism. As mentioned earlier, unless the neolithic-chalcolithic and *Pandukal* periods of Andhra are studied in detail, it is difficult to understand the nature of these early settlements in the area. Since the mention of *gāma* is in a Buddhist context, it will not be out of place to see its nature in the context of the society at the time of the Buddha.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Gāma or *grāma* may mean a hamlet or a temporary settlement. They may very well have been the first settlements of kin-groups in Andhra Pradesh. In the Vedas a *grāma* often referred not to a place, but to an extended kin-group, a sept or sub-section of a tribe. (The usage continued in specialized contexts such as music.) In such a case, it is only reasonable that some of the early donations should be corporate in nature.

69 Discussed in greater detail in Ch. VI, pp. 173 ff.

70 For a discussion of the nature of early settlements in north India, see N. Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 12-43.

The above-mentioned inscriptions refer to the *nigama* of Dhānyakataka. Its identification with the modern Dharanikota is possibly based on the habitational remains of this period.⁽⁷¹⁾ In ancient times, it included the adjacent Buddhist establishment, the modern Amaravati. The unnamed *nigama* from Bhattiprolu inscriptions may be either Dhānyakataka or another settlement. The term *nigama* has been understood as a market town, a town, a township and a district.⁽⁷²⁾ With the prefix *nī* and the Sanskritic root, *gama*, it can be taken in the sense 'meeting, coming together.'⁽⁷³⁾

As we shall see in a later chapter, Dhānyakataka was an incipient urban centre during this period. The earliest evidence for permanent settlements in Andhra Pradesh comes from this place which includes a wooden wharf abutting a navigation channel.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The largest number of inscriptions recording donations of the pre-Christian era come from this place.⁽⁷⁵⁾ It was here that the first agricultural surplus became available to support officials, traders and monks not involved in food production.

The growth of trade was accompanied by the spread of Buddhism, which appears to have been introduced into Andhra Pradesh even before the reign of Aśoka.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The beginnings of the *Stūpa* at Amaravati have been attributed to a pre-Aśokan period, the granite rail period, datable to the fourth century B.C.⁽⁷⁷⁾ A few other

71 I.A.A.R., 1962-63, pp. 1-2; 1963-64, pp. 2-4; 1964-65, pp. 1-4; I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. 1, pp. 60-74.

72 N. Wagle, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and 165-66; A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, Simla, 1973, pp. 46 ff.

73 N. Wagle, *op. cit.*, p. 21. 74 Ch. IV, p.115. 75 See Nos. 54-66

76 Ch. V, pp. 145-147. 77 I.K. Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

above.

Buddhist settlements came into being in the pre-Christian era at Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Kesanapalli, Guntupalli, Goli and so on, all in the lower Krishna valley.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The existence of Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries calls into question the nature of the agricultural hinterland, as these represent for the first time a category of people who were not food producers. So far, we have no study of the extent of these settlements. The only places which have been systematically excavated - along with the surrounding areas - are Nagarjunakonda and Yeleswaram. But these sites yield hardly any Buddhist remains of the pre-Christian era. If and when the various sites of Andhra Pradesh are excavated to establish not only the stratification but also the settlement pattern, we can study the pressure that would have been exerted on the hinterland to extract the surplus food. At present, detailed study of the available material has shown that it is impossible to find any significant settlements in our region prior to the first century B.C., with the single exception of Dhānyakaṭaka. It is not surprising that the Mauryan penetration is the most obvious at this place.

Early Buddhist literature refers to the *janapada* of Āsmaka on the Godavari, which has been identified with the region of Nizamabad district with its capital at Potali or Patana or Podana, which may be the modern Bodhan, lying to the south of the confluence of the rivers

78 J.A. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1970; I.K. Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 65; A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1969, for Bhattiprolu; M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on An Early Buddhist Stupa at Kesanapalli*, Hyderabad, 1969; *Madras Archaeological Report, Southern Circle*, 1916-17, pp. 30-36 and *I.A.A.R.*, 1968-69, p. 64 for Guntupalli; T.N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village*, Guntur District, Madras, 1929.

Godavari and Manjra.⁽⁷⁹⁾ It is, however, an undefined and extensive region.

We can summarize the agrarian situation of the *Pandukal* people as follows. They operated mainly in the drier inland districts. Their remains mark a certain increase in population during this period. They were nomadic pastoralists, practising semi-sedentary agriculture and cultivating food grains that were more suitable for dryland farming. Cultivation was mainly centred around the hoe, and some rudimentary irrigation. Although they were better equipped than their neolithic predecessors with what they had acquired of iron technology, their use of it was restricted to weapons. Its importance in agriculture was only realised in the subsequent centuries.

With the introduction of Buddhism with the coming of traders from North India, and the consequent increased trading activities, and with the extension of Mauryan authority in the region, certain changes began to take place. There grew in this area Buddhist establishments supported by the surplus from a few agrarian settlements which were probably small and whose growth became notable in the following centuries. Sedentarization of the *Pandukal* people began and Dharanikota-Amaravati was already emerging as the dominant centre. It was here that the first impact of changes was felt, and it was from here that new ideas and institutions diffused to the rest of Andhra Pradesh.

79 H. Raychaudhuri, 'The Geography of the Deccan', in *The Early History of the Deccan*, (ed.), G. Yazdani, London, 1960, p. 26; *Lliders List*, No. 616.

A quick glance at Map III is sufficient to realise the rapid growth of agrarian settlements in the early centuries of the Christian era. While some of the sites reveal a transition from the *Pandukal* phase to the early historical period, the majority of the sites are new settlements. The pattern that evolved was enduring, and the lower Krishna region became a perennial nuclear area or a 'solid nucleus'.⁽⁸⁰⁾

It is interesting to note that some of the earliest of these settlements are in the same localities as the earlier *Pandukal* sites.⁽⁸¹⁾ The initial impact of agrarian changes leading to settled agriculture was felt in the 'old lands' which were formerly used for extensive slash-and-burn agriculture. Penetration of the more fertile and wet lands in the lower Krishna-Godavari valley and along the coast had already begun. In the centuries to follow, there was a gradual shift in the focus of history.

As we shall see in the next chapter, the pattern of local and supra-local communication networks and trade routes had considerable bearing on the distribution pattern not only of the *Pandukal* burial sites, but also of the early historical settlements. The development of the latter in the coastal districts north and south of the lower Krishna basin cannot be well explained otherwise. Their uneven territorial distribution may also be due partly to the ready availability of cultivable land.

80 B. Subha Rao, 'The Geographic Factor in Andhra History and Archaeology', *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. IX, (1947), p. 171; O.H.K. Spate and A.K. Learmonth, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff.

81 Map III.

What technological changes caused this spurt of agrarian settlements? And what was the role of iron? The remains of early historical iron tools do not show any recognizable advance over the previous period. In fact, the classification used for the *Pandukal* phase is quite adequate for this period. We now, however, witness not only the extensive use of iron but also the coming into being of sedentary blacksmiths⁽⁸²⁾ and their workshops.⁽⁸³⁾

From the doubtful existence of the plough in the earlier period, we now have definite inscriptional evidence. The term 'hala' commonly used in the epigraphs of the Ikṣvākus, literally means a plough.⁽⁸⁴⁾ It could have also been used as a unit of land measure. In spite of the polysemic nature of the word, we can safely infer from its usage in the epigraphs that ploughs were definitely known⁽⁸⁵⁾ and that one way of measuring land was in terms of the plough. A contemporary inscription refers to a donation by a *hālikā* or the wife of one who owns a plough.⁽⁸⁶⁾ This description of the donatrix who from the nature of the donative epigraph appears to have been wealthy, can tentatively be interpreted in terms of the prestige associated with being the owner of a plough. In the case of the plough being a status marker, it is only natural to infer that they were not yet widespread. Associated with the donation of hundreds

82 Ch. III, pp. 62-63.

83 For instance at Peddabankur in Karimnagar district, *I.A.A.R.*, 1971-72, p. 3; 1974-75, p. 5.

84 For the different meanings, see D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 125.

85 Frontispiece to the Chapter; the epithet is invariably used to describe the first of the Ikṣvāku kings, Chāntamūla in various inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda, J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.* Vol. XX, pp. 15ff and *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 62 ff; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 3ff.

86 R.P. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 56. A *halikā* *Badhā* is mentioned in the Bhāja cave inscriptions of Maharashtra, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, p. 83.

of thousands of *halas* is also the donations of hundreds of thousands of cattle. Although the numbers are conventional, we can at least infer that cattle so crucial to agriculture in India, were also donated.

The significance of the use of the plough has been emphasized by a number of historians of early India.⁽⁸⁷⁾ From a present-day analogy, it appears that plough cultivation and rice cultivation are synonymous in India. But in the intensive cultivation of paddy tracts the plough is not indispensable. Even to this day, in certain parts of Sri Lanka, intensive hoe-farming is carried out effectively.⁽⁸⁸⁾ As mentioned before, during the Edo period in Japan we have an excellent example of intensive hoe-farming of rice.⁽⁸⁹⁾ What is interesting is that during this period there was a switch from plough cultivation 'back' to hoe cultivation. This change had strong ideological reasons behind it.⁽⁹⁰⁾ So the question of change in the present context is not purely technological but also a new social arrangement.

A necessary strategy for the intensification and extension of agriculture was irrigation. While the beginnings had already been made in the previous centuries, irrigation acquired greater importance in this period. The control and utilization of water was imperative, especially for paddy. There is evidence for

87 A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1967, p. 196; R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu.....', *op. cit.*; R. Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 40-62.

88 Professor B.L.C. Johnson, A.N.U. (personal communication)

89 Hisashi Horio, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-85.

90 Moriaki Aragi, *Bakuhon taisei shakai no seiritsu to kozo*, Tokyo, 1964, pp. 181-221.

artificial irrigation of three types: storage irrigation with its origins in the exploitation of the catchment areas in the relief; the use of gravity flow for canals or inundation; and the excavation of wells.

The earliest evidence for irrigation skills in South India occurs in Andhra Pradesh.⁽⁹¹⁾ To what extent this knowledge had been borrowed from the Gangetic basin is difficult to ascertain. There is evidence for advanced engineering skills in the preceding centuries, both in North India and in the neighbouring region of Kalinga.⁽⁹²⁾ If we accept that the Mauryan penetration could have given the stimulus, it is not surprising that the Dharanikota settlement which had definite trade and political links with the Gangetic basin, should yield the earliest evidence for such skills.

A reservoir surrounded by an embankment dating to this period was exposed in the vicinity of Dharanikota.⁽⁹³⁾ At the same site excavations have exposed the remains of a navigational channel constructed in various stages. Although it was used for navigational purposes, the skills required to construct it may very

91 For the importance of irrigation in early historical South India, see V. Venkayya, 'Irrigation in Southern India in Ancient Times', *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-4, pp. 202-211; I.K. Sarma, 'Ancient Canals', *J.I.H.*, Vol. 40, No. 2, (1962), pp. 301-12; Emmanuel Adiceam, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-81; M.S.S. Sarma, 'Inscriptions - Tanks', *Andhra Patrika Annual* (Telugu), 1923, pp. 81-84.

92 For the construction of a huge reservoir near Junagarh in Saurashtra by the early monarchs of the Mauryan dynasty, see *I.A.*, Vol. VII, pp. 259-61; for a reference to a Nanda king of Magadha who constructed a canal in the Tosali division near the city of Kalinga, see D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, pp. 40-41.

93 *I.A.A.R.*, 1963-64, p.2.

well have been used for irrigation purposes. Similarly useful skills can be inferred from the excavations at Chandavaram which revealed three monastic complexes on man-made terraces with retaining walls and flights of steps.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Contemporary inscriptions record the excavation of reservoirs. An inscription from Adoni *taluk* in Kurnool district records the construction of a reservoir by a householder (*gahapati*) of the village of Vēpuraka.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Similarly, we have the construction of a reservoir near a Buddhist establishment by a lay-worshipper Bodhisiri along with her relatives.⁽⁹⁶⁾ A Nagarjunakonda inscription, besides the construction of a temple by various individuals with royal titles, also records the construction of two tanks.⁽⁹⁷⁾ We also have an inscription from Alluru in Nandigama *taluk* of Krishna district which records the dedication of an already existing reservoir to the local Buddhist community.⁽⁹⁸⁾

From Nagarjunakonda we get an excellent example of the use of gravity flow. Excavations have revealed a canal: 1 km in length, 9.14 m in width and 1.82 m in depth.⁽⁹⁹⁾ It has been dated to the third and fourth centuries A.D., when the Ikṣvāku dynasty ruled over the lower Krishna basin with their capital at Vijayapurī, in the neighbourhood of the canal. A detailed study of the canal reveals that the gradient of the land, the slopes of the hills, a long strip

94 *Ibid.*, 1976-77, p. 9.

95 V.S. Sukthankar, *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153-55.

96 Based on an unpublished Nagarjunakonda epigraph.

97 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 127-204.

98 K. Gopalachari, *E.H.A.C.*, Appendix A, p. 94.

99 *I.A.A.R.*, 1954-55, pp. 22-23, pl. XLV - A,B; 1958-59, p. 8, pl. XII, A; H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 24.

of depression and the local pattern of streams and rivulets had been carefully studied before its construction.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Its sloping embankments and floor were reinforced with a hard lime gravel mixed with kankar and stones to withstand the rush of water. A rubble wall about 1.4 m wide was constructed on the southern side, so as to prevent any land-slips from the adjoining hill-slopes. The canal itself led the water out of a long strip of depression in the eastern corner of the valley where the conjunction of hills is angular. The canal was fed by rainwater from the hills. Several streamlets fell into the canal. The manoeuvring of water is also evident in the bunds around the canal.

Although the purpose of this canal is not clear, considering the large number of people who resided in the valley during the third and fourth centuries A.D., we may assume that a large canal served different purposes. Even though the immediate area around the canal itself had no religious or secular remains, we may assume that during the dry summer months, the stored water would have been indispensable for people living in the centre of the valley. The habitation areas were situated within the four kilometre span separating the river Krishna from the canal. The rather meagre occurrence of any buildings in the canal area definitely underlines its importance in irrigation, as does the enormous planning and labour expended on waterworks at least two kilometres away from the heart of the urban centre.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ It was a useful strategy to combat the long dry season in this valley which had a relatively low rainfall.

100 I.K. Sarma, 'Ancient Canals', pp. 309-11.

101 *Ibid.*, Fig. 2.

There may have been other waterworks although on a smaller scale. An example is from the monastic area east of the citadel in the same valley. Here an isolated brick drain or channel was excavated.⁽¹⁰²⁾ It ran for about 14.5m from east to west, taking off from a brick platform (3.2 x 1.6 m) which was covered with a thick rubble wall. It served as a bund against the water coming from the nearby hills during the rains. The structure was probably designed not only to divert water from the important buildings in the low-lying area but also to collect the water in a storage tank for the dry summer months. Thus, natural channels may have been exploited by the construction of artificial courses leading off from them.

There is sufficient archaeological evidence underlining the use of wells which are found both in the inland and coastal districts.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Material from excavations, however, is mainly from habitation sites as these are the areas explored and excavated. There were not only ring wells but also wells lined with bricks. At Peddabankur, archaeologists have discovered remains which apparently were meant for two wooden poles carrying a pulley over a well to draw water.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Numerous oblong shaped wells have been

102 I.A.A.R., 1957-58, p. 9.

103 Ring-wells from Kadali and rock-cut wells, one of them with an inscription, from Kodavali in east Godavari district, have been discovered. I.A.A.R., 1962-63, p. 66; *Lliders List*, No. 1341; Dhulikatta and Peddabankur from Karimnagar district have yielded numerous wells. I.A.A.R., 1976-77, p.4; 1968-69. p. 2; 1970-71, p.2.

103 I.A.A.R., 1972-73, p. 2.

104 *Ibid.*

discovered at Nagarjunakonda.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ They were located not only in and around the citadel but even along the river bank. The latter may have acquired greater importance in the hot season when the river bed was dry. In fact, while the role of wells would have been of a supplementary nature in the coastal districts where plenty of water was available, they could have been crucial and in some places the only source in the inland districts.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Although the wells in the habitational sites, mainly for domestic purposes, were lined, those used for irrigation probably were not, especially in the coastal districts where the heavy monsoon rains could have damaged the walls. Investing in permanent structures could have been uneconomical. This pattern endures even to this day. In fact, excepting where water pumps are used, the mode of utilization of water appears to have changed little.

We can, based on the existing practices in some of the inland areas of Andhra Pradesh, put forward the possibility of an infield - outfield system. The immediate vicinity of the wells where the land could have been best watered and best cared for, was probably used for the cultivation of paddy. Millets and pulses, however, were grown in the areas where water could be transferred. In the drier months, with a shortage of water and with less input of labour required, the crops were probably closer to the wells. Pro-

105 H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

106 One of the wells at Peddabankur was 43 'courses' in depth, *I.A.A.R.*, 1971-72, p. 2.

duction was dependent not only on the amount of water available but also the availability of labour for ploughing and the drawing of water. Cattle which figure in donative records could have been quite crucial. The rise and fall of water tables of the wells would have led to the endemic instability of such irrigated tracts.

These irrigation systems were small and required only a village level of organization. The excavation of wells and reservoirs were probably concerns of the local élite who controlled the agricultural land. As we have noticed earlier, pious laity and householders could engage in such activities. Some major works would have required on a large scale not only planning but also mustering of labour. Although there is no evidence of state intervention, we may assume from analogies elsewhere in early India, that *corvée* labour was employed to build canals and channels. The availability of labour would not have been a problem in summer months when the demands on land were minimal and the water in the rivers and streams was low or non-existent. It is not surprising that the navigational channel and a reservoir were near the regional capital of the Sātavāhanas while the canal was adjacent to that of the Ikṣvākus.

The essential purpose of irrigation was to facilitate not only the regular supply of food but also a greater quantity of it to a non-food-producing population located in the urban centres and scattered all over the countryside. No new major crop was introduced during this period. Rice and *rāgi* were the staples. But from the nature of the climatic variations and the distribution of early

historical settlements, we can surmise that paddy cultivation must have been in vogue, a development from the contacts with North India. This would have been a major change from the earlier dry hill variety of rice, even to this day grown in the semi-arid inland districts. If we assume that the proportional yield of rice and millets, such as *jowar*, *bajra* and *rāgi*, which are the most productive, have remained constant, then the former, whose yield is twice that of the latter, ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ would have acquired greater significance. Moreover, in the 'new lands' with a greater amount of precipitation and with alluvial tracts and with better facilities for irrigation, more than one crop could be harvested annually. These factors would have increased production considerably, making the proliferation of agrarian settlements and monastic establishments possible. ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

An important aspect of irrigation was that it facilitated the cultivation of different varieties of paddy. In Andhra Pradesh and the neighbouring regions, three such strains appear to have been grown: *sāli*, *vr̥thi* and *syāmaka*. ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ We have direct evidence of the knowledge of *sāli* in our area. This association is preserved in the ancient name of an early Buddhist site, Salihundam, which was *Sālīpetaka* of the second-third centuries A.D. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The name itself has been translated as an emporium of rice. This reminds us of a similar name

107 V.S. Gananathan, *Economic Geography of India*, New Delhi, 1967, p. 24.

108 Map III.

109 D. Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, Delhi, 1969, p. 95.

110 R. Subrahmanuam, *Salihundam, a Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1964, p. 121.

Dhānyakataka, which can also be translated as an 'emporium' of rice.⁽¹¹¹⁾ A few centuries later, Hsüan-tsang observed that *An-to-lo* (Andhra) and *Te-na-ka-che-ka* country (*Dhānyakataka* or the modern Amaravati-Dharanikota area) had fertile soil and that the latter yielded abundant crops.⁽¹¹²⁾ As a dominant urban centre,⁽¹¹³⁾ it was probably an important market place for rice. We may assume that these places produced not only abundant rice but also different varieties of it.

There is some evidence for the cultivation of other crops. Inscriptional references to guilds of betel-leaf growers or sellers and of confectioners⁽¹¹⁴⁾ indicate the commercial importance of betel-vines and sugar-cane as local crops. Part of the sugar exported to the Mediterranean⁽¹¹⁵⁾ probably came from Andhra. From a later text we know that sugar was grown in parts of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, and that a device called *gudayantrika* was used to extract the juice from the cane and this was then boiled to produce molasses.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

There is evidence for other crops from the adjacent Maharashtra for this period. Although at present such evidence is lacking in Andhra Pradesh, based on the interaction between the two regions, we may assume that those crops were also grown in our region. Of the different types of oilseeds, mustard (*rājika*), and castor (*eraṇḍa*)⁽¹¹⁷⁾

111 Taranātha translates the name as a 'rice heap', see A. Schiefner, *Taranathas Geschichte des Buddhismus*, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 142, n. 2.

112 Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (Reprint), New York, 1968, pp. 217-227.

113 Ch. IV, pp. 111-120.

114 *panikaseni* and *puvikaseni* respectively. D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 6-7.

115 *The Periplus*, sec.14. 116 *Gāthāsaptasatī*, (ed.), R. Basak, Calcutta, 1971, VI, 41.

117 *Ibid.*, II, 71; III, 57 and V, 12.

and sesame (*tila*)⁽¹¹⁸⁾ were grown. There were even guilds of oil pressers.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ *Yava* or barley was grown in the Godavari valley. It is interesting to note that *yava* occurs as a personal name in an inscription of this period from Amaravati.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Apart from these crops, various kinds of millet must have been reaped in the different inland districts of Andhra Pradesh.

Cotton, which was already grown in the earlier phase, acquired greater significance now. That cotton was widely grown and woven into fabrics is testified to by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* which refers to large quantities of muslin grown in the region of Masalia.⁽¹²¹⁾ The Black Cotton soils of the inland *taluka*s of Guntur and other districts inland are ideal for growing cotton. In any case, cotton must have been limited to the adequately drained outer areas and could in no way have competed with grains for land.

There is not much that we can infer from the available evidence regarding the rotation of crops, multiple cropping or the agrarian calendar. According to the *Arthasāstra*, while *vr̥thi* and *sālī* seeds were sown at the beginning of the rainy season, the former matured in the rainy season only and the latter in winter.⁽¹²²⁾ Although a later text places the harvesting of *sālī* in Autumn⁽¹²³⁾

118 *Llders List*, No. 1137.

119 *Ibid.*

120 A. Aiyappan and P.R. Srinivasan, *Madras Government Museum, Guide No. 2: Guide to the Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1960, p.32.

121 See. Ch. III, p.63. 122 Bk. II, Ch. XXIV.

123 *Gathāsaptasatī*, *op. cit.*, VII, 89.

winter and autumn are not always clearly distinguishable in Andhra Pradesh. The sturdier millets were probably grown as *khariif* crops. *Bājra*, however, a major *rabi* crop apart from rice, was probably sown on the less fertile tracts.

The intensification of agriculture and the resultant surplus and the regular supply of food-grains appear to have had certain demographic consequences.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Such an agrarian situation increased the supply of protein substantially, thereby contributing to the growth of population. This is not to say that the increase in protein by itself led to fertility, but it probably helped to reduce the infant mortality rate and increase the lifespan of the people. The growth of population in turn necessitated the reclamation of more land. Increased labour input led to increased productivity. How else can we explain the proliferation of settlements in the early historical period?

Agriculture probably remained extensive in some aspects and the earlier form of semi-sedentary agriculture was practised in some areas. The dry grass covered *bhanjar* lands of the inland districts and the drier areas on the peripheries of intensively cultivated areas must have provided excellent grazing for the herds of nomadic pastoralists. There is an inscription referring to a 'great cowherd'.⁽¹²⁵⁾ As mentioned before, inscriptions also record

124 For discussions on this subject, I am grateful to Dr. D.K. Kothari of Patel Institute, Ahmedabad, and Dr. G. Benjamin of the Singapore National University.

125 R.P. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 41.

donations of cattle, some of which may have been to pastoral communities. Our evidence permits very little understanding of any symbiotic relationship between the full-time agriculturalists and pastoral people. From analogies elsewhere, it is only possible that such a relationship could have flourished.

If the proliferation of agrarian settlements is an important feature of early Andhra history, then the important question is the reason for such a phenomenon. There was no noticeable advance in iron technology. The metal, however, was widely used. Plough and paddy cultivation came into vogue. There was a definite advance in irrigation skills. Apart from food crops, including the different strains of rice, 'cash' crops such as cotton were also grown, apparently on a significant scale.

The technological developments by themselves could not have caused the intensification of agriculture, although such potential was important. The cultivation of more than one crop per year, perennial and even seasonal irrigation, the intensive ploughing and manuring of the soil and the diversion of efforts to non-food crops would have required greater inputs of labour in sedentary agriculture. So the question of greater inputs of labour for greater outputs of produce becomes important.

In order to understand the extent of labour input into rice cultivation, let us examine ethnographic material on a paddy tract of present-day South India.⁽¹²⁶⁾ The numbers of labour days per acre per year for various tasks are as follows:

manuring	25
ploughing	105*
levelling and repairing	8
transplanting	12
harvesting	21
threshing	15
winnowing	9
processing	39
packaging	8
broadcasting	4
irrigating	77*
<hr/>	
total	323 days
	===

As the tract appears to be least touched by modern techniques, we can use the analogy. Since these labour accounts are for one primary and two secondary crops, we may reduce the days by half. Such a reduction appears reasonable if we assume that paddy cultivation in early historical times was still in the incipient stages of its evolution. To feed an average nuclear

126 The following data is derived from Peter J. Claus and Stephen Lintner, 'The Cultural Ecology of a Paddy Tract', *Tools and Tillage*, Vol. II, No. 4 (1975), p. 219.

family and then to have surplus for taxes or tribute as well as bartering for other items required in the household, we can put the essential quantity of land per family at four to six acres. If the number of labour days required for one acre during the early historical period was 161.5, then for each household, the requirement would be 646-969 days.

Although the model of a nuclear family in the analogy is somewhat out of social character, it is sufficient to give a rough idea of the labour input. This calculation is taking plough-cultivation into account. If cultivation was with the hoe, then the requirement would be far greater, as the preparation of the field would require not only more hands but more time, so precious at the beginning of the monsoon.⁽¹²⁷⁾ In fact, in a situation where ploughing took almost one third of the labour input, the use of the plough, as compared with the less efficient hoe, would have made considerable difference. It is only reasonable to underline its importance, especially in the wetter areas. If the donation of land was measured by reference to the plough, as discussed before, then sedentary agriculture can be associated with the knowledge and use of the plough.

If the availability of labour is so important, then how was it procured? We may here recall the hypothesis of Ester Boserup that increasing population pressures in Europe and Asia led to the development of more intensive forms of cultivation which, while

127 Peter J. Claus and Stephen Lintner, 'The Cultural Ecology...' *op. cit.*, pp. 211 ff.

increasing the output per unit of land, decreased the output per unit of labour.⁽¹²⁸⁾ We have noticed earlier that during the *Pandukal* period, with increasing numbers of sites as compared with the preceding centuries, there was a growth of population. Such a growth could have created a certain amount of pressure on their practices of extensive agriculture, leading to the adaptation of intensive form of agriculture. The potential of the land and the existing technology and the growth of contacts with North India where such forms of agriculture were practised were the crucial elements in the process, Such a process led to increased output per unit of land, permitting sedentary communities. It is, however, debatable whether it decreased the output per unit of labour as Boserup postulated. This part of her hypothesis may be applicable in some regions of Asia and Europe, but in the case of Andhra Pradesh, the evidence can be interpreted otherwise. As noticed before, the shift to intensive agriculture was accompanied by paddy cultivation, as compared to the earlier cultivation of millets. The yield of rice per unit of land could be twice that of millets.

Hence, in our region with the intensification of agriculture and the introduction of wet rice, the yield per unit must have virtually doubled if not trebled. Thus we can postulate not only an increased output per unit of land but also a balanced (if not increased) output per unit of labour.

128 Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agricultural Change under Population Pressure*, Chicago, 1965, pp. 16-46.

If there was a growth in population, then there was increased labour available and we have already discussed the demographic consequences of the intensification of agriculture. How was this labour utilized or organized? This is a question that will be dealt with in the context of the local power structure in the last chapter. The transition from extensive to intensive agriculture is accompanied by increasing social stratification. The new social formations, wherein disparities in wealth became apparent, were marked by a new class of people called the *gahapatis*.¹²⁹

Gahapati or *grhapati* originally referred to a householder in the Vedic literature. The *gahapatis* of North India in the mid-first millennium B.C., however, were the heads of large patriarchal households.¹³⁰ They were wealthy and were involved not only in agriculture but also trade and crafts. From the nature of the donations made in the inscriptions, we may infer that their position was due to socioeconomic authority or control.¹³¹ Kosambi interprets the evidence of inscriptions and states that the *gahapatis* marked the rise of a new propertied class. It is, however, useful to refrain from using the terms 'property' or 'ownership' as these

129 The following inferences are based on inscriptional evidence from various Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh.
Udgers List, Nos. 1206, 1209, 1211, 1216, 1220-22, 1229, 1244, 1247-48, 1252, 1254-55, 1260, 1274, 1277, 1281, 1298, 1302;
 R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, Nos. 24, 25, 27, 48; 56;
 B.Ch.Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-91;
 V.S. Sukthankar, *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153-55;
 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-4, A,B,C.

130 For a discussion of the *gahapatis* of North India before our period, see N. Nagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, pp. 151-56.
 D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, Delhi, 1970, pp. 100-101.

131 See n. 129 above.

are concepts quite alien to traditional India.¹³² A common law notion of property ownership could be quite misleading and could obscure our understanding of control of land and wealth in early India.

It has been pointed out that in northern India with sedentary agriculture, the earlier clan underwent a change with the *gahapati* gradually emerging as a distinct social entity.¹³³ Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, with sedentary agriculture, the earlier clans of the *Pandukal* people had undergone changes¹³⁴ and the *gahapati* emerged as a social category. In the inscriptions we do not come across any collective donations by clans and various 'groups' of people after the turn of the present era. Most of the gifts are made to Buddhist establishments, and these are by individual donors. A number of donations made by the *gahapatis* and other donors are made along with family members and sometimes even with friends. Although such associations in donative inscriptions were already noticeable in the pre-Christian centuries, they now become significant. In fact, the relatives and immediate family members referred to in the inscriptions give the picture of extended families.

There are some inscriptions in which donors refer to their relationship to some *gahapati*. Thus there were merchants and

132 R.E. Frykenberg, (ed.), *Land Tenure and Peasant in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 8.

133 R. Thapar, 'State Formation in early India', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, (1980), pp. 658-59.

134 Ch. VI, pp. 172 ff.

artisans who referred to their fathers or grandfathers as *gahapatis*. As noticed before, *gahapatis* were also involved in the excavations of tanks. Although we do not have many references to the occupations of these people, they were not unlike their counterparts in North India at the time of Buddha or in Maharashtra at the same time. Some of the inscriptions refer to householders called *kuṭubikas* or *kuḍubikas*¹³⁵ who appear to belong to the same category as *gahapatis*.⁽¹³⁶⁾ In fact, in the centuries to follow, the rural householder was invariably addressed as *kuṭumbika*.

Archaeological evidence is very meagre on the residences of the householders. The only brick structures from Kesarapalle consisted of the ruins of a fairly large secular building and a number of circular brick structures, which appear to have been bins for storing food-grains.⁽¹³⁷⁾ Almost every compound of the houses or rubble structures east of the citadel at Nagarjunakonda was associated with large storage jars.⁽¹³⁸⁾ At Dhulikatta, massive granaries were found in the residential quarters.⁽¹³⁹⁾ These buildings were probably inhabited by prosperous farmer-merchants, the *gahapatis*.

These people played a very important role in the local power structure.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ We could, perhaps, conclude by saying that the labour required for intensive agriculture was organized around the

135 Sanskrit *Kuṭumbika*; P. Seshadri Sastri, *E.I.*, Vol. XXIV, pp.256-60.

136 In an inscription from Maharashtra, the wife of a *gahapati* is referred to as a *Kuṭumbini*, *Lluders List*, No. 1127.

137 H. Sarkar, 'Kesarapalle, 1962', *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

138 *I.A.A.R.*, 1959-60, p. 9.

139 *I.A.A.R.*, 1976-77, p. 4.

140 Ch. VI, pp. 172 ff.

patrilineal household, where the land controlled by the *gahapatis* was cultivated by the members of the family and labourers were probably hired. Some of the handicrafts required for the household were also produced by such employees and an increase in such an activity became the substructure for exchange and trade which we shall discuss in the following chapter.

Before we discuss trade, there is one more comment we could make on the intensification of agriculture. The religious practices of the *Pandukal* people were centred around stone. This could have confined them to an area where such practices were possible. With the introduction of Buddhism and its widespread influence, the links of these people with the dry inland districts were broken. They were ideologically freed from the stones and, given the economic potential of the region, they took to more arable tracts. The importance of stone as an object of devotion for the *Pandukal* people and its widespread usage in the early Buddhist places of worship is an important facet to the spread of Buddhism in early Andhra.

Chapter III

LONG DISTANCE TRADE AND COMMERCE

'.... conch shells, diamonds,
precious stones, pearls and gold
are available in plenty in the south.'

Arthasāstra, Bk. VII, Ch. XII

With the intensification of the agrarian base we find the growth of commerce in early Andhra history, much of it in the form of long distance trade. Although the evidence for this trade is limited, and in spite of the absence of literary sources directly commenting on its nature and organization, numismatic and archaeological remains and occasional references in classical sources make its reconstruction feasible. * The following discussion is an empirical exercise, the results of which will be used in a theoretical perspective in a later chapter.

The temptation to treat any evidence of the movement of goods from one place to another as an indication of trade has been avoided as far as possible. Even the spread of any particular type of technology could take place in a number of ways, and commercial contact is one such way. In the following pages, the spatial distribution of evidence has been emphasized so as to understand it in a context relative to the surrounding districts. It is within such a context that the notion of long distance trade becomes meaningful as 'external exchanges' in rare or non-existent goods of different areas. The physical criteria of distances

involved and the determination of goods as 'prestige', 'luxury' or 'food' items becomes secondary in the analysis.⁽¹⁾

It is beyond question that there were trading networks during the *Pandukal* times, that these increased rapidly during the early historical period, and that trade with the Roman empire was important. But what were the commodities traded? Who were the craftsmen? These are the questions that will be discussed in this chapter. Articles in trade between the Roman empire and South India have been discussed in detail by others.⁽²⁾ The present exercise is to study the items that Andhra Pradesh traded both internally and externally. Once again, such an exercise is possible only within the broader context of South India.

A number of beads have been unearthed, both in *Pandukal* burials and at early historical sites, showing a continuity in usage. The majority of these, in common with those of the rest of the sub-continent, are mostly of baked clay and semi-precious stones.⁽³⁾

- 1 Some of the guidelines adhered to are based on Claude Meillassoux (ed.), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, London, 1971, 'Introduction', pp.60-76.
- 2 E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, (2nd ed), London, 1974.
- 3 India produced very few beads of precious stones. W.G.N. van der Sleen, *A Handbook on Beads*, Liege, 1967, p.73.

Although the large quantity of beads of semi-precious stones indicate a local gem industry in early historical times, their comparatively infrequent occurrence during the earlier *Pandukal* phase might have been due to their non-Andhra origin. One of the sources could have been Cambay in western India, an important centre of semi-precious and precious lapidary industry which exported its products to countries of West Asia and beyond.⁽⁴⁾ There are very few beads of semi-precious stones in the *Pandukal* burials of Andhra Pradesh. The incipient trade contacts, however, led to the local production of beads in Andhra in the early historical period and the former trade probably continued, owing to the prestige value of the goods. Beads have had prestige value in most ancient societies. In some African countries they were even used as currency or money.

The accompanying chart gives an account of the local availability of the raw material for beads and its possible exploitation. But often the evidence does not permit us to draw definite conclusions that this raw material has been worked. The availability of raw material is not sufficient evidence that it has been exploited. The following evidence, however, suggests at least the possibility.

⁴ D.N.M. Wadia, *The Wealth of India*, New Delhi, 1970, Vol. I, p. 36; G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur, an Andhra Town (ca. 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.)', *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. 22, No. 3, (1941), pp. 178 ff; M.G. Dikshit, *Some Beads from Kondapur*, Hyderabad, 1952.

CHART I

AVAILABILITY OF RAW MATERIAL FOR BEADS AND ORNAMENTS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

<u>Material</u>	<u>Local Source</u>	<u>Comments</u>	
Agate, onyx, carnelian	Between Buzurg and Ferozabad near Hyderabad.	A possible source for Kondapur beads. ⁽⁵⁾	
Agate, Chalcedony	Large quantities in the bed of the Godavari near Rajamundry and in the Palnad <i>taluk</i> of Guntur district	Considering the sparse penetration of the Godavari districts, only the latter could have been exploited during this period.	
Carnelian, jasper and chert	Large fragments occur in the hills west-southwest of Cuddapah.	Possible source for the finds in the local area. ⁽⁶⁾	5
Garnets	Visakhapatnam and Nellore districts are some of the most important sources in India.	Garnet pieces are found at Sankaram. ⁽⁷⁾	
Rock crystal	Pliny's reference includes the Godavari basin and the Hyderabad area.	Crystal relic-caskets and beads at Buddhist sites in Bhattiprolu, Guntupalli, Sankaram, Salihundam. ⁽⁸⁾	
Diamonds	At Partiyala in Krishna district, Jounagiri in Kurnool district and the Hyderabad-Golconda region.	For comments see footnote. ⁽⁹⁾	

- 5 Wadia, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 132; Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 ff; M.A.R., 1908-09, pp. 9-10.
- 8 Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 ff; K.R. Subramanyam, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the History of Andhra between 225 and 610 A.D.*, Madras, 1932, p. 22; M.A.R., 1908-09, pp. 9-10; 1916-17, pp. 30-36; R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam.....*, pp. 114-15.
- 9 Although Ptolemy mentions a people called Sabarai in whose country diamonds were found in large numbers, he does not mention any such region in Maisolia. The former has been identified with Sambhalpur area in Orissa, which is known for diamonds. *Ptolemy.*, pp. 171-71, Sec. 80. Later evidence suggests diamond mining in the kingdom of Mutfili, described by Marco Polo, and this place has been identified with the region around Motupalli in Prakasam district. D. Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, pp. 160-64.

The above evidence suggests trade in beads both within Andhra Pradesh and with outside regions. But locally, baked clay beads and ornaments are ubiquitous at most historical sites. A very large quantity of terracotta necklaces of various designs, bangles and amulets, including imitations of Roman coins with perforations at the top for stringing into a necklace, have been found at Kondapur.⁽¹⁰⁾

During the second century A.D., some of the gems mentioned in the chart found their way into the merchandise of the Indo-Roman trade. The mining of diamonds has been traced back to the third century B.C., when they were sought by the traders from the Gangetic Valley. The development of Dhānyakāṭaka into a market town could also be related to the diamond mines at Partiyala on the opposite bank of the river Krishna.⁽¹¹⁾

At the other extreme from the easily available clay, gold, and to some extent silver and copper, have been used for ornaments and articles catering to the wealthier sections of the society. Apart from diamonds, gold was another precious commodity in which the local *Pandukal* people could have traded with the Mauryas. It is not surprising that the provenance of Asokan inscriptions can be linked with gold-mining.⁽¹²⁾ A goldsmith's mould of the pre-

10 G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur...', pp. 178 ff.

11 K.R. Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

12 F.R. Allchin, 'Upon the Antiquity and Methods of Gold Mining in Ancient India', *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. V, No.2 (1962), pp. 195-211.

Christian era has been recovered from the riverine part of Dharanikota.⁽¹³⁾ Gold objects of the same period were found in a *Pandukal* burial at Nagarjunakonda: a pair of gold spiral earrings and tiny cylindrical beads of gold which appear to have been originally strung together with silver spacer beads.⁽¹⁴⁾

The evidence for the early historical period is widespread. Not only have gold objects been reported from the Buddhist monasteries at various places in Andhra⁽¹⁵⁾ but at Nagarjunakonda excavations have yielded a goldsmith's workshop with his entire stock-in-trade: terracotta and stone weights, terracotta bangles, earrings and oblong moulds of various designs.⁽¹⁶⁾ A pot containing a coin of Faustina used as a pendant, and very fine pieces of Ikṣvāku jewellery showing minute filigree work have been found at the same place.⁽¹⁷⁾ The gold and silver vessels from the nearby Sarvadeva temple are equally remarkable.⁽¹⁸⁾ Gold ornaments, some enamelled, have been found along with other valuables, such as coins at Kondapur in the underground chambers of houses and shops.⁽¹⁹⁾

The occurrence of these gold ornaments at different sites need not necessarily imply trade in them. But the spread of the technology required could be associated with contacts through commerce, warfare and the diffusion of Buddhism. While the same

13 *I.A.A.R.*, 1964-65, p. 2. 14 H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi, 1966, p.57.

15 For instances from Bhattiprolu, Ramireddipalli, Sankaram and Salihundam, see respectively: R. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp 5-16; K.R. Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*, p. 22; *M.A.R.*, 1908-09; pp. 1-10; R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam.....*, pl14f.

16 *I.A.A.R.*, 1959-60, p. 9. 17 *Ibid.*, Site 99.

18 *Ibid.* 19 Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur...', pp. 133ff.

factors may have been in operation for the supply of the metal, it is likely that the bulk of the gold was obtained through commerce. The fact that a goldsmith's mould was discovered at a site is not sufficient proof that gold was mined nearby. On a more recent analogy, it would be expected that every small town in India, one might say in all medieval Asia and Europe, must have had at least one goldsmith.

Sources of gold in Andhra Pradesh are few. Although the gold was washed in the bed of the Godavari near Bhadrachalam⁽²⁰⁾ in Khammam district, *Pandukal* burials in its vicinity and finds of early historical coins in the district are not by themselves sufficient proof of the local panning of this metal.⁽²¹⁾ Signs of old workings have been noticed in some of the deposits of the gold-bearing Dharwar schists stretching across the Anantapur and Chittoor districts. This evidence, along with the now extinct goldmine about twenty kilometres south-west of Dharmavaram and the numerous *Pandukal* burials, early historical remains and coins in its vicinity may indicate that gold was mined there in ancient times. Such a correlation has been drawn for Maski in Karnataka, where gold-mining, already known during Neolithic times, was enhanced by deep mining with the introduction of iron, especially carburised steel.⁽²²⁾

20 *Madras District Gazetteers*, Godavari, Vol. I, p. 11.

21 See Maps III and IV and Chart II.

22 F.R. Allchin, 'Upon the Antiquity.....', pp. 195-211.

In the absence of spectrometric analysis of the remnants of the metal, it is difficult to ascertain its exact origin. It might be inferred that either through exchange or trade the early *Pandukal* builders or the Mauryan traders brought the metal to the lower Krishna valley from the Raichur district. While this pattern may have continued into the early historical period, trade with the Roman empire certainly provided an important source. From the evidence already discussed, we may assume that gold ornaments found at Sankaram and Salihundam in the Srikakulam district and other parts of Andhra Pradesh were made from Roman gold.⁽²³⁾ It is impossible to comment on the import of gold from Southeast Asia. Spectrometric analysis of the gold objects is the only definite way to find out the origin of the ore.

Sculptures from the various Buddhist sites reveal ornaments of precious metals, and of precious and semi-precious stones, with intricate and complex designs. There must have been full-time specialists to fabricate them. The achievement of their technique and imaginative fabrication has been studied in detail for Nagarjunakonda.⁽²⁴⁾ Inscriptions from Amaravati record donations made by goldsmiths.⁽²⁵⁾ From the above discussion on gold we may infer that the goldsmiths were an established group and some of them were quite wealthy.

23 See Map III and Chart II.

24 K. Krishna Murthy, *Nagarjunakonda: a Cultural Study*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 57-112.

25 *Lluders List*, Nos. 1239 and 1297; J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1970, pp. 97 and 102.

Very few articles of ivory have been found in Andhra Pradesh.⁽²⁶⁾ A significant find is an ivory plaque from Kondapur excavations.⁽²⁷⁾ It has been associated with similar finds from Begram in Afghanistan.⁽²⁸⁾ Both types have similar sketch-like engraving recalling Amaravati sculptures of the pre-Christian era. It is not possible to infer a trade link based on these finds as they could have been carried by monks. Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda refer to local monks from the region of present-day Afghanistan.⁽²⁹⁾ Although Dosarene of *The Periplus* and Paloura of Ptolemy, both situated in Kalinga country, were famous for ivory,⁽³⁰⁾ these texts do not attribute it to any part of Andhra Pradesh. Ivory may have been traded from the districts of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam, which are included in the region of Kalinga in later centuries.

That shell-cutting was an important industry at this time can be inferred from not only the Nagarjunakonda sculptures which depict bangles of shell and conches⁽³¹⁾ but also the large quantity of bangle pieces of shell in different stages of manufacture and other rejects from the same place.⁽³²⁾ Kondapur excavations have also yielded shell ornaments.⁽³³⁾ The material was probably brought to these places from the coast through trade. From a study of the remains at Nagarjunakonda and at a site near modern Uppugundur we may assume that the latter

26 At Sankaram, Amaravati and Yelleswaram, see respectively *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, pp. 9 ff; K.R.Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 22; M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph of Yelleswaram Excavations*, p. 44.

27 Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur....', p. 183 ff.

28 Moti Chandra, 'An Ivory Figure from Ter', *Lalit Kala*, No. 8, (1959), pp. 7-15; M.N. Deshpande, 'Some Observations on the Ivory Figure from Ter', *Ibid.*, No. 10, (1961), pp. 55-56.

29 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 22-23.

30 *Ptolemy*, pp. 70-71. 31 K. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 187-88.

32 H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

33 G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur....', p. 183 ff.

supplied shells to the former.⁽³⁴⁾

The ubiquitous iron tools from the *Pandukal* burials in South India and the Deccan suggest not only an established industry but also trade in that metal. During the early historical period, sedentary agriculture would have increased the demand for iron tools. It is not surprising that they have been unearthed in large quantities at most of the early historical sites. In fact, the large-scale building industry in urban centres would have increased the demand for iron considerably.

Iron-ore suitable for pre-industrial smelting occurs all over Andhra.⁽³⁵⁾ Although the mere proximity of iron deposits is not the only factor which makes acquaintance possible,⁽³⁶⁾ the large number of iron implements from all over Andhra and the archaeological evidence as at Kondapur and Peddabankur⁽³⁷⁾ illustrating ironworking suggest that the locally available ores could have been exploited. Even then, local trade for the ore to areas where it was not available must have existed.

There is no inscriptional material on blacksmiths in Andhra Pradesh. However, such prosperous artisans made donations to the Buddhist establishments in Maharashtra. Since the socio-economic conditions in the two areas were very similar, we can tentatively assume their presence in our region.

34 B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189 ff.

35 D.K. Chakrabarti, 'Distribution of Iron Ores and the Archaeological Evidence of Early Iron in India, *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. XX, Pt. II, pp. 182-83.

36 The Australian Aborigines and the American Indians had abundant iron deposits, but no acquaintance with or use of the metal.

37 Excavations at these places have yielded blacksmiths' workshops, see Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur....' pp. 171-85; *I.A.A.R.*, 1971-72, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 1974-75, p. 5.

The export of iron and steel from the district of Ariaca, around the Gulf of Cambay, has been attributed to the working of iron near Hyderabad, and we may locate the area near Kondapur on the basis of archaeological remains.⁽³⁸⁾

The black cotton soils of the inland districts were ideally suited to the cultivation of cotton, an important commercial crop. The inland *taluks* of Guntur district produced large quantities of this crop. Cotton production and weaving were known during the Pandukal times.⁽³⁹⁾

Buddhist texts of the early historical period attest that the Bodhisattva found shelter in the quarters of a weaver while in Andhra, and that the place was known for its weaving.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The Periplus refers to the great quantities of muslins produced in Andhra. Although the text refers to the exports of muslin from other parts of India, it does not specify whether it was an item of export from Andhra Pradesh.⁽⁴¹⁾

However, the very fact that the region is singled out for producing such large quantities of muslin may be taken as sufficient evidence for its trade, both locally and with the Roman empire. Even if the local demand for cloth was low, the above evidence points to its export. Kosambi mentions that it was not in demand for reasons of style of clothing and climate.⁽⁴²⁾ This conclusion appears to have been based on the assumption that cotton fabrics were used only for clothing.

38 *The Periplus*, Sec. 6, and p. 172; Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-58; D. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60.

39 See Ch. II, p. 21.

40 *Bhīmasena Jātaka*, in *Jātakas*, (ed.), V. Fausboll, London, 1877-97, Vol. I, pp. 355-59.

41 Sections 6, 48 and 51.

42 D.D. Kosambi, *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 197, p. 357.

There appears to have been a local woollen carpet industry in the Guntur district, although we have no evidence for its role in trade.⁽⁴³⁾ Leather goods may have been a trade commodity as well. Although there is no archaeological evidence, the donation of a sculptured slab by a leather worker at Amaravati *stūpa* suggests the existence of a community of leather workers and possible trade by them.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In the battle of Kurukṣetra, the warriors from Andhra apparently used powdered scent made of sandalwood for rubbing on their bodies.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Although sandalwood is mentioned in *The Periplus* as an item of export from Barygaza, we cannot associate it with Andhra.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It may have been imported from other parts of south India as an ingredient in cosmetics, perfumes, medicines and for worship in religious establishments. An Amaravati medallion depicts a seated women ready for a bath, waited upon by three women pouring oil and holding unguents.⁽⁴⁷⁾ There are two large donations by vendors or manufacturers of perfumes from the same place⁽⁴⁸⁾ who appear to have been very wealthy people.

The extensive stone and brick remains all over Andhra and especially at Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati-Dharanikota show the existence of a local brick-manufacturing and stone industry. The widespread use of stone in sculptures and buildings would have required not only artisans for carving but also traders to supply the raw material. The simplicity of the original *stupa* railing at

43 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 88-90.

44 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91. 45 *Mbh.*, XII.

46 Sec. 36 47 J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1878, P. LXXII, Fig. I.

48 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 18n and 105.

Amaravati during the third and second centuries B.C. and subsequent development of elaborate carving and building there and at Nagarjunakonda in the following centuries suggests the growth of a complex stone carving industry. References in inscriptions to a *paṣāṇika* or worker in stone from Amaravati⁽⁴⁹⁾ and to *sela-vaḍhaki* or stone mason⁽⁵⁰⁾ from Nagarjunakonda suggest that the stone workers formed a distinct group. Another inscription from the latter mentioned place refers to a *vaḍhāki*, which can be interpreted as a carpenter, builder, mason or architect.⁽⁵¹⁾

The lavish use of limestone at Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati was facilitated by its local availability and the stone is from the local quarries.⁽⁵²⁾ Even the stone on which the Aśokan inscription at Amaravati was engraved is local.⁽⁵³⁾ An epigraph from Sri Lanka inscribed on a type of limestone which is not locally available appears to have been imported from Andhra, where it was available in great quantities.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Palaeographic similarities of the inscription are closer to those of the Ikṣvākus than to any other Sri Lankan epigraphs, and the missionary contact between the two regions makes it possible that the stone was brought from Andhra.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Although trade in the material was possible by means of coastal barges and rafts, there is not sufficient evidence for it.

49 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 302, No. 119.

50 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, XX, p. 22.

51 *Ibid.*

52 K. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

53 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 40-43. Having examined the stone, I agree with A. Ghosh that the stone is of local origin. Sircar's suggestion that the stone could be from Chunar is not tenable.

54 A. Rea, *op. cit.*, p. 18;

55 *Epigraphica Zelanica*, Vol. 4, pp. 273-285.

While local production is beyond doubt, the striking uniformity of the *Pandukal* ceramic industry reflects contacts and trade relations. The ubiquitous Black and Red Ware (BRW) of peninsular India was also found in the middle and lower Gangetic valley.⁽⁵⁶⁾ With the Mauryan penetration of southern India, we find sherds of Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP) at different sites in Andhra Pradesh in conjunction with BRW and other local wares.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Although the NBP ware may have been imported initially from the lower Gangetic valley, its abundance at Amaravati-Dharanikota⁽⁵⁸⁾ does not rule out the possibility of local production.

The early historical period was marked by a variety of pottery. Kondapur excavations yielded not only different types, but also one of red colour which was extremely thin and delicate and highly polished.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Another type, utilitarian in character, was the russet-coated painted ware, also called Andhra ware, as it appears to have originated locally.⁽⁶⁰⁾ It has been found at the majority of Sātavāhana sites.

While there appears to have been trade in these indigenous potteries, fine table ware was an important item imported from the

55 contd. The inscription is from Jetavanārāma at Anuradhapura. For Buddhist missionary contacts between Sri Lanka and Nagarjuna-konda, see J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 22 ff; D.C. Sircar and A.N. Lahiri, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 250.

56 Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, p.232.

57 *I.A.A.R.*, 1958-59, pp.5 ff.; 1960-61, p1 ff; 1963-64, p. H. Sarkar, 'Kesarapalle, 1962', pp. 37 ff; I.K. Sarma, 'NBP C-14 dates', *J.I.H.*, Vol.LII, No. 1, (1974), pp. 49-56.

58 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, pp 60 ff. 59 Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur.. p. 176 ff.

60 R.E.M. Wheeler, 'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli', *A.I.*, 1947-48, No. 4, p. 180.

Roman empire. The local rouletted black ware was an imitation of the Roman wares and is found all over Andhra. It has been suggested that this pottery was manufactured at Partiyala in Krishna district and marketed to the rest of Andhra.⁽⁶¹⁾

Lamps were also imported from the Roman empire. An inscription from Krishna district refers to the gift of a *yonaka* lamp in the shape of a *bādala* fish.⁽⁶²⁾ While the word *yonaka* indicates a foreign origin, from the discovery of objects of daily use like sprinklers and handles of Roman amphorae all over Andhra, we can conclude that lamps were also imported. Some of the numerous glass bangles and beads found at various sites may also have been imported or manufactured at the Arikamedu Roman factory.⁽⁶³⁾ Sculptured objects too may have been imported. Andhra art shows some traces of Roman influence.⁽⁶⁴⁾ An ornate pillar from the ruins of a palace at Nagarjunakonda depicts a bearded male figure nude down to the waist, evidently of foreign origin. In his left hand is a drinking-horn or rhyton, while on the ground near his foot is a wine-jar covered with an inverted drinking cup.⁽⁶⁵⁾ It appears to be a representation of Dionysius. Another sculpture from Guntur district, depicts one of the

61 This ware occurs at Vaikuntapuram, Dharanikota-Amaravati, Chebrolu, Kesarapalli, Partiyala, Kondapur and so on. See the relevant volumes of *I.A.A.R.*, between 1960 and 1964. The extensive remains at Partiyala suggest local production.

62 K. Gopalachari, *E.H.A.C.*, p. 79.

63 R.E.M. Wheeler et al., 'Arikamedu, an Indo-Roman trading station on the coast of India', *A.I.*, 1946. No. 2, pp17ff. For the production of lamps of various kinds and shapes and their export from the Roman empire, see M. Rostovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Vol. I, 1957, pp. 69, 132 and fig. 2.

64 B. Rajendra Prasad, *Art of South India, Andhra Pradesh*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 55-56.

65 K. Krishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

Pañchavīras with a wine goblet in the engraving.⁽⁶⁶⁾ From these sculptures and from references in *The Periplus*,⁽⁶⁷⁾ we can infer that wine was also imported.

In the previous chapter we discussed the importance of rice. The names *Dhānyakaṭaka* and *Salipetaka* and the evidence for abundant rice in the hinterland suggest that this was an important commodity in trade. A part of the rice imported from Barygaza into Opone and Dioscorides Island located at the entrance to the Red Sea may have been from Andhra.⁽⁶⁸⁾ As rice fetched a high price it was apparently the most important of the cereals exported to West Asia and Africa, the others being *rāgi* and *jōwar*.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The existence of guilds of betel-leaf growers and confectioners⁽⁷⁰⁾ indicates trade in betel-leaf and sugar-cane. Even to this day these are two important commercial crops of Andhra Pradesh.

The above discussion gives us a general idea of the commodities in trade, both within the region and outside, especially the Roman empire. Wherever evidence permitted, references to artisans have been given. Taken together, the data indicate that there was a large-scale expansion of craft-production all over Andhra and that at least some artisans were prosperous enough to make donations to Buddhist establishments. There is substantial evidence for the donations by artisans in Maharashtra.⁽⁷¹⁾ In Andhra, however, such evidence in inscriptions is relatively meagre.

66 M.A.W. Khan, *An Early Sculpture of Narasimha*, Hyderabad, 1964.

67 The text refers to wine as an import in India, see for instance Sec.49

68 *Ibid.*, secs. 31, 41. 69 E.H. Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-19.

70 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, p.4 f.

71 *Muders List.*, Nos. 986, 993, 1005, 1032-33, 1051, 1055, 1061, 1092, 1177, 1179 and 1187.

An understanding of the rich numismatic material from the region illustrates the nature of trade and trade routes around the turn of the Christian era. The spatial distribution of early historical coins in Andhra Pradesh⁽⁷²⁾ manifests a greater concentration in the coastal districts, particularly in the Krishna-Nalgonda-Guntur area. The provenance of coins in the inland districts is probably due to trade routes and the special marketable products of the area through which they passed.

The first coins are of the silver punch-marked series.⁽⁷³⁾ They not only had even circulation in peninsular India, but were also uniform in character.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Such a distribution points to existing trade contacts between different regions of the peninsula. In spite of the tentative classifications of these coins on a territorial basis,⁽⁷⁵⁾ it is difficult to sift them out accordingly.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The earliest occurrence of these coins is in pre-Mauryan and Mauryan levels at Amaravati.⁽⁷⁷⁾ They are found along with iron and Northern Black Polished Ware,⁽⁷⁸⁾ whose importance as trade commodities we have discussed elsewhere. Many varieties of these coins were in circulation and they were even minted along with the Satavāhana coins in different

72 See Chart II and Map IV. The data represented is based on the relevant references cited in the following footnotes.

73 P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 9-18.

74 B. Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India c A.D. 225-1300*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 101.

75 P.L. Gupta, *A Bibliography of Hoards of Punch-Marked Coins of Ancient India*, Bombay 1955, pp. 1-2; and P.L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1960-61, pp. 4-34; and also P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, pp. 9-18.

76 B. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 102. He finds the classifications not always convincing.

77 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, p. 65.

78 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

Map IV

Distribution of early historical coins, Andhra Pradesh

CHART II

DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY HISTORICAL COINS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

NUMBER OF FINDS : FINDSPOTS

f.u - findspot(s) unknown. n.a - details not available. A - aureus - aurei.
D - denarius - denarii. S - Solidus - Solidi.

71

DISTRICTS	SILVER PUNCH-MARKED	SATAVAHANA	ROMAN
Nellore	1: <u>f.u</u>	4: Alluru, Duvvuru, Kodavalur, Padugupadu.	2: <u>f.u</u> : A - latest Antoninus Pius (d.A.D 161); A - including Trajan, Hadrian, Faustina (Sr) (d.A.D140/1).
Prakasam	-	2: Chandavaram, Chinnaganjam.	1: <u>f.u</u> : only 2S of Nero and Hadrian recorded (d.A.D138).
Guntur	1: Dharanikota (about 7,668).	Numerous: Dharanikota - Amaravati, Buddham, Chebrolu, Gurazala, Goli, Macherla, Madugula, Mandur, Nagarjunakonda, Peddamaddur, Penumali, Rentala, Satrasala.	5: Mallayapelem - 4A, latest Antoninus Pius; Nagarjunakonda - 2A of Faustina (Sr) and Tiberius (?) (d.A.D.37); Nagarjunakonda - 1A of Hadrian (d.A.D138); Vinukonda - 15A, Tiberius - Caracalla (d.A.D.217); Amaravati - <u>n.a</u> .
Krishna	2: Gudivada (53), Singavaram (about 160).	5: Bezwada, Ghantasala, Gudivada, Illuru, Vidyadharapuram.	1: Vidyadharapuram - 1D of Tiberius.
West Godavari	1: <u>f.u</u>	1: Chittela.	-
East Godavari	-	3: Adurru, Kodavulu, Pyna.	-

DISTRICTS	SILVER PUNCH-MARKED	SATAVAHANA	ROMAN
Vishakhapatnam	4: Bhimuniapatnam (172), Rothulapalem (21), Venne (81), (61) <u>f.u.</u>	2: <u>f.u.</u>	2: Gumada - 23A, latest Constantine the Great (d.A.D.337); Kotpad - 4D, Augustus and Tiberius.
Srikakulam	-	2: Mukhalingam, Ramathirtham.	1: Salihundam - 11D of Tiberius.
Nalgonda	-	2: <u>f.u.</u>	3: Akkenpalli - 1531D, 698 + 28 imitations of Augustus, 740 + 31 imitations of Tiberius, 2 of Caligula, 11 of Claudius, 2 of Nero (d.A.D.68), rest not identifiable; Gootiparti - 3A, latest Antoninus Pius; Yelleswaram - 1A of Septimius Severus (d.A.D.211).
Khammam	-	2: Khamemmett (over 9,400), Nelakondapalli.	-
Warangal	-	2: Warangal (94), Polakonda.	1: <u>f.u.</u> - 1A of Faustina (Sr).
Karimnagar	Karimnagar - Peddapalli Rd (30) 5: Nasthulapur (8), Dhulikatta (moulds) (418) <u>f.u.</u> Peddabankuru	4: Dhulikatta, Karimnagar, Kotalingala, Peddabankuru (23,345).	Dhulikatta - 1D of Augustus; 3: Nasthulapur - 39D, Augustus and Tiberius; Peddabankur - 1D of Augustus.

DISTRICTS	SILVER PUNCH-MARKED	SATAVAHANA	ROMAN
Medak	1: Kondapur (23).	1: Kondapur (4,120).	1: Kondapur - 1A of Augustus (?).
Hyderabad	-	More than one.	-
Kurnool	1: Kamanchi (27).	-	1: Nandyal - over 52A, latest Antonius Pius
Anantapur	-	2: Bhattalapalli, Palvoy.	-
Cuddapah	1: <u>f.u.</u>	2: Adampur, Palaveram.	1: Athirala - 1A of Trajan.
Chittoor	1: Gudimallam (1)	-	-

parts of Andhra Pradesh during the centuries after Christ.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The latter, the first dynastic currency marked by the introduction of the use of metals of low value, such as lead and potin, and a tendency towards the localization of script, derived not only in technique but also in symbolism from the former.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The coins of the Sātavāhanas appear in the coastal districts of Andhra⁽⁸¹⁾ only towards the latter half of the first century A.D., increasing in quantity by the following century. There are neither coins nor inscriptions assignable to a pre-Gautamīputra period from coastal Andhra. Although coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (c. 54-88 A.D.) have been discovered in coastal Andhra, only the issues of his successors from Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāvi (c. 88-116 A.D.) have been recovered from excavations.⁽⁸²⁾ Thus, wide-scale introduction of Sātavāhana coinage into coastal Andhra⁽⁸³⁾ and the introduction of the ship-coins,⁽⁸⁴⁾ an altogether new issue in the second century A.D., and the distribution of these coins along the Andhra coast suggest that the extension of their authority into these districts and the expansion of commercial activities were simultaneous.

The coins of the later Sātavāhana rulers were also greater in quantity than those of their successors, the Ikṣvākus. The latter, who ruled predominantly in the Krishna-Guntur region,

79 B. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103; and I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 56-75.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 41 and the Map. IV.

82 For a chronological sequence of different types of coins and their regional distribution, see *Ibid.*, pp. 76-106.

83 See Chart II and Map IV. 84 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage....*, pp. 97-99.

not only continued minting lead coins but also adopted the existing symbols of their predecessors.⁽⁸⁵⁾ While Sātavāhana coinage was predominantly of lead, copper and potin, that of the Ikṣvākus was mainly in lead. The minting of coins of metal less valuable than gold or silver and of coins of various low denominations probably facilitated smaller transactions. The 'official' indigenous currency appears to have consisted mainly of lead coins.

It is difficult to ascertain the sources of these metals, which would have been crucial to the issue of these coins. Pliny states that India has neither brass nor lead, but exchanges precious stones and pearls for them.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Lead, along with copper and tin, according to *The Periplus*, was imported into India.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The lead mines of Zawar in Rajasthan were exploited in ancient times.⁽⁸⁸⁾ In fact, spectrometric studies reveal that the Kṣatrapa lead coins were minted from the ore that was mined in the Aravalli region.⁽⁸⁹⁾ It is not possible to ascertain whether or not the lead ores of Kurnool and Agnigundala in the Guntur district were exploited.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Perhaps coastal Andhra imported the so-called base metals. Their value would have been more than it is today. We have no evidence as to

- 85 Their coins have been found at Nagarjunakonda, see *I.A.A.R.*, 1955-56, p. 26; 1956-57, p. 38; 1959-60, p. 9; *A.R.I.E.*, 1953-54, p. 125; 1957-58, p. 11; 1959-60, p. 130: At Kabash Nandigama, *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 11; In Prakasam taluk, R. Subrahmanyam, *Catalogue of Ikṣvāku Coins*, Hyderabad, 1962; At Kesarapalli, H. Sarkar, 'Kesarapalle 1962', *A.I.*, No. 22, pp. 37-74: At Yelleswaram, M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on Yelleswaram Excavations*, p. 55: at Gudivada, A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, No. 70, p. 31 and at Nelakondapalli, *I.A.A.R.*, 1976-77, p. 5
- 86 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, London, 1942-62, XXXIV, 17.
- 87 Sec. 49 88 D.P. Agrawal, *Copper Bronze Age in India*, Delhi,
- 89 K.T.M.Hodge, *Current Science*, Vol. 37, pp. 518-520. 1975, p. 156.
- 90 K.R. Subrahmaniam, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History*, (225-610 A.D.).

how the lead was transacted by the issuers of the coins, although there is some evidence for the existence of mints at various places.⁽⁹¹⁾

The Sātavāhanas also issued portrait coins in a rare metal, silver.⁽⁹²⁾ A detailed study of a clay mould from the Nagarjunakonda excavations suggests that the silver portrait coins of Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi with a Telugu legend on the reverse were minted locally.⁽⁹³⁾ However, the extreme paucity of these coins, in contrast to the huge number of copper, lead and potin issues of these rulers, suggests that they were issued only in token numbers, had prestige value and did not form part of a regular currency. The source of silver is once again difficult to ascertain. Spectrometric studies of Kṣatrapa silver coins have shown the metal to be of Roman origin as the trace metal pattern does not match that of the only known local silver mine at Zawar in Rajasthan.⁽⁹⁴⁾ It appears that the short-lived Kṣaharāta and the Kṣatrapa dynasties of western and central India compelled the Roman merchants to exchange their coins in Barygaza for local currency, and the former were then reduced to bullion for coinage.⁽⁹⁵⁾ As the earliest Sātavāhana silver coins were restruck coins of these rulers,⁽⁹⁶⁾ we may assume that the metal for cast portrait type of coins was sought in the Roman denarii.

91 See below n. 93.

92 Dhulikatta, Hyderabad and Nagarjunakonda yielded these coins. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

93 *I.A.A.R.*, 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LXI,B; and I.K. Sarma, 'A Coin Mould-Piece from Nagarjunakonda Excavations', *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. XVI,(1973), pp. 89-94.

94 *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. , p. 15.

95 D.W. MacDowall and N.G. Wilson, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 7,Ser.10, and E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 288-89.

96 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage*....., pp. 108-110.

Representing the external elements in the currency of deltaic Andhra, we have the evidence of a big hoard of western Kṣatrapa coins, possibly buried some time before the middle of the fourth century A.D., indicating the inflow of the western-central Indian currency.⁽⁹⁷⁾ From a detailed study of the occurrence of coin names in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions: *dināri* and *dināri-māṣaka*, we can tentatively equate the former with the silver coins of western-central India and the latter with a few specimens of low-weight punch-marked coins.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The occurrence of numerous early Roman silver coins suggests that the people of Andhra may have been familiar with the term *denarius* from the first century A.D. The complexity of the currency system of the area is borne out by such an integration of Roman *denarii* in local coinage.

Of the total number of Roman coins found on the Indian sub-continent, almost 99.9% of *denarii* and 98% of *aurei* come from South India, especially the districts south of the river Krishna.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Andhra Pradesh has a large share of them.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The earliest and the greatest numbers of Roman coins are those of the early emperors

97 D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 150-203, and also H.V. Tribedi, *Western Kshatrapa Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1964, and *I.A.A.R.*, 1956-57, p. 77. These coins, representing rulers from Vīradāman to Yasodāman II, along with a few issues of Iśvaradatta, were found at Petluripalem in Guntur district. See Map III.

98 B. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

99 With the exception of the large Akkenpalli hoard which is north of the river in the Nalgonda district.

100 Manfred G. Raschke, "New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, T.2, Bd.9.2., Berlin, 1978, p. 665. See also Chart II and Map IV.

Augustus (B.C. 27 - 14 A.D.) and Tiberius (14 - 37 A.D.). There are at least ten finds datable to the first century A.D. Although the number of finds increases in the next century, the number of coins is nowhere near as many. The Akkenapalli hoard containing the largest number of coins, including imitations of those of the above-mentioned rulers, is the most significant. It was deposited some time during the reign of Nero (54 - 68 A.D.). The significance of the coin-finds dated to the second century, however, is not in their number but in their spatial distribution all over coastal Andhra (excepting the Godavari districts) and districts of the interior. This is no doubt due to the increase in commerce in this century, which is also indicated by the indigenous currency. This argument is further substantiated in the following pages.

Excavations at Kondapur have yielded about twenty clay *bullae* imitated from the seated-figure *denarii* of Tiberius.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ As they have been found at numerous sites in India,⁽¹⁰²⁾ and as they appear to be crude imitations of the portraits on Roman imperial coins, these *bullae* seem to have been quite familiar to the people. This need not necessarily suggest a fairly wide circulation of Roman coins.

As elsewhere in South India, in Andhra too, all of the *denarii* fall into the period from Augustus to Nero.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Although there are a few individual coin-finds of Augustus and Tiberius and later Julio-Claudians, the bulk of the finds is not only of the first

101 G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur,' pp. 179-180, pl. XIII, 6.

102 Raschke, *op. cit.*, p. 992.

103 There are a few exceptions for the rest of South India. *Ibid.*, pp. 665 and 992.

two emperors but also of one of two types: either the Caius and Lucius Caesar type of Augustus or the seated-figure type of Tiberius.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The *denarii* of Nero, quite rare in South India, come from the earliest years of his reign, predating the reform of 63/64 A.D.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In the following Flavian period, however, the pattern changes when large numbers of *aurei* were used instead. Why the local traders refused to accept *denarii* is difficult to understand. Either due to their debasement by Nero or, as Raschke⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ suggests, when the two types of coins mentioned above could no longer be found within the Empire, the Indian traders, who previously had such a preference for these types of coins, refused to accept Roman *denarii*.

At present, the reason for this preference for the two issues is not clear. Although Roman coins were generally treated as bullion, measured by weight, certain issues appear to have enjoyed a psychological advantage which caused them to be received at a premium, perhaps above their actual metal value.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Wheeler's hypothesis that a decline in the import of coins occurred from the times of Nero and that trade in the later decades witnessed a replacement of bullion by consumable products is based on the debasement of Roman coins and the apparent Roman anxiety at the outflow of precious metals.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ That this was not so is evident from the above study, and the following pages substantiate the argument further.

104 *Ibid.*, pp. 665ff; 992 ff.

105 *Ibid.*

106 *Ibid.*

107 *Ibid.*

108 R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954, p. 141.

That Andhra Pradesh had an increasing share of the Indo-Roman trade is illustrated not only by *The Periplus* and Pliny's *Natural Geography* of the latter half of the first century A.D., but also by the detailed description in the geographical work of Ptolemy of the second century A.D. together with archaeological remains and inscriptions.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

The Periplus, referring to the market-towns of the Deccan (Dachinabades) and the merchandise brought down to Barygaza from these places, states that '..... from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast'.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ While the 'sea-coast' mentioned is the seaboard of the Bay of Bengal,⁽¹¹¹⁾ from the order of the description of the towns, we may assume that it is the Andhra coast. A trade route connecting these places will be discussed towards the end of the chapter.

After mentioning the harbours⁽¹¹²⁾ of the coast south of Andhra Pradesh and after digressing on Taprobane,⁽¹¹³⁾ the same text, resuming the topographical description of peninsular India, mentions 'the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country; a great quantity of muslins is made here'.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The region of Dosarene, which has been tentatively placed around the river Mahanadi in Orissa⁽¹¹⁵⁾ is described next. In that case, sections

109 For the different people covered by the word Romans in the trade with India, see Wheeler, *Rome Beyond*.....

110 Sec. 51 111 J. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI, p. 181.

112 *The Periplus*, Sec. 60. 113 *Ibid.*, Sec. 61. 114 *Ibid.*, Sec. 62.

115 *Ibid.*

51 and 52 appear to refer to the same region, which is roughly along the seaboard between Markanam in the south and the river Mahanadi in the north.

Ptolemy, further describing the Andhra coast, refers to the same region as Maisolia.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ He locates it above the Arouarnoi, the Aruvanādu mentioned in early Tamil literature and inscriptions, which is between the rivers Palar in Tamil Nadu and the Penner in Andhra Pradesh.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The places mentioned in the latter region are Podouke, an emporium; Melange, an emporium, mouth of the river Tyne; Kothis; Manarpha (or Manaliarpha), a mart. While Podouke is the same as Poduca of *The Periplus*, Melange may be identified with Krishnapatnam, a little to the south of the north Penner river which is the river Tyna.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Manarpha, placed south of the river Manara, and Kothis have not been identified. From the distribution of early historical settlements and coins in the lower Penner basin, we can assume that the above-mentioned places are in that region.

In the region of Maisolia, Ptolemy places the mouth of the river Maisolos, the mart of Kontakossyla, Koddoura, the mart of Allosygne and the point of departure for ships bound for Khryse.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

116 *Ptolemy*, pp. 66, sec. 15. 117 *Ibid.* and D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, p. 148.

118 The order of the places mentioned makes it difficult to accept the identification of Melange with Bandar Malanka in the Godavari districts. *Ptolemy*, p. 67.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

The inland cities of the region mentioned are Kalliga, Bardamana, Koroungkala, Pharytra and Pharetra and Pityndra, the metropolis.⁽¹²⁰⁾

He further mentions the territory of the Salakenoi with the city of Benagouron contiguous to Maisolia.⁽¹²¹⁾

The Salakenoi are identified with the Sālāṅkāyanas of the inscriptions⁽¹²²⁾ and their city with ancient Vengīpura, the modern Peddavegi.⁽¹²³⁾ Koddoura, identified with Kudura of an inscription from Amaravati, is the modern Guduru near Machilipatnam.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Kontakossyla is the modern Ghantasala in the same area.⁽¹²⁵⁾

Since the mouth of the river Maisolos is located between the country of the Arouarnoi and Kontakossyla, this is definitely the river Krishna. The coastal mart of Allōsygne⁽¹²⁶⁾ and some of the inland towns are not amenable to identification. In the latter category Koroungkala the modern Warangal and Pityndra, a metropolis and inland city, can be identified with Pithumḍa of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela and Pithumḍa of the *Uttaradyāyana sūtra*.⁽¹²⁷⁾ This Jaina text, however, mentions a merchant from Campā travelling to this city by following a sea route. Hence, it could have been on

120 *Ibid.* 121 *Ibid.*, pp. 66-69.

122 D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp. 63-96. 123 *Ibid.*

124 *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43; C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 297.

125 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp. 32 ff. It has been identified with the Kantakasela of a Nagarjunakonda inscription and Kantakasela of an Amaravati inscription, and Kantakasola of a Ghantasala epigraph. See J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 9; 22 f, Vol. XXVII, p. 3 and Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 280 and D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp. 33, 42.

126 It has been tentatively placed near the Godavari delta, a little to the north of Point Godavari, *Ptolemy*, pp. 68-69.

127 *A.I.*, Vol. LV, pp. 146-7; J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 79; *Uttaradhyānasūtra, Jaina Sutras*, (ed.) Jacobi, Pt. II, p. 168.

either the sea-coast or a river navigable from the sea. As it was an inland city of Maisolia, somewhere near Benagouron, the river was probably the Krishna. The text also refers to it as a market place. From the above evidence, we may conclude that it was an inland city, a metropolis, on the navigable river Krishna, probably in the Krishna-Guntur region. From the archaeological evidence at contemporary Dharanikota, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the city in question may be identified with the ancient Dhānyakataka.

Thus the region of Maisolia could have constituted roughly the districts of West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nalgonda, Khammam and Warangal. It cannot be limited to the coastal strip, which has no black cotton soils, unlike the inland districts⁽¹²⁸⁾ for the production of large quantities of the fine varieties of cotton fabrics. The modern *Masula* boats of Madras probably derive their name from this region and from the evidence enunciated in a later section of the chapter, these boats are quite ancient in origin. The name of the modern town of Machilipatnam⁽¹²⁹⁾ may have been derived from the name of this region, but its antiquity is not yet established. Many centuries later, Tavernier describes the place as 'the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal'.⁽¹³⁰⁾ I am inclined to think that it was the connecting harbour to the important town of Gudur only a few miles inland. Periodic tidal waves, cyclones and floods probably may explain the location of the town inland. What changes were brought about in the succeeding centuries, leading to the growth of Machilipatnam, is beyond the scope of the thesis.

128 M.Alam, *Planning Atlas of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1974, pp.iii-iv.

129 Machili + patnam = fish + town or port or
Masulipatnam = the port of Masula.

130 J. Phillips, *Tavernier's Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1905, I, xi and II, xii.

Ptolemy makes no reference to the long stretch of coast between Koddoura and Allosygne, tentatively placed near the Godavari delta, a little to the north of point Godavari. In fact, it covers the entire seaboard of the Godavari valley. The river itself has been left out. Could he have received information about a small river like Penner (Tyna) and not about the largest river in the whole of South India? The insignificant number of early historical coins from the East and West Godavari districts and the meagre evidence of structural remains in this area are just as conspicuous. These districts, receiving heavier rainfall than the lower Krishna basin and covered with forests of greater density and hence with a slow growth of agrarian settlements, which began only during the early centuries A.D., are less likely to be incorporated in the trading networks. Even so, the total omission of the river in many maps of the sixteenth and even of the eighteenth centuries⁽¹³¹⁾ needs an explanation which falls outside the purview of this thesis. After all, the Godavari districts were the core of agrarian settlements in medieval times.

In a previous section we noticed a greater penetration of Roman coins into the Andhra districts. This was simultaneous with increasing evidence from indigenous coins. And now, from *The Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography*, we find an increasing Roman knowledge over the first and second centuries not only of the ports and other coastal localities but also of various inland market towns and cities. Whether this indicates a definite growth in the 'mercantile economy' in Andhra Pradesh, based on land and sea trade in which commercial relations with Rome obviously played a significant role, is to be examined further.

131 *Ptolemy.*, pp. 65-67.

It is not surprising that the Sātavāhanas, who extended their rule into the coastal districts, issued lead and potin coins bearing a ship on the obverse, which coins have been recovered mainly from the coastal districts.⁽¹³²⁾ Maritime activity is further testified to by contemporary inscriptions from Guntupalli and Chantasala, which refer to a mariner and a master mariner who appear to be of indigenous origin.⁽¹³³⁾

As for the commercial contacts between Andhra Pradesh and Southeast Asia, evidence is very meagre. Such evidence can only be understood in the broader spectrum of contacts across the Bay of Bengal. Even before the turn of the present era, there were trading networks in this region.⁽¹³⁴⁾ From the first century A.D., however, the sea-lanes of Southeast Asia were gradually incorporated into a series of maritime trade routes which led to the growth of a network from the Red Sea to South China, characterized by trade in 'luxury' items.

At the time of *The Periplus*, the commerce of the Bay of Bengal was in the hands of Indian merchants and various seafaring

132 Especially in the Krishna-Guntur districts at Amaravati, Chebrolu, Gudivada, Buddham and Vidyaharapuram. See I.K. Sarma, *Coinage*....., p. 100 and A. Rea, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

133 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, XXVII, pp. 1-4 and I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. V, 1978, p. 56.

134 Paul Wheatley, 'Satyanrta in Suvarṇadvīpa - 'From Reciprocity to Redistribution in Southeast Asia'', in *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, (eds.) J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Albuquerque, 1975, p. 232.

peoples of Southeast Asia, who were subsequently known to the Chinese as K'un lun.⁽¹³⁵⁾ The growth of Indian trading activity in Southeast Asia has been attributed to the scarcity of gold in South Asia after Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) curbed the export of precious metals from the Roman empire.⁽¹³⁶⁾ Apparently the merchants turned to the regions of Southeast Asia for new markets.

This new development may have been facilitated by improvements in shipping. One of the important introductions or innovations of this period is fore and aft rigging which allowed the ships to sail closer to the winds, thus making long voyages more feasible.⁽¹³⁷⁾ The majority of ship-type Sātavāhana coins of the second and early third centuries A.D., issues invariably in lead and depicting both single and double-mast craft, have been found in coastal Andhra.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The auspicious combination of symbols of *svastika*, *padma*, *sahkha* and fish on the coins have been considered to reflect prosperous sea-borne trade.⁽¹³⁹⁾ The ship-device on the coins depicts rigging between the masts, which is quite distinctly noticeable. As the carriers closely resemble the ship sculptured on a frieze from Borobudur in Java of a later date⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ we may assume that they were sea-going vessels.

The modern *masula* boats of Madras appear to be the survivals of these ships.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ They are deep-sided, flat-bottomed craft

135 A. Christie, 'An Obscure Passage from the Periplus; ΚΟΛΛΑΝΔΙΟΦΩΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑ', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol 19, 1957, pp. 345-353.

136 G. Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Canberra, 1975,

137 *Ibid.*, p. 20. He states that the technique originated in the P.20. Persian Gulf.

138 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage*....., pp. 68-69. 139 *Ibid.*

140 Coedes, *op. cit.*, p. 20. 141 *The Periplus*, p. 244.

without ribs, built of planks sewn together with rope of coconut fibre. The seams are caulked with oakum so as to enable them to withstand 'better than the far more solidly-built craft the shock of being landed on the sandy beach from the crest of a seething breaker.'⁽¹⁴²⁾ Such a general practice of stitching the wooden planks survives to this day in the boats of some coastal areas in South India.⁽¹⁴³⁾

Ships were also built on a large scale during this period. *The Periplus*⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ while describing the shipping on the Chola littoral mentions... 'ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica; and other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called sangara; but those which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges are called colandia, and are very large.'⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

While the first category refers to local shipping, perhaps a coasting craft, *sangara* refers to those of the catamaran type. From a more recent analogy of South India and Sri Lanka, we can assume that the carrier was built of double canoes, made of hollowed logs with plank sides and outriggers which were joined together by a deck platform with space for a deck house.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

142 *Ibid.*

143 L. Gopal, "Indian Shipping in Early Medieval Period" in *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, (ed.), L. Chandra, Madras, 1970, pp. 108-122. Tar is used nowadays instead of oakum.

144 Sec. 60,

145 J.I. Miller in interpreting the passage assumed that these ships are referred to as 'overseas' vessels. The original text does not specifically refer to overseas shipping. *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1969, p. 183.

146 *The Periplus*, pp. 243-46. Similar outrigger canoes are found in Indonesia, Polynesia and Micronesia, J.B. Hornell, *The Outrigger Canoes of Indonesia*, Madras, 1920.

It is *colandia* or *Kolandiophōnta*, the ocean-going craft which has given rise to much discussion. It has been identified with ships called *po* described in detail in a third century Chinese text, and the word has been derived from the Tamil *padagu*, *padao* or *parao* standing for a ship.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ A summary of the evidence from the Chinese sources is as follows: 'The large, non-Chinese merchantmen which were engaged upon the trade between East and West were known as *po*, or as *k'un-lun-po*, a term in use for various littoral peoples of southeast Asia.... and were sailing vessels. The earliest Chinese references appear to belong to the third century A.D.....⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

When this evidence is compared with that of *The Periplus*,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ *kolandiophōnta* appears to be a distorted expression which originally represented a compound of the same general category as *k'un-lun-po*.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ These ships, which may have been Malayan in origin, appear to have been sailing between the Andhra-Tamil coast, the Malayan peninsula and the coast of south China during the early centuries of the present era.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

While in *The Periplus* these ships set sail for Chryse (Malayan Peninsula) from ports on the coast south of Andhra Pradesh,⁽¹⁵²⁾ Ptolemy places the *apherterion*, the point of departure for ships bound

147 Wang Gungwu, 'The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea' *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1-2, pp. 28 ff.

148 A. Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 348 ff.

149 Sec. 60. 150 A. Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-53. 151 *Ibid.*

152 Sec. 60.

for Chryse, to the north-east in Maisolia, somewhere beyond Allosygne in the vicinity of present-day Srikakulam.⁽¹⁵³⁾ From a comparative study of the two texts earlier in the chapter, we have seen how the Indo-Roman trade extended into coastal Andhra. In fact, the order in which Ptolemy mentions localities on the eastern coast, moving from the south to the north-east, shows that the ships he mentions belonged to Andhra and the far south, rather than to the coastal region north of Srikakulam.

From this discussion we may conclude that the ships plied the waters of coastal Andhra as well and this region also had commercial contacts with Southeast Asia. From the fourth and fifth centuries onwards, however, Andhra Pradesh receded into the background while Tamralipti, then the Gangetic port, and the Tamil country acquired greater importance in maritime trade with the growth of the Gupta and Pallava empires respectively. Just as coastal trade preceded trans-oceanic trade on the west coast, we can surmise that during the first three centuries of the Christian era the eastern seaboard witnessed a certain growth in coastal trade, for from the ensuing centuries ships sailed across the high seas more frequently. In the coastal traffic, Andhra Pradesh appears to have had an intermediary role. Its earlier importance in coastal trade and the decline in maritime activities from the fourth century A.D., supports this assumption. Had Andhra Pradesh been able to offer the commodities in demand, it would have been significant in the trade of the later centuries.

153 *Ptolemy*, p. 69.

The meagre archaeological evidence for any contacts between Andhra Pradesh and Southeast Asia can only be understood in the wider context of South India. There is some evidence for Roman contacts with Southeast Asia and we have already mentioned and it is likely that Andhra featured in the trade of at least some of the products. The oldest find at Oc Eo in the Mekong delta was a Roman gold medal of the reign of Antoninus Pius (ca. 152 A.D.).⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ In 166 A.D., the Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor, Huan-ti.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ A Graeco-Roman lamp at P'ong Tūk in Thailand was found in association with an 'Amaravati Buddha'.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ 'Amaravati Buddhas' dating from about the second to the fourth centuries are among the earliest archaeological finds in Southeast Asia, which show possible connections with Andhra.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ There are also amulets worn by small figurines of nude boys, in fact imitation bullae, which have been recovered not only from Dvaravati in Thailand but also from Arikamedu and Chebrolu in Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh respectively.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Thus we can assume that Andhra had a part to play in the earlier Roman contacts with Southeast Asia.

An important discovery at Chansen in Thailand is an ivory comb engraved with Buddhist symbols. One face of the comb has a row of symbols: *triratna*, *pūrṇaḥaṭa*, umbrella, wheel and so on,

154 Coedes, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

155 M. Wheeler, 'Roman Contacts with India, Pakistan and Afghanistan', in *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond: Essays Presented to C.G.S. Crawford*, (ed.), W.F. Grimes, London, 1951, p. 359.

156 G. Coedes, 'Excavations at P'ong Tūk in Siam', *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1927, pp. 16-20. 157 See Appendix to chapter.

158 E. Lyons, 'Two Dvāravatī Figurines', *Journal of Siam Society*, Vol. 60, pp. 197-98.

above two running horses in Amaravati style, the other has a *hamsa* showing influence of a later Gupta style. Apparently, a second century date for the comb is clearly established. ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

From the same site, shards of stamped pottery were obtained. These are similar in technique and design motifs to the stamped pottery from Arikamedu. ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

There appears to have been some contact between these sites and the Buddhist sites of Andhra. Similar stamped shards, dating to the second and third centuries A.D., have been obtained in excavations at Beikthano in Burma. ⁽¹⁶¹⁾

This site has yielded not only portable material but also structural remains which indicate clearly cultural contacts and influence from the Buddhist sites of Andhra, especially Nagarjunakonda. ⁽¹⁶²⁾

Although the remains exhibit certain variations from the parallel remains in Andhra, we may assume that these structures are the vestiges of Buddhism introduced by the missionaries of the original Aparaseliya and Mahīśāsaka sects of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, who did not take to image-worship. ⁽¹⁶³⁾

An inscription at Nagarjunakonda which records the dedication of a shrine for the benefit of the monks of various regions, refers to those of Cilata (Kirāta), ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ an area identified with a province of Burma in which Beikthano was probably located. ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

The evidence of pottery

159 B. Bronsen and G.F. Dales, 'Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, 1968 and 1969: A Preliminary Report', *Asian Perspectives*, XV, pp. 15-46, and B. Bronsen, 'Excavations at Chansen, Thailand, Report to Fine Arts Dept., Bangkok, n.d....

160 E. Lyons, 'Dvāravatī, a Consideration of its Formative Period', in *Early Southeast Asia*, (eds.) R.B. Smith et al., Oxford, 1980, p. 354.

161 Aung Thaw, *Report on the Excavations at Beikthana*, Rangoon, 1968, pp. 28-48. 162 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-28. 163 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

164 J. Ph. Vogel, *E. I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 22-23. For the identification of Kirāta, see N. Ray, *Therevada Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 17-18.

165 Aung Thaw, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

beads, a clay sealing and various other portable remains suggests that traders may have had an important role in these contacts.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

The earliest epigraphs in Southeast Asia are engraved in a script which appears to have been derived from the Brāhmī of southern India, the ancestor of all modern non-Roman scripts on the mainland.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ The script of an inscription from Vo-canb in the Nha-trang district of Vietnam, dated to the third century A.D., shows the closest affinity with that of the contemporary Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh,⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ although a few characteristics appear to have affinity with that of the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

From the above evidence we may infer that Andhra Pradesh had commercial contacts of some significance with Southeast Asia. It is not possible to comment on the extent to which such links were due to the initiative of the traders from our region. From the nature of evidence available for the rest of India and from the preceding discussion especially the context of the evidence from Andhra Pradesh, we can assume that the role of the region in the maritime trade of the Bay of Bengal was intermediary.

166 Aung Thaw, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

167 H.L. Shorto, 'The Linguistic Protohistory of Mainland Southeast Asia', in *Early Southeast Asia*, pp. 273ff.

168 J. Filliozat, 'L'inscription dite "de Vō-canb", in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. IV, pp. 107-16, Pls. VII-XI.

169 J.G. de Casparis, '*Palaeography as an Auxiliary Discipline ...*' in *Early Southeast Asia*, pp. 382, 392 n.14.

The foregoing discussion of trade suggests that the different parts of Andhra Pradesh were linked by a network of routes, some of which also linked them to the rest of the sub-continent. Numerous *Pandukal* burials and ruins of Buddhist and other establishments have been found in different parts of the region.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ We can assume that these sites were accessible from different parts of Andhra Pradesh. The spatial distribution of the indigenous and Roman coins,⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and the uniformity in iron, ceramic and building technology and the movement of goods from different parts of Andhra Pradesh suggest that there were many routes of communication. We shall here briefly discuss the more important of these.⁽¹⁷²⁾

The principal trade route of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh ran from Barygaza via Paethana or Pratisthāna and Tagara and entered our region perhaps through the district of Nizamabad. Thereafter, it went southwards through the Medak-Hyderabad region to connect with the Krishna valley at Yelleswaram-Nagarjunakonda. From here the main route followed the course of the river itself, thus connecting the large towns, villages and Buddhist settlements, all on the southern bank.

This main route was fed by various sub-routes. On entering the state, one branch continued along the Godavari and ran southwards from Dhulikatta. It then proceeded through a number of important sites in Warangal and Khamman districts, coming closer to the river Krishna on the northern bank, near Dharanikota-Amaravati. From there it branched off into a number of routes heading towards Gudivada and Masulipatnam.

170 Map III. 171 See Chart II and Map IV.

172 As most of the evidence has already been discussed in the previous pages, I have avoided unnecessary repetition of references.

Trade routes in early Andhra Pradesh

Map V

On the main route, the region of Nagarjunakonda was a major intersection. A number of sub-routes branched off from here towards the coast. Another sub-route ran alongside the river to join the Pune-Kanchipuram route which will be discussed later. Since this network of routes forms the principal artery of the Kammaka-rāṭha or *Karma-rāṣṭra*, connecting the nuclear region of the lower Krishna valley with the rest of the Peninsula, we shall call it the *Kammaka-paṭha* or route. According to *The Periplus* this was the route along which merchandise was brought to Barygaza from the east coast. This was roughly the route Fleet tried to trace, based on archaeological and other data.⁽¹⁷³⁾ Working his way up from the east coast, he divided it into two sub-routes: the first starting from the region of Masulipatnam, and the second from the area of modern Vinukonda, join about twenty-five miles south-east of the area of Hyderabad and then proceed westwards through Tagara and Paethana to Barygaza.

Part of the *Kammaka-paṭha* seems to have existed as early as the fifth century B.C., as is suggested by a story in the *Sutta nipāta*.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Bāvari, a Brāhmaṇa ascetic, sent his students to the Buddha along the Dakṣiṇāpatha, the great southern highway. They began their journey from Alaka and went first to Paṭiṭṭhāna (Pratiṣṭhāna), thereafter proceeding to Kosambi in the Gangetic valley. If Alaka is Aśmaka, this route from southwest to northeast India would have begun

173 J.F. Fleet, 'Tagara; Ter', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1901, pp. 537-52.

174 Quoted in Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 23 ff.

from the area now represented by the district of Nizamabad at the head of the Andhra part of the Godavari valley. It is possible that this was the route from Pādāna or Bodhana in the Nizamabad district taken by a pilgrim who visited Sanchi during the early historical period.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ It was the link route between *Kammaka-patha* and *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.

There was another major route stretching from the lower Gangetic valley through Orissa into coastal Andhra and running further south into Tamil Nadu. All the branches of *Kammaka-patha* heading towards the sea intersect with this coastal route of the region of Maisolia discussed earlier. The growth of this route was crucial to the opening of the Godavari districts in the early historical period.

Part of this route has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It speaks of the journey of the Pāṇḍavas along the seashore to the land of the Kalingas, whence Yudhiṣṭhira headed towards Mahendragiri and the Godavari and after crossing the river reached the sea in the Draviḍa land.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ Mahendragiri is the mountain of the same name in the present-day Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh,⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ and the land beyond Godavari is deltaic Andhra. Khāravela, an early king of Kalinga, probably followed this route to the lower Krishna region on his conquests.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ In later centuries it became the principal route connecting Andhra Pradesh with the Gangetic valley.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

175 *Ellders List*, Nos. 278 and 616.

176 *Mbh.*, III, 117, 28.

177 N.L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*,

178 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 71 ff. London, 1899, p. 50.

179 It was the route of Samudragupta's exploits in South India as described by the Allahabad Pillar inscription. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 6 ff.

A third major route running from Pune to Kanchipuram passed through western Andhra on its way.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Beginning from Pune, it went to Admadnagar district and then towards the Golconda plateau. Following the rivers Bhima and Krishna it entered the Andhra part of the Krishna-Tungabhadra *doab*. It then proceeded to the west of the Nallamalai hills and reached the coast by following the course of the north Penner river.

We have already mentioned the waterways while discussing the nature of shipping in this region. The navigable Krishna with its tributaries has been used as an efficient means of communication. Ships not only plied along the coast but also departed for regions of Southeast Asia from north-east Andhra. Thus these communication networks and trade routes facilitated the growth of commerce and the early historical culture in Andhra Pradesh.

One of the limitations of trade in pre-industrial societies was the means of transport. Although waterways were preferred to land routes, due to the fewer hazards encountered, the two were often complementary. The evidence available for water transport has already been discussed with relation to Southeast Asia. In Andhra Pradesh, as elsewhere in the world, rivers served as 'moving roads'. The development of Nagarjunakonda and Dharanikota in this respect will be discussed in the next chapter on urban centres.

From the time of the Mauryan penetration, communication networks between Andhra Pradesh and northern India improved. The extension of Sātavāhana authority into the lower Krishna valley and the growth of numerous agrarian settlements in early historical times

180 Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

contributed to such networks within the region. *The Periplus* mentions 'many desert regions and great mountains' and 'great tracts without roads' to the east of Barygaza, which included some of the hazardous terrains of Andhra Pradesh.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ The same text refers to wagons which were used to transport goods from the Andhra districts.⁽¹⁸²⁾

The *Arthaśāstra* mentions that there were both cart-tracks and footpaths for shoulder-loads (*aṃśapatha*) leading to the south of the peninsula. The former were considered better as they facilitated the transport of goods on a large scale.⁽¹⁸³⁾ That different types of carts were used during this period can be inferred from contemporary sculptures at various Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ A light bullock cart, although built with solid wheels, appears to have been used for passenger conveyance.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ There were also heavily-built carts drawn by bullocks and horses.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ A panel from Nagarjunakonda depicts a cart with an open-box frame and spoked wheels, carrying a heavy load of goods. It is drawn by four horses.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ This category of carts appears to have been used for carrying merchandise over long distances.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

181 Sec. 50. 182 Sec. 51. 183 Ch. VII, 12.

184 For an account of the bullock-cart in earlier times, see P.K. Gode, 'The Indian Bullock-cart: its Pre-historic and Vedic Ancestors', *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 114-51.

185 Examples of this vehicle come from Goli and Amaravati, T.N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District*, Madras, 1929, pl. V-c.2 and d; C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 140, pl. X, fig. 19 and LXIII, Fig. 5C.

186 *Ibid.*, p. 140. 187 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1930-34, pl. XLIV-a.

188 For sketches of these carts, see K. Krishnamurty, *op. cit.*, Fig. XIV, Nos. 4, 5. His argument that the carts had solid wheels is not tenable. In the same book he refers to and illustrates spoked wheels, pp. 217-18 and Fig. XIV, Nos. 4, 5. His conclusion is based on toys. It is much easier to make clay toys with solid wheels. Spoked wheels are more efficient for transport and they were known even in the time of the *R̥g Veda*. This does not mean, however, that solid wheels were not used at all.

The reference in *The Periplus* may have been to this. Horse-drawn carts are also depicted at Amaravati, although their purpose is not clear.

In difficult terrain, caravans of pack animals may have been used for transporting goods.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ There is little other evidence for studying the nature of transport during this period. Even to this day in many rural parts of Andhra Pradesh, as in the rest of India, bullock carts are the popular and practical means of transport.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

Before we consider the organisation of trade in Andhra, the question of adverse balance of trade between India and the Roman empire needs to be discussed. Pliny refers to an annual drain of a hundred million sesterces to India, China and Arabia, with fifty-five to India alone.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ Tiberius evidently referred to India when he complained to the Senate in 22 A.D. that the empire was being drained of its treasures by foreign lands in exchange for trivial things.⁽¹⁹²⁾ The author of *The Periplus* not only refers to the import of gold and silver coins into Barygaza, but also advised merchants to take supplies of silver *denarii* and gold *aurei*.⁽¹⁹³⁾ This evidence has given support to the view that Rome experienced an overall adverse balance of trade with India during the first century A.D.

189 D.D. Kosambi, *op. cit.* p. 276.

190 Largescale research is being carried out in Bangalore to modify the carts.

191 XII, 41, 18.

192 R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 141.

193 Secs. 24 and 49.

Although Pliny's figures are impressive, the minimum property qualification for a senator was a million sesterces, while many were far richer.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Moreover, the sestertius was a bronze coin and it was also a measure of the value of land. It has also been shown that the wealth of merchants was rather insignificant compared with that of the landed aristocracy.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ It appears that Pliny's figures may not have been as significant as he imagined.

The debasement of Roman gold and silver coins from the time of Nero (54-68 A.D.) onwards, and the apparent Roman anxiety at the 'great outflow' of these metals, have been pointed out by Wheeler, who took Pliny's account at face value, to support his hypothesis that a decline in the import of coins occurred from the time of Nero. He further states that the increase in trade in the latter decades was marked by a replacement of bullion by consumable products.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ He does not, however, notice the fact that in contrast to the rest of the peninsula, the number of Roman coins increased in Andhra Pradesh. As pointed out in an earlier section, although the number of coins by themselves is not significant, their wide distribution is.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Due to the debasement of coins during the second and third centuries, merchants probably brought old *denarii*

194 R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1976, Ch. II. and A.H.M. Jones, 'Asian Trade in Antiquity', in *Island and the Trade of Asia, A Colloquium*, (ed), D.S. Richards, Oxford, 1970, p. 5.

195 A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 824-72. He shows that the total wealth of one of the leading merchants in Alexandria at this time was at most 275 pounds of gold as compared to the annual income of 1500 to 4000 pounds of gold that was common for territorial magnates.

196 Wheeler, *Rome Beyond....*, p. 141.

197 See above, p.78.

and *aurei* for trade with Andhra.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ From the reign of Constantine, the gold *solidus* was brought to Andhra. Also the occurrence of foreign coins is only archaeologically the most visible manifestation of an imbalance of trade. If one were to consider the evidence seriously, one would have to compare this with the evidence from southern Arabia which yielded hardly any Roman coinage. Yet the Roman Empire had an unfavourable balance of trade with this area also.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ Thus there is little justification for Wheeler's argument.

Although the imports were essentially luxury goods and despite anxiety about the economic viability of trade with India, the Romans considered it of sufficient importance to establish permanent trading agencies at important ports. Ptolemy has singled out as emporia certain coastal markets all along the coast from the Indus to the Ganges. As mentioned earlier, there was at least one *emporium* on the Andhra coast called Malange. These may have been pre-eminent commercial ports in various maritime districts, with rights and privileges similar perhaps to those referred to in *The Periplus* as *nomion emporion* (lawful market) of Adulis, Muza and Apologos, or *enthemon emporion* (privileged market) like Calliena, the modern Kalyan near Bombay.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ It is likely that at these places, agencies of Graeco-Roman traders were posted.⁽²⁰¹⁾ They seem to have

198 A.H.M. Jones, 'Asian Trade in Antiquity', p. 5. He refers to a Palmyrene inscription praising a caravan leader for contributing 300 gold *denarii* to the expenses of a trip in 193 A.D.

199 Raschke, *op. cit.* pp 632, 756, n. 486.

200 Wheeler, 'Rome Beyond....', pp. 124-25. 201 *Ibid.*

issued coins to supplement their own exchequer. About fifty-five coins from the Akkenpalli hoard and one from the Nasthulapur hoard are near-perfect imitations of Roman coins.⁽²⁰²⁾ Just as the Syrians and Greeks were employed as artisans in the Mediterranean world, local artisans may have been employed in India. So far, however, no site similar to Arikamedu has been discovered in Andhra.

The evidence for foreign mariners and traders located in our region is not forthcoming. There is, however, some data on the local mariners. Inscriptions datable to the first and second centuries A.D. from a *Vihāra* at Guntupalli record gifts by a *mahānāvika* or master mariner who was a resident of Mahānāgaparvata, which has been identified with the findspot of the epigraphs.⁽²⁰³⁾ Another inscription of the third century A.D., from Ghantasala records a gift to the local Buddhist *stūpa* by the wife of a *mahanavika* who is described as the son of a *gahapati* or respectable householder.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ There were probably more of them located in the coastal trading centres and they appear to have formed an affluent group of people.

We have discussed earlier the growth of artisans in relation to crafts and commodities. As for the distribution of trade of the products, we find a guild system similar to that prevalent in

202 P.L. Gupta, 'Roman Coins....', pp. 63-65.

203 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. V, p. 56.

204 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-4.

north India.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ The extension of this institution into Andhra is associated with trade, and with political and religious links with the Gangetic valley. These guilds became the nucleus of urban centres,⁽²⁰⁶⁾ not only in the organisation of craft production but also as banks to finance industry. There is little evidence on the actual working of guilds. Inscriptions from various parts of Andhra record donations by *āvesanis* or foremen of artisans.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ An inscription from Nagarjunakonda mentions the erection of a memorial pillar for an *āvesani*, called *Mūlabhūta*.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ Another inscription from the same place refers to a certain *kulika-pamukha*, interpreted as the head of a guild.⁽²⁰⁹⁾ *Kulika* can also be interpreted as an artisan.⁽²¹⁰⁾ So the terms *āvesani* and *kulika-pamukha* referred to the heads of guilds who performed various functions including banking and trusteeship.⁽²¹¹⁾

While the artisans themselves may have been responsible for the distribution of products to a certain extent, with increased commerce, a new social development took place: the growth of a market community. There are numerous inscriptions of the early historical period, recording the donations made by merchants (*vanīya*).⁽²¹²⁾ From

- 205 About the extension of this system to the rest of India, see R. Thapar, 'The Impact of Trade c. 100 B.C. - 300 A.D. in India', *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf Memorial Volume*, (ed.) Horst Krüger, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 30-38.
- 206 Relevant sections 207 *Lliders List* No. 1298; Burgess, *op. cit.* in Chs. IV and VI. p. 110 f.
- 208 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV. 209 *Ibid.*, XXXIV, p. 209 ff.
- 210 *Ibid.* 211 D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 165 and R.C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 33.
- 212 C. Sivaramamurty, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 298, No. 103; *Lliders List* Nos. 1213, 1214, 1229, 1230, 1239, 1278, 1281, 1285 and 1292; B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-91; S. Sankaramarayan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 29 ff; M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on an Early Buddhist Stūpa at Kesanapalli*, pp. 4 ff.

the evidence of the inscriptions, it appears that some of these merchants belonged to the *gahapati* category as well. They probably emerged out of the *gahapati* class. From modern analogy, it is not surprising that, given the opportunity, the sons of various prominent householders who controlled land became involved in trade. An inscription recording donations by the wives of merchants (*unniyini*) refers to the wife of a rich caravan leader or *ḍhanika-sāthanikā*.⁽²¹³⁾ We can assume that some of the merchants had caravans engaged in trade. They were centred in *nigamas* or market centres. One category of these merchants known as *setṭhis* was quite prominent. The word itself derives from the Vedic *sreṣṭhin*, and referred to a city-man, a wealthy merchant, a foreman of a guild or a banker.⁽²¹⁴⁾ Since all the references to them in Andhra Pradesh are associated with towns, they were somewhat like the *nagarasetṭhis* of the *Jātakas*.⁽²¹⁵⁾ They appear to have been very rich, and some of them even maintained Buddhist institutions.⁽²¹⁶⁾ Apart from trade and finance, they also performed social and civic duties such as the supervision of religious establishments. The nature of the *setṭhis*' place in the local power structure will be discussed in a later chapter.⁽²¹⁷⁾

They were central to the banking of the period. Inscriptions refer to permanent endowments (*akḥayanivi* = *akṣava-nīvi*) to guilds which acted as banks.⁽²¹⁸⁾ These banks, apart from the obvious functions of receiving and lending money at interest, also took custody of deposits of property for safety, and acted as the executors of certain trusts and endowments. Their importance as urban institutions will also be discussed in the next chapter.

213 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 299, No. 108.

214 *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P.T.S.), pp. 2-3. 215 *Jātakas*, *op. cit.*, Vols. I, p. 478; II, pp. 225-287.

216 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1ff. 217 Ch. VI, pp.

218 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 208 ff.

The above discussion shows that questions of commerce are significant in understanding the formation of early historical culture in Andhra Pradesh. The development of long distance trade with regions outside, whether the Gangetic valley or the Roman empire, was important in the introduction of new ideas and such a commercial development had crucial bearing on the local processes of power. In certain respects, traders accompanied by Buddhist monks, opened up Andhra Pradesh to the rest of India.

The commodities of trade had no important implication for the subsistence pattern, except at some of the important urban centres. Prestige items such as diamonds, gold, gems and Northern Black Polished Ware were the essence of the beginnings of long-distance trade with North India, while similar items and cotton were the exports to the Roman empire. Similarly, in the subsequent centuries, table-ware, lamps, wine, glass bangles and beads, and gold were imports from the Roman empire. Some of the Roman objects found in Andhra may have been gifts to local rulers and businessmen. The Roman empire, however, does not appear to have suffered an adverse balance of trade.

The extension of Sātavāhana authority and coinage into the coastal districts was simultaneous with the growth of maritime trade in the region, and the very distribution of coins along the principal trade routes points to a monetary economy facilitating essentially long-distance rather than local trade. While coinage was introduced during the *Pandukal* times, it was only during the first century A.D. that local coinage came into vogue. It remained,

however, superstructural. Its advent in the region was associated with the beginnings of long-distance trade with North India. There is no evidence to show that it had entered the domestic economy. Its association with long-distance trade is further testified to by the Sātavāhana coins which were issued to further trade with the Roman empire and Southeast Asia.

Coinage of precious metals probably had a limited use and was hoarded or converted into prestige goods. Thus Roman coins were used not only as bullion but also as ornaments and carried the prestige value so typical of foreign or exotic objects in the ancient societies. Coins of base metals on the other hand facilitated local transactions within the context of long-distance trade. Thus coinage never penetrated the agrarian sector nor created an economic infrastructure to sustain its usage. It is not then surprising that it gradually disappeared in the subsequent centuries with the diminishing importance of the region in the long-distance trade of the sub-continent.

Although evidence for monetary uses is available, it is virtually impossible to understand the complex transactions of gift-exchange and barter. Nor is it possible to speculate on other forms of money used at this time. Beads, both in the *Pandukal* and early historical times must have had some transactional value. Pottery such as the Northern Black Polished Ware and Russet coated wares probably had similar use. Barter as a form of exchange must have played an important role in everyday life.

During the second and third centuries A.D., Andhra Pradesh became part of the wider trade networks of the Bay of Bengal. This was

accompanied by an increasing knowledge of the region by traders from outside and the growth of trading centres and ports. While some of the trade routes incipient during the *Pandukal* times became more prominent now, new ones also came into existence. These routes, significantly related to the topographical features and early agrarian settlements, continue to be the main arteries of Andhra Pradesh even to this day.

With increasing commerce and the spread of Buddhism, new social groups evolved. They were similar to the groups of northern India at the time of Buddha. These merchants and bankers were essentially derived from the local landed élite who, having benefited from the results of the intensification of agriculture, invested the surplus or 'primitive capital' in trade when the opportunities were there. Some of them became full-time specialists and not only had civic functions in the urban centres but also proved to be influential in the local power structure.

During this period of agricultural intensification and expansion and increasing commerce, there appeared a hierarchy in the settlement pattern consisting of market-towns, ports and regal-ritual centres. The following chapter deals with the growth of these in the context of urbanism.

APPENDIX

- A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde, d'après des documents nouveaux*, 2 vols., Paris, 1900-05. I, pp. 77-84.
- S. Levi, "Les 'marchands de mer' et leur rôle dans le bouddhisme primitif", *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient*, 1929, pp. 19-39.

Standing Buddhas of this type have been discovered at the following sites:

at Dong-duong (Quang-ham) in Vietnam. Cf. V. Rougier, *Nouvelles découvertes chames au Quang-ham*, *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, Paris, 1912, pp. 212-13, and A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1927, p. 197;

in eastern Java. Cf. W. Cohn, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 28;

at P'ong Tūk in Thailand. Cf. G. Coedes, 'Excavations at P'ong Tūk in Siam', *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Leiden, 1927, pp. 16-20; and by the same excavator, "The Excavations at P'ong Tūk and Their Importance for the Ancient History of Siam", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 21, 1928, pp. 204-7;

At Sampaga in Sulawesi. Cf. F.D.K. Bosch, "Summary of Archaeological Work in Netherlands India in 1933", *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. 8, 1933, p. 35, and by the same excavator, "Het bronzen Buddha-beeld van Celebes westkust", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kusten en Wetenschappen*, 73, 1933, pp. 495-514;

at Seguntang in Palambang (Sumatra). Cf. Schnitger, F.M., *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Supplement to Vol. 35 of *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Leiden, 1937, pl.I, *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, XV, 3, 1937, pp. 89 ff.

There is yet another Amarāvātī Buddha hardly ever referred to, from Bathē in South Vietnam, cf. L. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Delta du Mékong*, Vol. II, Paris, 1960, 433, p. 203, pl.LXXXV.

For subsequent studies of the same statues see M.L. d'Ancona, "Amarāvātī, Ceylon and the Three Imported Bronzes", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 34, 1952, pp. 1-17; P. Dupont, "Les Buddhas dits d'Amarāvātī en Asie du Sud-Est", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 49, 1954, pp. 631-36; J.G. de Casparis "New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 24, 1961, pp. 241-48; G. Coedes, *Les Etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1964, p. 42; S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo, 1966, pp. 191-95.

Although the excavators ascribed these statues to the Amarāvātī school of Buddhist art, subsequent researchers have classified some of them under Sri Lankan and Gupta styles. A systematic analysis of all the available data is still awaited.

Chapter IV

THE NATURE OF URBANISM

/Būdha/-Dhama....magala-nagaravara-girivara-
nāigama/vara/-bahu-deya....karako upāsako
Chadasiri... = Skt: Būdha-Dharma-Saṅgha-
maṅgala-agaravara-girivara-negamavara-bahu-
deyadhama-kāraka-upāsaka-Chadasiri =
Chadasiri, a lay Buddhist, is the bestower
of many religious gifts at various prominent
cities, hills and market-towns in connection
with the celebration of religious ceremonies
or festivals in honour of the Buddha, Dharma
and Saṅgha.

E.I., XXXV, pp. 7-10.

In recognition of the attributes of any civilization, the importance of urban centres has been emphasized to different degrees by various scholars. This is partly due to the different conceptions of the word 'civilization' itself.⁽¹⁾ In South Asia, the prehistoric urban centres of the Indus plains as well as those of early historical times seem to have played a very important role in contemporary cultures.⁽²⁾ Very few scholars studying this region, however, have addressed themselves to the conceptualization of urbanism or to understanding urbanization as a process. The influence of the ten element (or trait) criterion

- 1 See for instance, R. Redfield, 'Civilizations as Things Thought About', in *Human Nature and the Study of Society: The Papers of Robert Redfield*, (ed.) M.P. Redfield, Chicago, 1962, pp.364-375; Pedro Armillas, 'The Concept of Civilization', *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 16, pp. 218-221.
- 2 G.L. Possehl (ed.) *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, New Delhi, 1979; A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, Simla, 1973; R.S. Sharma, 'Iron and Urbanization in the Ganga Basin, I.H.R., Vol. I, No. 1, 1974, pp. 98-103.

of Childe⁽³⁾ on Indian scholars is obvious, and the nature of the archaeological evidence from North India seems to have moulded this line of thought.⁽⁴⁾ While such an extension of ideas has hardly contributed to the history of urbanism in India, there have been no attempts at all to do so in studies on early South India.

The relative importance of urban centres as socio-cultural contexts can be understood only through detailed local and regional studies.⁽⁵⁾ Such an analysis of the regional pattern of urbanism would help in making generalizations at a wider level for South Asia. Needless to say, the following data have been subjected to conceptual rigour, and the attempt to emphasize the regional dimension of historical process has been continued from the earlier chapters. It is not the purpose of this chapter to deal with the rise of urban centres, which has been dealt with elsewhere in this thesis, along with the theoretically-related question of the processes of power in the region under study.⁽⁶⁾ Here we shall deal exclusively with urbanism in early Andhra Pradesh in order to delineate its characteristics. The term 'urban' has a number of referents.⁽⁷⁾ It may refer to a physical form: city versus countryside. It could denote a cultural pattern: urbanism versus ruralism as a way of life. The important meaning used here, however, refers to a structural entity: the city as a complex of institutions performing certain functions within the context of a larger society.

3 V.G. Childe, 'The Urban Revolution', *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 21, Pt. 1, 1950, pp. 3-17.

4 D.K. Chakrabarti, 'The Concept of Urban Revolution in the Indian Context', *Purātattva*, No. 6, 1971, pp. 27-32; A. Ghosh, *The City...*, pp. 18-31; R.S. Sharma, 'Decay of Gangetic Towns in Gupta and Post-Gupta Times', *I.H.C.*, 1972, pp. 92-104.

5 Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 364 ff.

6 Ch. VI.

7 I am grateful to Indrani Ganguly for a number of useful suggestions.

The nature of the evidence is rather limited. Only one urban centre, Nagarjunakonda, has been systematically excavated. It is the only area where horizontal excavations have been undertaken. The report for the historical period has not yet been published.⁽⁸⁾ The fact that the site is now completely submerged by the waters of the Krishna, due to a masonry dam, ruled out field observation. Amaravati, a site which has engrossed archaeologists over the past two centuries, has only vertical excavations. The recent attempts undertaken to establish a definite chronology of the area are not fully published. There are other places in Andhra where excavations have been conducted to establish vertical sequences. In the following pages, we shall initially discuss the material available for each site⁽⁹⁾ and then attempt to make some deductions.

For its role as a centre from which cultural influences permeated the southern parts of India - as a market centre which had a commanding position over the trade routes of the peninsula, and as a political centre which had a crucial bearing on the history of deltaic Andhra - Amaravati-Dharanikota, the ancient Dhānyakataka, was the most important urban centre of early South India.

- 8 The first volume, already published, deals with the prehistoric period only. See R. Subrahmanyam et al., *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi, 1975. Brief reports and observations have been made in the annual numbers of *I.A.A.R.* between 1954-55 and 1960-61.
- 9 I have attempted field observations at some of the sites and have incorporated them into the text. I am grateful to Professor V.N. Misra and other archaeologists from Deccan College, Pune, who trained me in this technique.

Dhānyakaṭaka is located on the right bank of the Krishna, on a levee which is not subject to flooding during the rains. According to local traditions recorded towards the end of the eighteenth century, this ancient settlement is supposed to have extended about $5\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres in length.⁽¹⁰⁾ The limit to the west was the village of Muttayapalem, and to the east the small pagoda at Pedantiyamnan. The southern limit may have been Nakkadevaradinne, at a distance of a few hundred metres from the Krishna, and in the north the river formed the boundary. This area skirting the river is open, and consists of one of the most fertile tracts of South India.⁽¹¹⁾

Dhānyakaṭaka has been translated as a valley or town or royal camp or emporium of rice.⁽¹²⁾ The normal meaning of *kaṭaka* is camp. The place surrounding the 'town' in the lower Krishna valley probably produced abundant rice with the intensification of agriculture in the region, and the 'town' became quite early on an important market place for rice. This was the staple food and it probably was exported to the inland districts as well as to the Mediterranean.⁽¹³⁾ In the seventh century A.D., Hsüan-tsang observed that *An-to-lo* (Andhra) and the *Te-na-ka-che-ka* country (Dhānyakaṭaka) had fertile soil and that the latter yielded abundant crops.⁽¹⁴⁾

10 See. J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta* (Reprint), Varanasi, 1970, pp. 13 ff, and the Map on Plate II.

11 More than two thousand years after the beginnings of the town, the same considerations led Rāja Vasureddi Venkatadri Nayudu, the zamindar of Chintapalli to change his residence to Amaravati. *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XV, May 1823, pp. 464-478.

12 Tāranātha translates the name as a 'rice heap', see A. Schiefner, *Taranathas Geschichte des Buddhismus*, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 142, n.2.

13 Ch. II, pp 31-32; Ch. III, p. 68.

14 S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (Reprint), New York, 1968, pp. 217-227.

The modern town of Amaravati was built on the site of an ancient village which was part of the early Dhānyakataka. It was here that the famous *Mahastūpa*, the biggest *stūpa* in Andhra Pradesh, and some other Buddhist antiquities were found.⁽¹⁵⁾ Although known for well over two centuries, excavations of this place are still quite inadequate. A chronology of the *Mahastūpa* was established only a few years ago.⁽¹⁶⁾ The disadvantages facing the ancient Dhānyakataka as an archaeological site are many. The place was pillaged for stone and bricks when the new village was established by Venkatadri Nayudu. Much of the archaeologically rich area was out of the way of mainstream Andhra history in subsequent centuries, the area around Dhānyakataka has been one of the most thickly populated. This makes it very difficult for the Archaeological Survey of India to conduct any large-scale excavations in the area. Such an effort would involve a massive resettlement of people and is economically not feasible. Moreover, much of the Survey's resources had to be diverted to the salvaging of monuments which were threatened with flooding, owing to the construction of the dams so essential for facing present-day problems of agriculture and power supply. Based on whatever excavations have been conducted, we shall try to understand the nature of urbanism at Dhānyakataka.

There are numerous *Pandukal* sites in and around the Dhānyakataka area.⁽¹⁷⁾ Although a few urn-burials have been discovered

15 J. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-26.

16 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, pp. 60-74.

17 H. Sarkar and S.P. Nainar, *Amaravati*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 5.

below one of the smaller *stūpas*,⁽¹⁸⁾ the lowest levels of the nearby citadel and the *mahāstūpa* site yielded only material ascribable to the *Pandukal* culture. As mentioned before, the sites in Andhra Pradesh, as elsewhere in the peninsula where material remains of the *Pandukal* tradition are encountered, have not yielded any architectural remains in the habitation strata.⁽¹⁹⁾ While these sites may have been camps periodically revisited, there is no indication of their being permanent settlements.

This is at least the case with Period IA at the *Mahāstūpa*. During this period pits were dug into natural soil and these yielded Black and Red Ware and Northern Polished Wares in association with iron.⁽²⁰⁾ An important find of this level is a fragment of a flattish dish of Black and Red Ware, the inner surface of which was roughly incised in *Brāhmī* letters reading..... *thusa pāta*....⁽²¹⁾ It represents the earliest extant writing from the site, and the letters are similar to the ones on Aśokan edicts. This period has been attributed to the fourth century B.C.

Period IB is marked by large quantities of Northern Black Polished ware of all shades, Black and Red ware and Black Polished wares.⁽²²⁾ Associated with finds were granite rail uprights and some limestone bars. Nearby was an oblong structure built of bricks and limestone encasing slabs. The whole of Period I represents the Mauryan phase at the *Mahāstūpa* site. Among the hoards of silver

18 A. Rea, *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1908-09, pp. 88-91.

19 Ch. II, pp. 14-15. 20 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, p. 65.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 66 and Pl. VII. 22 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

punch-marked coins datable to the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods discovered in coastal Andhra, the largest hoard came from Dhānyakataka.⁽²³⁾ There is also an Aśokan pillar edict from this place.⁽²⁴⁾ Thus Mauryan penetration of Andhra Pradesh in the 3rd century B.C. is definitely established. This led to a number of changes in the subsequent centuries. Around this time a citadel appears in the neighbourhood of the Buddhist structures.⁽²⁵⁾ It was surrounded on all four sides by a massive embankment of earth, bricks and stone. It measures about 600 metres on each side and it is a little shorter and more irregular on the northeast, due to a curve in the river bank. Some of the residential areas were probably outside the citadel area as well.

We are further informed about the early orientation of the place by excavations across the western side of the ramparts of this citadel, which revealed the remains of a navigational channel and riverine harbour.⁽²⁶⁾ The earliest phase is datable to the third and second centuries B.C. The last centuries before the turn of the present era were marked by the digging of the navigational channel and the subsequent raising of a wooden wharf abutting it. The construction of this harbour is also associated with finds of numerous glass bangles and a great variety of earrings, which were probably obtained through long-distance trade.

23 Ch. III, Chart II, Map IV.

24 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, pp. 40-43.

25 For brief reports on the remains from Dhānyakataka discussed in the following paragraphs, see *I.A.A.R.*, 1962-63, pp. 1-2; 1963-64, pp. 2-4; 1964-65, pp. 1-4.

26 *Ibid.*

A sculptured stele from Amaravati, belonging to the beginning of the second century B.C., depicts a view of the place, something rarely found in Indian archaeological sites.⁽²⁷⁾ The inscription on it refers to the *goṣṭhi* called Vanda at Dhāṃnekada or Dhānyakataka. The sculptured part depicts a number of structures including walled *caityas* and a building with a staircase. It further reveals the river Krishna enclosed by an embankment, which suggests the existence of a riverine harbour, and this is corroborated by the archaeological evidence already discussed above.

The commercial orientation of Dhānyakataka has already been discussed in an earlier chapter. Inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries frequently mention the *nigama* of Dhānyakataka.⁽²⁸⁾ The earlier remains (Period I) of hearths mainly along the banks of the channel were followed in Period II by regular activities as represented by post-holes and drains or cut channels.⁽²⁹⁾ This marks the beginning of permanent habitation. Thus, from the evidence discussed above, we can identify the *nigama* of the inscriptions with Dhānyakataka. The etymology of the term *nigama* has been discussed already in an earlier chapter, and it can be taken in the sense of 'meeting', 'coming together'.⁽³⁰⁾ In the light of this evidence, the place can be understood as an incipient market town. As well as the numerous articles that were probably exchanged or traded,

27 A. Ghosh and H. Sirkar, 'Beginnings of Sculptured Art in South-East India: A Stele from Amaravati', *A.I.*, Nos. 20 and 21, pp. 168-178.

28 R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 258-275, Nos. 4, 5 and 15.

29 See n. 25 above.

30 Ch. II, pp. 28ff

we have evidence from inscriptions that social groups such as *sethis* and *āvesanis* already existed here before the turn of the present era.⁽³¹⁾ This was also the centre of growth of the local power structure.⁽³²⁾ It is not surprising that the place should yield evidence of the earliest coinage of the region.⁽³³⁾

Although the present evidence from the *Mahāstūpa* pre-dates that of the habitational area, the development of the two is likely to have been simultaneous. Early activity at Dhānyakaṭaka can be understood as follows. This place and its surroundings were regularly visited by the builders of the *Pandukal* burials, either for fresh pastures or for swidden agriculture. This was probably one of the important meeting places of the indigenous nomads and the representatives of Mauryan authority. They probably exchanged gold, beads of precious and semi-precious stone, gems and such other portable items, with the traders of north India. This barter may well have taken place after the winter monsoons, when the movement of pastoral people was easier. Moreover, the oppressive heat of the inland districts and the scarcity of water could have driven them to the more hospitable areas in the lower reaches of the Krishna. When the Mauryan soldiers and traders arrived in this region, they probably camped here to pass the summer before returning to the north. In the meanwhile, the beginnings of exchange were made between the local people and the northerners.

31 See Ch. III for evidence on commerce at Dhānyakaṭaka.

32 Ch. VI.

33 P.L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1960-61, pp. 4-34.

From the Aśokan pillar and the early phase of the *Mahāstūpa*, we may assume that Buddhism was already becoming important. As mentioned in Chapter II, sedentarization of the *Pandukal* people had commenced. In the following two centuries, Dhānyakāṭaka evolved into a reasonably large settlement and became an important political centre. (34)

Buddhism evolved to become dominant for some time in the whole of Andhra Pradesh and in the rest of South India. (35) The construction of a riverport not only facilitated trade by making use of the river, but also made it possible to receive stone for the buildings, floated down from the quarries of the upper districts. Such was the nature of the early phase of the first and foremost urban centre of Andhra Pradesh. All these developments took place well before the beginnings of commerce with the Roman empire.

The second phase comprising Periods III to VI witnessed hectic activity at Dhānyakāṭaka. The use of fired brick was introduced. (36) The earlier wooden frame of the wharf was replaced with brick during Period III, that is the first and second centuries A.D. Apart from this evidence, the construction of drains and soak-pits reflects a certain amount of planning. Subsequent periods witnessed extensive additions and repairs to the embankment and wharf, and numerous structural activities mark this phase. Associated finds include imported glass ornaments, a variety of pottery, including Rouletted ware and Mediterranean amphorae, indicating commercial

34 Ch.VI. pp.113-117.

35 Ch. V, pp.144 ff; K.R. Subrahmanium, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the History of Andhra*, Madras, 1932; B.S.L.H. Rao, *Religion in Andhra*, Guntur, 1973, pp. 51-113.

36 I.A.A.R., 1962-63, p. 2; 1963-64, pp. 2-3; 1964-65, pp. 1-4.

involvement in the Indo-Roman trade. A number of later Sātavāhana coins and trade items indicate the importance of this urban centre in the long distance trade of the region.

At the *Māhastūpa*, evidence of excavations shows that the monument reached the peak of constructional activity during the first and second centuries A.D.⁽³⁷⁾ A good number of copper, potin and lead coins of the Sātavāhanas have been discovered.⁽³⁸⁾ Numerous sherds of Rouletted ware, Red Polished ware and Polished Black and Red wares have been unearthed. This place also witnessed the most extensive constructional work of its time in Andhra Pradesh, only to be surpassed by Nagarjunakonda in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

We have discussed in Chapter III what we know of Dhānyakāṭaka's commercial role. Artisans of various crafts, numerous traders and heads of households made donations here. The first two groups formed guilds which became important urban institutions. It was also the point where all the trade-routes of Andhra Pradesh converged. Traders and pilgrims flocked to it from various parts of the region. The later Sātavāhanas appear to have made it their eastern capital, and this contributed not only to the growth of trading activities in the region but also to its evolution as a dominant urban centre. With increased wealth and patronage, Buddhism flourished. Cultural traits were disseminated from here to the rest of the lower Krishna valley. The beginnings of intensification of agriculture in the

37 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, pp. 61 ff; P. Stern *et al.*, *Evolution du style Indien d'Amaravati*, Paris 1961, pp. 86 ff; N.S. Ramaswami, *Amaravati*, Hyderabad, 1975.

38 See I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, Delhi, 1980.

preceding centuries made these developments possible. There came into existence a large number of urban dwellers who took no part in the production of food. In turn, more and more lands were brought under cultivation and an increasing number of new settlements evolved.⁽³⁹⁾ The general growth of population discussed in an earlier chapter also marked the increase in population in Dhānyakāṭaka and its hinterland. In the third and fourth centuries, however, Nagarjunakonda under the Ikṣvākus became more prominent, and Dhānyakāṭaka was virtually relegated to a secondary place, though it continued as an important urban centre.

Nagarjunakonda is the most extensively excavated site in Andhra Pradesh.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The construction of a gigantic masonry dam, the world's largest, at the head of the Nagarjunakonda valley, led to an unprecedented programme to save the archaeological relics from being submerged. The location is on the right bank of the river Krishna in the Palnad taluk of Guntur district. The valley measures about 23 km². It is secluded, with steep hills on three sides and the river on the fourth. The valley is named after the hill-fort to the north of the valley, which is of medieval origin. Inscriptions⁽⁴¹⁾ of our period refer to the heart of the valley as *Siripavate Vijayapura* or the city of victory of the Sripavata which was the ancient name of the Nallamalai mountain ranges, providing a natural fortification on three sides of the valley. One of these offshoots, the Phirangimotu hill, projects along the north-eastern corner of the valley as a promontory. The river itself winds round it before continuing on its easterly course.

39 Ch. II, Map III.

40 The following account is based on the reports in *I.A.A.R.*, 1954 to 1960-61.

41 Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda valley are published in *E.I.*, Vols. XX, XXI, XXXIII-XXXVI. For details see bibliography.

The result is a triangular pan constituting the valley, with a significant series of morphological steps formed because of erosion. At the northern part of the valley is the Nagarjuna hill about 1.8 km in length, devoid of any early historical remains. The majority of the early historical sites are confined to an area constituting about a third of the valley, roughly $7\frac{1}{2}$ km². This area is below the 120 metre contour. The valley slopes from the south towards the north and north-west. While a number of streams drain the valley, a long perennial nullah marks the eastern side of it. To the northwest of the valley, we have an area covering roughly one square kilometre which abounds in early historical remains. This is the ancient Vijayapurī. It is here that we shall look for urbanism in relation to the hinterland of the rest of the valley.

The valley has extensive Stone Age remains.⁽⁴²⁾ The neolithic phase of the third millenium B.C. witnessed the development of rudimentary carpentry and cultivation, the domestication of animals and the art of making pottery. Although evidence for dwellings is forthcoming, sedentary life has not yet begun. The semi-subterranean dwellings, innumerable pits of various shapes and dimensions and a cemetery with two levels of burials need not by themselves indicate sedentary people. These features are common among nomadic people as well. The neolithic people of the valley were semi-sedentary pastoral people with rudimentary agriculture.

42 K.V. Soundara Rajan, 'Studies in the Stone Age of Nagarjunakonda and its Neighbourhood', *A.I.*, No. 14, pp. 49-113.

Archaeological sites—Nagarjunakonda

Map VI

The people of the *Pandukal* sites of the valley datable to the second half of the first millenium B.C. next entered the area with their iron technology and the typical Black and Red ware. Although the remains of a total number of nineteen individuals have been recovered from fifteen burials, there is no indication of any habitational area. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, these *Pandukal* builders were nomadic people. Their remains have been found on the fringes of the 120 m contour. This is in keeping with the general pattern of the *Pandukal* sites, which were predominantly on the fringes of arable tracts.

The earliest historical evidence in the valley is the coinage of the later Sātavāhanas.⁽⁴³⁾ It is from pre-Ikṣvāku levels and testifies to the importance of the valley in the second century A.D. A contemporary find of importance is a baked clay coin-mould, identified as that of a silver portrait issue belonging to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The legend on the mould, which is presumably in early Telugu, and the fact that all the issues in the two hoards of Sātavāhana coins not only belong to a single type (circular with the elephant and *ujjain* symbol), but are also of the same size and weight standards, points to the existence of a local mint.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The importance of the site is further supported by a limestone pillar, with an inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi. No relics of any importance are ascribable to this period, the second and early third centuries A.D. There are many pre-Ikṣvāku deposits in the valley, including one below the Ikṣvāku rampart. The publication of the full

43 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, pp. 56 ff.

44 I.K. Sarma, 'A Coin-Mould-Piece from Nagarjunakonda Excavations', *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. XVI, No.1, 1973, pp. 89-94.

45 *Ibid.*

report of the excavations can help us to evaluate the site further for this period. Vijayapurī⁽⁴⁶⁾ itself appears to derive its name from Vijaya Sātakaṇi of the above-mentioned inscription, who probably founded it and named it after himself. Dhānyakaṭaka, however, was the chief centre of Sātavāhana authority in the region under the later rulers and the contemporary Vijayapurī appears to be a small incipient settlement with commercial orientation and some administrative role.

It was with the establishment of the Ikṣvākus as a ruling dynasty that Nagarjunakonda became an important place. The valley has four notable fortifications. Of these the citadel, datable to the Ikṣvāku period, is the most important. It was from here that the first local dynasty of Andhra Pradesh ruled. The walls of the rampart roughly enclose a trapezoidal area of 915 x 610 metres. It runs at a distance of 107 metres from the river on the west and on the south extends on to a hillock about 52 metres high. On the plains it reaches a height of about five metres. Except in the hillock region, the rampart was encompassed by a moat $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres deep and varying in width from 23 metres to about 40 metres. Apart from two main gateways on the eastern and western sides, there was a narrow postern gate on the northern side. This was either an emergency gate or meant for access to the stadium, burning ghat and other important buildings which were immediately outside the rampart walls.

The rampart was built in two phases. The earlier phase was built with morum or mud about 25 metres wide at the base. On the riverside it was built over an earlier occupational deposit with a floor and a few hearths. The later phase is of burnt brick, and is

46 H. Sarkar, *E.I.*, XXXVI, p. 274.

Nagarjunakonda: the Citadel and the adjacent habitational area

Map VII

about 3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres thick. It was either over the existing wall or on a secondary filling over it. Both the phases yielded a uniform pottery of the Ikṣvāku period. Most of the religious buildings adjacent to the rampart, however, are comparatively late. At the time these structures were built, the moat was already filled to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres with debris from the second phase of the wall. This post rampart layer yielded the coins of the second and third Ikṣvāku rulers of the late 3rd century A.D., and typical pottery and terracotta figurines of the period. It appears that the time lapse between the three phases must have been very short. The mud rampart was probably a construction of the Sātavāhana times, while the second brick phase was constructed after the Ikṣvākus came to power. The ditch, however, was not maintained in the latter phase. This may be due to the natural fortifications that the surrounded hills afforded. A clear picture cannot be established until the complete excavation reports are published. An outwork or barbican of a brick wall about 2 metres in height and a metre in width has been built immediately outside the western gateway.

The remains inside the citadel consist of baths, cisterns, square wells or soak pits, barracks, stables and residential buildings. A bathing establishment with two ornamental tanks with underground drains and a number of wells and paved cisterns has been excavated near some residential structures, possibly a palace complex. A thick brick wall on its west appears to be a deliberate partition for the royal buildings. There is another square stepped tank with an original superstructure. The building was adorned inside with lamps. The construction included a very long covered underground drain for diverting any overflow of water. There were other tanks, wells and

soak-pits. The place yielded numerous portable antiquities and a quantity of pottery.

Another impressive structure is a huge oblong stadium which is outside the north-west corner of the citadel. It is oriented along the cardinal points and is built of burnt bricks. The arena is about 95 metres long, 79 metres wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres deep. It is enclosed on all four sides by flights of steps which have treads 0.6 m wide. There is a pavilion on the west which showed three phases of detailed construction. A drain 0.6 m wide emptied out the rain-water from the arena. Another structure revealed during excavations on the river bank to the north of the citadel is the remains of a cremation-ground.

Rubble structures of residential character have been found all over the valley, but their concentration is to the east of the citadel. They were probably approached from the eastern gateway. Excavations revealed mostly their enclosure walls. One of them measured 76 x 61 metres. This was the eastern part of Vijayapurī mentioned in the inscriptions. The general layout depicts a certain amount of planning. There were streets, lanes and by-lanes which measured 7.6, 4.5 and 2.4 metres in width respectively. One of the sculptures in a monastery reveals a procession with three elephants standing side by side.⁽⁴⁷⁾ They are followed by horses and a large number of foot soldiers. The sculptor may have had the main street in mind, possibly a *rāja-patha*. This appears to be the street which divides the residential area into two halves. It is evident that all these remains belong to the Ikṣvāku period. It is important to note that

⁴⁷ A.H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda, Madras Presidency*, Delhi, 1938, pl. L-a.

almost all the enclosures had large storage jars, arranged in rows. Numerous Ikṣvāku coins have been recovered from this area. One of the important finds is a goldsmith's workshop with his entire stock-in-trade, discussed in an earlier chapter.⁽⁴⁸⁾

There were numerous open air platforms meant for gatherings and entertainment. One building was apparently an entertainment hall with scenes of dancing and drinking engraved on the pillars. Śaka men and women⁽⁴⁹⁾ figure prominently here. There were also more than a dozen waywide rest-houses at various important points inside and around the habitational area. These were flat-roofed halls with limestone pillars.

The Ikṣvākus arranged for the water supply in a number of ways. There were numerous baths both inside and outside the citadel area. These would have been essential in the oppressive heat of the summer months. These baths had oblong cisterns, wells and soak pits and were often connected with open or underground drains. Several wells oblong in shape have been found in all the residential areas. There are several small embankments to impound rainwater (very much like the dams on Australian farms), and these are probably datable to Ikṣvāku times. One of the most impressive structures of the Ikṣvākus is the one-kilometre long canal, excavated in the eastern part of the valley,⁽⁵⁰⁾ which has already been discussed in detail.

There are also ruins of a wharf along the river front.⁽⁵¹⁾ It measured 76 metres in length, 15 metres in width and 1.8 metres in height. There are rows of broken pillars extending from end to end, and no tiles have been discovered on the site. The wharf probably had a wooden roof. It was used not only for conveyance, but also for

48 Ch. III, p. 58. 49 Ch. VI. 50 Ch. II, pp. 35-36.

51 A.H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*

trade purposes. I do not agree with Amita Ray⁽⁵²⁾ that the wharf was used for importing limestone slabs from the neighbouring districts. It would have been far easier to have had the slabs transported by land from Macherla and a direct ancient route appears to have existed between the two regions.

Buddhism predates the Ikṣvāku dynasty in the valley. The hundred years of their rule, however, witnessed the greatest religious activity in ancient south India. More than thirty Buddhist establishments appeared, belonging to different sects. These were scattered all over the valley, with a concentration to the east of the citadel, and none on the right bank of the river. The nature of Buddhism in the valley will be discussed in the next chapter. The different monastic units provided for a population of at least four hundred and fifty.⁽⁵³⁾ The cells of the individual monasteries varied in number from two to more than thirty. Although initially the residential quarters of a Buddhist establishment formed a separate unit, close to the corresponding place of worship, the two soon came to be integrated.⁽⁵⁴⁾

There are a number of Brahmanical temples as well. These are mostly on the right bank of the river Krishna and appear to have been patronized by the nobility - rulers who the epigraphical evidence shows to have been followers of Brahmanical faiths. A large stepped masonry tank or reservoir is located close to the temples. It has a

52 'Sculptures of Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1965, p. 32.

53 H. Sarkar, 'Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda', *A.I.*, No. 16, p. 83.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

pavilion on the west, which appears to have been for ceremonial use, probably a periodic or annual festival where the images of gods were paraded on a float, a festival nowadays called *teppakuḷam*. These temples were maintained partly by the income from villages⁽⁵⁵⁾ even from outside the valley.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Since its first discovery by A.R. Sarasvati in 1926 to its submersion in the early sixties, numerous sculptural and architectural remains have been excavated at Nagarjunakonda. It is not possible to discuss all these remains here. We have taken into consideration only certain features which would be useful in the study of urbanism. The actual process of urbanization itself will be discussed in a following chapter along with the local processes of power. What we shall try to understand here is the nature of urbanism in early Andhra Pradesh.

So far we have examined the two most important urban centres of early Andhra. There is some evidence, mainly from vertical excavations for other sites. Dhānyakaṭaka is, however, one of the few settlements of the pre-Christian era. The meagre remains of the Buddhist site at Bhattiprolu, after the use of most of the material for constructing a sluice and a road by British engineers and officers, can only give a very rough picture. The site is located to the south of the village in Guntur district, 6½ km from the right bank of the river Krishna. There were remains of a large Buddhist *stūpa*.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Structural remains, probably early Buddhist, have been sighted to the east of the *stūpa* and the village.⁽⁵⁸⁾

55 D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, *E.I.*, XXXIV, pp. 17 ff. For evidence from outside the valley see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *E.I.*, XXVI, pp. 123-25; K. Gopalacari, *E.H.A.C.*, App. A.

56 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp 2 ff.

57 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1969, pp. 7-8.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

A few engraved caskets recovered from the remains of the *stūpa* refer to a king called Kuberaka who ruled in the lower Krishna valley around the second and first centuries B.C.⁽⁵⁹⁾ A *goṭhī* or committee of inhabitants of the *nigama* was also headed by this king. The inscriptions also give the names of people who probably formed the *goṭhī* and were the inhabitants of the *nigama*. The committee had a treasurer who was the son of a village headman. A monk was also represented. It is difficult to identify the *nigama*. While it could very well refer to Dhānyakaṭaka, we should not rule out the possibility of its identification with the site itself. The river Krishna, which changed its course many times, especially in the lower reaches, may have been much closer to the site in ancient times. Whether Kuberaka ruled from Dhānyakaṭaka or from Ghantasala is difficult to establish.

Recent excavations at Dhulikatta in Karimnagar district have revealed another extensive early historical site which included not only numerous Buddhist monuments but also a number of secular buildings.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The beginnings of the *stūpa* complex have been dated to the last quarter of the third century B.C., with considerable additions in subsequent centuries, especially under the Sātavāhanas. This *stūpa* apparently belongs to the Hīnayāna school. There appear to be monastic complexes near the *stūpa* which are outside the walls of a fortification.

59 *Llders List*, Nos. 1335-1337.

60 The following discussion is based on field observation and brief reports in *I.A.A.R.*, 1974-75, p. 3; 1975-76, pp. 2-3; 1976-77, pp. 4-5.

The fortification, which had extensive remains inside and a number of brick structures and walls criss-crossing it, had at least two gateway complexes which included guard rooms and other structures. The associated finds include not only portable antiquities datable to the Sātavāhana period, but also tableware and other objects of Roman origin. Excavations inside the fortification revealed a palace complex. Structural activity at this place has been divided into six phases. Phases I and II appear to be pre-Sātavāhana, while phase III was definitely of the Sātavāhana times, characterized by spacious halls paved with bricks. Massive constructions of granaries and wells provided with sewerage have been uncovered. The granaries yielded Sātavāhana coins and gold beads. Phases IV and V belong to the late Sātavāhana period, and yielded more brick structures and granaries. The last phase marked an end to the building activity, except for small hutments of itinerant artisans who produced beads of precious and semi-precious stone and conch bangles.

With the limited evidence available at present, it is difficult to ascertain the nature of the settlement any further. The place probably was the ruling centre of a local chieftain, who was subordinate to the Sātavāhanas. A beautifully carved ivory button-seal has been recovered from one of the wells. It is engraved in Brāhmī characters and reads *Ajani Siriya Game Kumariya. Kumāra* smacks of a Mauryan title, and could very well refer to a prince of the Sātavāhana family, or a local chieftain who ruled from the citadel. From the coins, beads and objects of Roman origin and from the granaries, we may assume that this place had an important commercial

orientation and was probably an important centre of exchange between the two coasts of the peninsula. It was also an important centre for Buddhism. Thus from the above discussion, we can conclude that Dhulikatta was an urban centre with commercial and regal-ritual cultural roles.

An important Buddhist site has been excavated at Chandavaram, situated on the right bank of the Gundlakamma river in Prakasam district.⁽⁶¹⁾ Extensive remains of *stūpas*, *viḥāras* and other structures have been discovered. The *Mahāstūpa* appear to be of early Christian origin, and to have been expanded twice in subsequent centuries. A number of monastic establishments have been excavated. Three of these complexes were constructed on man-made terraces with retaining walls and flights of steps. In fact, all the structures at this site seem to have required some sort of manipulation of the landscape and levelling of the construction sites, often involving careful planning. Numismatic material from the area, and other associated finds such as Rouletted ware, indicate some amount of commerce. From the nature of the Buddhist monuments, we may surmise that the place was important as a religious centre.

The site is located in ancient Pūkirāṭha which consisted of parts of Guntur and Prakasam districts. This probably was the *adhīṭhāna* or the chief city of Pūki district mentioned in an Amaravati inscription.⁽⁶²⁾ In the third and fourth centuries A.D., the Ikṣvākus had important matrimonial ties with the family of Pūkiyas who appear to have ruled over this territory near the Gundlakamma river.⁽⁶³⁾

61 See Map III and the reports in *I.A.A.R.*, 1972-73, p. 3; 1973-74, pp. 6-7; 1974-75, pp. 6-7; 1975-76, p. 13; 1976-77, pp. 9-10.

62 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, No. 102.

63 Ch. VI, pp 208-209.

Thus we can tentatively conclude that the site located at Chandavaram may have been part of the capital of the Pūkiyas. It was located on the trade route connecting Nagarjunakonda and the coastal site of Uppugunduru which was also probably controlled by the same Pūkiyas. In fact, in Ikṣvāku inscriptions of the first king, Siri Chāmtamūla, there is mention of a town called Gaṃjikūṭa. It has been variously identified with Chinna-Ganjam, Peddaganjam and Uppugunduru, all close together in an area which yielded extensive historical remains. The last mentioned place can be interpreted as *Uppu + gunṭa + ūru = salt + lake or pond + settlement or town*. This place probably was one of the sources of salt for the Nagarjunakonda and other territories controlled by the Ikṣvākus. It is not surprising that the Ikṣvākus had the most important matrimonial ties with the family controlling this region. (64

In the first three centuries of the Christian era, numerous small urban settlements emerged. In the inland districts, Kondapur in Medak district became prominent under the Sātavāhanas during the first and second centuries A.D. (65 Contemporary antiquities include old walls, houses built of brick and rubble, shops and workshops with furnaces and large earthen basins, and numerous Buddhist structures. Many iron objects, a great variety of pottery, terracotta figurines and beads, semi-precious beads, gold and other ornaments and numerous early historical coins (66 and coin-moulds have been recovered. Another site, Peddabankur in Karimnagar district, yielded identical remains. (67

64 *Ibid.*

65 G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. 22, pp. 197-185.

66 Ch. III, Chart II.

67 *I.A.A.R.*, 1967-68, p.2; 1968-69, p 1; 1970-71, pp. 2-4; 1971-72, p. 2; 1972-73, p.2.

Gudivada in Krishna district is another site which yielded large quantities of Buddhist and secular remains similar to the other sites.⁽⁶⁸⁾ According to a local tradition, this ancient settlement had been important in the grain trade between Vijayawada and Elluru. Both Vijayawada and Peddavegi, which is adjacent to Elluru, identified with Benagouron of Ptolemy, were inhabited during the early historical period. Numerous items of trade discussed in Ch. III have been found at Gudivada and in all likelihood it was an urban centre with a certain commercial orientation.

In the inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D., there is mention of the place-name Kaṭakasola, identified with Ghantasala, about twenty kilometres west of Machilipatnam. Ptolemy describes it as a mart.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Archaeological findings at this site, such as later Śātavāhana coins, Buddhist structures and a donative inscription referring to a local *mahānāvika* or master mariner point to the importance of the place as a market town.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Guntupalli in West Godavari district is another important early historical site with both Buddhist and Jain vestiges.⁽⁷¹⁾ Rock cut temples and monasteries have been discovered. The place has been identified with the metropolis called Pityundra mentioned by Ptolemy.⁽⁷²⁾ An inscription from the place refers to the donations of a mariner.⁽⁷³⁾ It probably was an important market place.

68 A. Rea, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20. 69 Ch. III, pp. 81-82.

70 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-4.

71 *M.A.R.*, 1886, April, pp. 11-12; 1889, August, pp. 1-3; 1916-17, pp. 30 ff.

72 R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupally Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela*, Hyderabad, 1968, p.5. ~~This identification is not tenable.~~ See Ch. III pp 82-83.

73 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. V, p.56.

In the vicinity of the Buddhist remains is an old habitational site spreading over an area of a few square kilometres. Noticeable antiquities from the site are ring wells, brick of large dimensions, large quantities of ancient pottery and various structural remains.⁽⁷⁴⁾

There are similar early historical remains at Vijayawada and Chebrolu⁽⁷⁵⁾ in the lower Krishna valley, and Polakonda in the inland district of Warangal.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Further excavations would reveal important evidence for the study of urbanism.

A mid-second century A.D. inscription from Amaravati mentions the 'righteous townsfolk' (*bhāḍanigama*) of Chadkicha or Chandakṛtya headed by merchants (*seṭhipamukha*).⁽⁷⁷⁾ It probably was a market town in the neighbourhood of Dhānyakaṭaka. There are a few other places with names ending in *pura*. An inscription from Ghantasala refers to a place called Nāṁdapura.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Another place Asapura is known from a second century A.D. Amaravati epigraph.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Another inscription from the same place refers to a Virapura.⁽⁸⁰⁾ An Ikṣvāku epigraph from Gurzala in Guntur district mentions one Halampura which has been identified with Alampur in Kurnool district at the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Rungabhadra.⁽⁸¹⁾

Ptolemy mentions not only the ports and other coastal localities but also various inland market towns and cities.⁽⁸²⁾ Only a few of them can be identified with the urban centres discussed above. The classical geographer refers to at least eight towns in the coastal districts, and fifteen in the inland region.

74 R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupalli*...., p. 5.

75 *I.A.A.R.*, 1960-61, p. 1, 1962-63, p. 66.

76 *Ibid.*, 1975-76, pp. 5-6; 1976-77, p. 10.

77 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 294, No. 87.

78 *Illders List*, No. 1339. 79 P. Seshadri Sastri, *E.I.* XXIV, p. 259

80 *Illders List*, No. 1224. 81 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *E.I.* .., Vol.

82 Ch. III. pp. 81-82. XXVI, p. 125

The majority of them may have been market towns involved in the Indo-Roman trade. They were probably *nigamas*.

From the above evidence, we find that a number of urban centres came into existence in the early centuries A.D. A Nagarjuna-konda inscription of the late third century A.D. refers to a lay Buddhist who is described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various *nagaravaras*, *girivaras* and *negamavaras*.⁽⁸³⁾ The hierarchy of the *gāma*, *nigama* and *nagara* originated in the mid-first millenium B.C. in North India. While the *nigama* was a town engaged primarily in trade and commerce, the *nagara*, denoting a town in general, appears to have performed more than one function and the two categories of settlements were sometimes differentiated.⁽⁸⁴⁾

The earliest epigraphical references to market-centres are those of the third-second centuries B.C., referring to the Dhānyakāṭaka *nigama*. Apart from the above-mentioned inscriptions, the only other reference to a *nagara* is once again in an Ikṣvāku inscription of the early third century A.D. which speaks of a merchant from Gaṃjikuṭa. The names of places ending in the suffix *pura* probably refer to *nagaras*. Although the early Vedic *pur* denoted a 'rampart' or 'fort' or 'stronghold' with no urban characteristics, in subsequent centuries the fortification assumed lesser importance and *pura* became synonymous with *nagara*.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Another designation, a sub-category of *nigama*, was the port-town referred to as a *paṭana* (*paṭṭana*) in an inscription of the third century A.D. from the coastal site of Uppugunduru.⁽⁸⁶⁾ As the

83 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV., pp. 9-10. 84 *Ibid.*

85 A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, p. 45.

86 B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-191.

place is close to a lake which is connected to the sea about five miles away, and as the place not only has yielded numerous shells, brickbats, stone pieces and potsherds, but is also fairly co-extensive with Buddhist structural remains, we can assume that it was an important port town in ancient times, when the sea might have been nearer to it.

The find of 172 silver punch-marked coins,⁽⁸⁷⁾ a name ending in *patnam*, a survival of the ancient *paṭṭana* and its location on the coast, suggest that Bhimunipatnam in the Visakhapatnam district may have also been a port-town during the period under consideration. Hoards of early historical coins, Roman and indigenous, from its hinterland further support this assumption.⁽⁸⁸⁾

From the meagre evidence that is available, we can tentatively summarise this chapter as follows.

In Andhra Pradesh, the earliest urban centre of Dhānyakāṭaka had a definite commercial orientation. It was also one of the earliest centres of Buddhism in the region. It formed the basis for Mauryan penetration of the lower Krishna valley. In short, this urban centre had by the third and second centuries B.C. mercantile, ceremonial and political or regal-ritual cultural roles. These roles were further enhanced with the extension of Sātavāhana authority into the coastal districts and the growth of commerce with the Roman empire during the early centuries of the present era.

87 Ch. III, Chart II and Map IV.

88 *Ibid.*

Similarly in the third and fourth centuries A.D., Nagarjunakonda was on the ascendancy as an important regal-ritual centre, being the seat of the Ikṣvākus. It had an increased role in the trading activities of South India. It became a dominant centre of Buddhism. There were a number of other urban centres of lesser importance in the region. There was an obvious hierarchy of these centres with first Amaravati, and then Nagarjunakonda, at the top.

One of the common features of the more important urban sites was the citadel with evidence of a ruling class. In fact, each urban centre appears to have had a ruling group, often housed in the citadel, which was carefully planned and elaborately built. Apart from the rampart walls, there was also a moat. Wells, drains, baths and cisterns appear to have been regular features of the urban centres.

Adjacent to the citadel were the remains of the habitational area and the religious structures. This was probably where the wealthy *gahapati*s and merchants resided. The enclosed houses with rows of storage jars at Vijayapurī were inhabited by these social groups. The craftsmen who catered to them appear to have been located in the same area. This was also the centre of crafts for both local and long distance trade. The artisans formed guilds, which with those of the merchants, were an essential feature of the urban centres. The guild system catering to the distribution of trade in these products was similar to that in North India at the same time. These guilds were important, not only in the organisation of craft production, but also as banks to finance industry. They were headed by *āvesanī*s and *kulika-pamukhas* who performed various functions, including banking and trusteeship.

Among the merchants in the urban centres, we come across an important category referred to as *sethis*. The *setthi* was a city-man, a wealthy merchant, a foreman of a guild or a banker. Since all the references to them in Andhra Pradesh were associated with urban areas, they were somewhat like the *Nagarasetthi*s of the *Jātakas*. Apart from trade and finance, they also performed social and civic duties, such as the supervision of religious establishments. They appear to have been rich and some of them even maintained Buddhist institutions. The nature of their role in the local power structure will be discussed in the last chapter.

One of the continuities of the rural and urban landscape in early Andhra is that of the dominant stratum, the *gahapati*s who not only controlled land but also participated in trade in the urban centres. As we shall see in a later chapter, they also formed the building blocks which made up the pyramid of the local political organization. From the nature of the relatives who accompanied the donors in the inscriptions in the urban areas, we may conclude that rural kinship ties extended into the towns.

One glance at Map III in Ch. II would suffice to revise the often held argument that Buddhism is urban in character. The urban centres were indeed predominantly Buddhist. So was almost every habitational site of the early historical period! New ideas were diffusing from the principal urban centres and there was a remarkable continuity between the villages and the towns. The latter, however, had greater organization for the maintenance of the large numbers of religious establishments and the hundreds of monks and also the pilgrims who visited the place. The monasteries in the urban areas housed monks from far and wide.

There was definitely a continuity of urban and rural life through kinship ties, religious following and political alliances. The urban centres were, indeed, accentuations of some of these characteristics. They were centres of dominance. Such a structure needs to sustain itself and this necessitates organisation which gives the urban centres their character in the context of their hinterland. This particular argument will be continued in Chapter VI, dealing with the local processes of power.

These urban centres, especially Dhānyakaṭaka and Nagarjunakonda, were marked by remains which were scattered over at least two square kilometres. Can we then call them a conglomeration of hamlets? Certainly not. In fact, inscriptions refer to the remains at both sites as belonging to either Dhānyakaṭaka or Vijayapurī. These remains, while they were functionally diverse, were definitely complementary and interdependent.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS UNDERCURRENTS

"..... mah/ā/chetiye.....samana bam/h/ana-
kavana-vanījaka-dīn-ānugaha-velāmiika-dāna-
patibhaga-vo-chhima-dhara-padayini sava-sādhu-
vāchhalā mahādanapati mahatalavari.....
Ch/ā/tiseri apāno ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-
anāgata-vatamanakānam parināmsunam ubhaya-
loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya cha imam khambham
patithapitam ti.....

= ... At the Mahācetiya the Mahatalavari
Chāntiseri... she who, out of compassion for
Sramanas, Brahmins, and those that are miserable,
poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them
a matchless and ceaseless flow of Velamic gifts,
she the great mistress of munificence, devoted
to all the virtuous, having due regard for the
past, future and present (members) of both the
houses to which she belongs, for the attainment
of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and
in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāna
and for the attainment of welfare and happiness
by all the world, has erected this pillar."

E.I., XX, pp. 16-17.

In the chapter on agricultural intensification in early Andhra we discussed the new ideological dimension provided by Buddhism which emancipated the *Pandukal* people from the beliefs that tied them to the granite boulders of the arid inland tracts. In the subsequent chapters we discussed the various socio-economic changes in early Andhra Pradesh, in which both the monk and the trader played a crucial role. These discussions were to a large extent based on evidence gleaned from inscriptions mostly recording donations to religious persons and institutions. The great percentage of these gifts made to the Buddhist *sangha* and the extensive remains of monuments associated with Buddhism *prima facie* point to the popularity of the faith in early Andhra.

Early Andhra history has often been considered as the history of Buddhism⁽¹⁾ or as an account of the dynasties, Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus⁽²⁾ that are closely associated with the faith. At the turn of the century very few Buddhist sites were known from Andhra Pradesh.⁽³⁾ The number now is over a hundred, some fifty of which have been explored and excavated in the last twenty years by the Archaeological Survey of Andhra Pradesh.⁽⁴⁾ Although the Survey has not stated its policies, it is evident from its work that it has made possible the beginnings of problem-oriented archaeology in the state. It is now possible to understand the religious trends in the region.

We have a good understanding of the history and growth of Buddhism at the level of the Subcontinent. This is not the same case with the regional dynamics behind the spread of the faith to different parts of India. This is one of the reasons why the important question of the decline of Buddhism in India has rarely been touched upon.⁽⁵⁾

In this chapter we shall address ourselves to certain aspects only of the growth of Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh. Other

- 1 K.R. Subramaniam, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the History of Andhra*, Madras, 1932.
- 2 See for instance, D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*; B.V. Krishna Rao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, Madras, 1942; K. Gopalacari, *E.H.A.C.*
- 3 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1969. J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1970.
- 4 For brief reports see the various volumes of *I.A.A.R.*, 1954-55 to 1977-78.
- 5 For one of the few works dealing with this question, see R.C. Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism in India*, Viswabharati, 1954.

religious developments have also been dealt with briefly in the latter half of the chapter. The structural significance of these religious trends in the evolution of civilization in Andhra Pradesh will be discussed in the next chapter. The discussion will adhere to the main theme of the thesis on the socio-economic developments in the region. Various developments in art, architecture and philosophy have been left as peripheral, since they would entail a few more volumes for adequate discussion. The material background to the growth of Buddhism in the Gangetic valley⁽⁶⁾ does not necessarily answer some of the questions raised in dealing with our region. For instance, the spread of iron technology and the intensification of agriculture were already significant in north India prior to the birth of Buddhism.⁽⁷⁾ In our region such developments were simultaneous with the spread of Buddhism which provided a crucial ideological impetus for the changes.

Prior to the introduction of Buddhism, and for at least three centuries afterwards, that is for the four centuries prior to the turn of the present era, the religious beliefs of the inhabitants of our region centred around the burial practices of the *Pandukal* people. They built huge monuments of stone to enclose the remains of

6 R.S. Sharma, 'Material Milieu of the Birth of Buddhism', paper presented at the XXIXth *International Congress of Orientalists*, Paris, 1973; see also by the same author 'Iron and Urbanization in the Ganga Basin', *I.H.R.*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1974, pp. 98-103.

7 *Ibid.*, see also A.L. Basham, 'The Background to the Rise of Buddhism', *Studies in History of Buddhism* (ed.) A.K. Narain, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 13-31; R. Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 40-62.

their deceased. They evidently had a highly developed cult of the dead, and from the remains of the burials⁽⁸⁾ we may surmise that they believed in an afterlife. Some of the cists containing the skeletal remains had 'soul-holes'. This indicates that they believed they could keep in close touch with their dead ancestors, either by letting them out of the tombs to revisit their families or by listening through the hole and imagining that they heard the voices of their forebears giving sound advice on future courses of action. Beyond such general observations it is doubtful whether much of significance can be discovered on the basis of the existing material.

It is with the coming of Buddhism that we begin to have an understanding of the religious beliefs of the Andhra people. The earliest evidence for the beginnings of Buddhism in our region is from Amaravati or the ancient Dhānyakataka.⁽⁹⁾ Period I at this place represents the Mauryan phase, fourth to third centuries B.C. The beginnings of Buddhism in Andhra can be ascribed to Period IA which is probably pre-Aśokan, and the evolution of the *Mahāstūpa* appears to have begun during the time of Aśoka.

The suggestions that Buddhism was brought to Andhra either during the time of its founder or not long after his *nirvāṇa*⁽¹⁰⁾ are hardly tenable. These ideas are based on traditions recorded much later and are not reliable. Archaeological evidence does not support the possibility of the spread of Buddhism into Andhra on a large scale

8 L.S. Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, pp. 121-153; 226-245.

9 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, pp. 60-74; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 40-43.

10 P.S. Sastry, 'Rise and Growth of Buddhism in Andhra', *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 68-75; S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, New York, 1968, pp. 209-227; K.R. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

before the fourth-third centuries B.C. All evidence shows that Buddhism made a great leap forward with Aśoka and began to spread rapidly beyond the Ganga valley; but this does not preclude the possibility of a few adventurous monks reaching Andhra before Aśoka without making any lasting impact on the region. The earliest contacts our area had with the Gangetic valley are testified to by punch-marked coins of hoards datable to the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan series and the occurrence of Northern Black Polished Ware.⁽¹¹⁾

These contacts probably were due to the extension of Mauryan authority into Andhra Pradesh in the pre-Aśokan period and the consequent introduction of Buddhism. It is not surprising that we do not find Andhra listed among the regions to which Buddhist missionaries were sent after the Third Buddhist Council.⁽¹²⁾ According to the *Kathavatthu*, the *Andhakas* or Andhras participated in the deliberations at the Council.⁽¹³⁾ Andhras were included in the *Rāja Viśaya* of Aśoka, according to the XIIIth Rock Edict.⁽¹⁴⁾

The story of Bāvari and his disciples from Aśmaka, the northwestern port of Andhra, and their conversion to Buddhism is recorded in the *Sutta Nipāta* dated to pre-Aśokan times, fifth to fourth centuries B.C.⁽¹⁵⁾ Around this time, more and more Andhras

11 G. Yazdani (ed.), *The Early History of Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 86-87; I.K. Sarma, 'N.B.P. C-14 dates', *J.I.H.*, Vol. LII No.2, 1974, pp.49-56; I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, pp. 60ff.

12 W.G. Geiger (ed.), *Mahāvamsa*, London, 1912, p.82.

13 A.Z. Aung and Rhys Davids, *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse*, London, 1915, p. xxx.

14 *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 67 ff.

15 *Ch. III*, p95.

appear to have taken to the faith, and the literature of the Gangetic valley refers to them as *Andhakas*.⁽¹⁶⁾ There is also the mention of an *Andhahavana* near Srāvasti and *Andhakavinda* at Rājagṛha.⁽¹⁷⁾ The *Vimānavatthu* refers to the king of the Assakas, from our region, who was ordained by one of the important disciples of Buddha.⁽¹⁸⁾

According to the Sri Lankan Buddhist Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, Mahādeva was sent to Mahiṣamaṇḍala.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is stated that he had a large following in *Pallavabhogga*, the modern Palnad taluk in Guntur district.⁽²⁰⁾ On his trip to Sri Lanka, he was accompanied by 1,460,000 monks from this region. Although the number is certainly exaggerated, we can assume that Buddhism was flourishing in Andhra by the time of Aśoka.

According to tradition, Aśoka built 84,000 *vihāras* with *stūpas* all over his empire.⁽²¹⁾ Although the number appears to be exaggerated, there is no doubt that he was responsible for the construction of many Buddhist establishments. Local traditions recorded in Andhra associate him with such constructional activity.⁽²²⁾ In the seventh century A.D., Hsüan Tsang refers to at least three *stūpas* built by Aśoka in Andhra Pradesh.⁽²³⁾ With the exception of Amaravati and Dhulikatta,⁽²⁴⁾ the evidence for Buddhist sites at the time of Aśoka is not yet found.

16 A.Z. Aung and Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, Preface.

17 K.R. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

18 P.S. Sastry, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff. 19 W.G. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 194ff.

20 M. Somasekhara Sarma, *Andhra Vijnana Sarvaswamu*, Vol. 3, Madras, 1959, pp. 536 ff.

21 W.G. Geiger, *op. cit.*, V. pp. 78-80. 22 A. Rea, *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1907-08, p. 158.

23 S. Beal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 208-227.

24 *I.A.A.R.*, 1974-75, p. 3; 1975-76, pp. 2-3; 1976-77, pp. 4-5.

As mentioned already, evidence of the earliest Buddhist activity is from Amaravati in the lower Krishna valley. There are some more sites which reveal *stūpas* and *viḥāras* datable to the second century B.C. Bhattiprolu, located at the mouth of the river Krishna, contains a relic *stūpa* and inscriptions datable to this period.⁽²⁵⁾ This was one of the relic *stūpas* mentioned in Sri Lankan texts as located in the country of Majerika at the mouth of the river Krishna.⁽²⁶⁾ Other *stūpas* in the lower Krishna valley datable to the second and first centuries B.C. are located at Gudivada, Kesanapalli, Garikapadu, Peddaganjam and Chandavaram.⁽²⁷⁾ The last mentioned features a terrace made of bricks fronted by stone casings, and bears resemblance to the Darmarājika *stūpa* at Taxila.⁽²⁸⁾ In north-eastern Andhra, the two known sites are Salihundam and Sankaram.⁽²⁹⁾ Jaggayyapeta and Dhulikatta are the sites in inland districts.⁽³⁰⁾

There were at least a dozen Buddhist establishments at the turn of the present era. The increasing number of religious specialists occupying these establishments was supported by a newly-evolving agrarian elite. The latter was the product of new developments brought about by the onset of agricultural intensification.⁽³¹⁾

- 25 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp. 1-17; *I.A.A.R.*, 1969-70, p. 1; for inscriptions see *Lliders List*, Nos. 1329-1339; G. Bühler, *E.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 323-329.
- 26 Turnour, *Daladavamsa*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, p. 856.
- 27 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp. 18 ff; M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on Early Buddhist Stūpa at Kesanapalli*, Hyderabad, 1969. B.S.L.H. Rao, 'Recent Buddhist Antiquities from Peddaganjam', *I.H.C.*, 1957, pp. 75-78; *I.A.A.R.*, 1972-73, to 1976-77.
- 28 *I.A.A.R.*, 1973-74, p. 7. 29 R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam*, Hyderabad, 1964; A. Rea, *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1907-08, pp. 149-180.
- 30 J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, pp. 110ff, see also n. 24.
- 31 See Ch. II. pp 48-51.

This group of agriculturalists also began participating in the trading activities of our region. In fact, all the above-mentioned Buddhist centres were located at important points along the incipient trade routes of Andhra.⁽³²⁾ Very few traders, however, figure in the donations to these centres in the pre-Christian centuries.⁽³³⁾

Combined with the Mauryan penetration of Andhra Pradesh and the increasing influence of the monk and the trader from the Gangetic valley, were new ideas of kingship and authority. The latter, combined with the autochthonous elements, led to the evolution of a characteristic power structure in Andhra Pradesh, that scarcely fits any of the standard definitions of the term 'state' with its various connotations. This is the central argument in the next chapter. Thus Buddhism was becoming popular before the commencement of the present era in the context of the process of agricultural intensification, increasing trade networks and an evolving local power structure. It was during the following four centuries, during the later Sātavāhana and Ikṣvaku times that the faith became popular in Andhra.

Sātavāhana rule was originally confined to Maharashtra and to parts of western Andhra. It was the southern campaign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (A.D. 54-88)⁽³⁴⁾ which led to the extension of the dynasty's authority into the whole of Andhra, and certainly for the first time into coastal Andhra. Between Mauryan evidence

32 See. Ch. III, Map. V.

33 For one of the few instances, see A. Ghosh, 'The Early Phase of the Stupa at Amaravati, South-East India', *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Asian Archaeology*, Colombo, 1969 (mimeo), No.3.

34 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*, Delhi, 1980, pp.7-8.

and the extension of Sātavāhana rule into the coastal districts in the first century A.D., we have a period of two centuries when the evidence for the dynastic history of our region is obscure.⁽³⁵⁾ The evidence for the study of Buddhism during this period, however, is not lacking.

The *Mahāsāṅghikas* were one of the most popular sects in early Andhra. The earliest evidence for the prevalence of this sect is from a stele found at Amaravati which depicts scenes of Buddha's association with Vaisālī.⁽³⁶⁾ The stele belongs to the second century B.C. A branch of the *Mahāsāṅghikas* known as the *Caityakas* were quite active in Amaravati during this period, centring their activities around the *Mahāstūpa*.⁽³⁷⁾ This school, which gave importance to gaining merit by means of the erection and worship of *Caityas*, must have been popular with the *Pandukal* people. Although brick was probably introduced during Mauryan times⁽³⁸⁾ and subsequently became popular, stone remained very important in places of worship. The earliest granite uprights⁽³⁹⁾ at Amaravati exhibit the stone working technique of the *Pandukal* people. In the following centuries, the techniques became more sophisticated and the softer limestone became popular.

In the early centuries of the present era, there was a proliferation of agrarian settlements⁽⁴⁰⁾ which were predominant in

35 Ch. VI, pp. 177 ff.

36 A. Ghosh and H. Sarkar, 'Beginnings of Sculptural Art in South East India: a Stele from Amaravati', *A.I.*, Nos. 20 & 21, 1967, pp. 168-77.

37 See R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 259 ff.

38 *I.A.A.R.*, 1962-63, pp. 1-2. 39 I.K. Sarma, *S.I.E.*, Vol. I, p. 61.

40 See. Ch. II, Map III and Ch. III, Map V.

the lower Krishna basin and along trade routes. A number of urban centres flourished along these routes.⁽⁴¹⁾ Although its development was accentuated and significant in the urban areas, Buddhism was not exclusively urban in character. Early settlements of the period, however small, seem to have had some association with it. Numerous *stūpas* and monasteries were established.⁽⁴²⁾ Buddhist art and architecture witnessed some outstanding developments during this period. While Dhānyakataka was the dominant centre during the Sātavāhana rule, Nagarjunakonda acquired similar importance under the Ikṣvākus.⁽⁴³⁾

Buddhist texts regularly placed Kṣatriyas above the Brahmins in the class hierarchy.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The rulers of North India and elsewhere gave significant patronage to Buddhism. In Andhra Pradesh there is very little evidence to show that kings patronized the faith.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In fact, rulers gave support to Śaivism and to Vaiṣṇavism during this period, and performed various Vedic rituals.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The argument that the local chieftains and rulers supported Buddhism as it placed their class over the Brahmins is not valid in our region. Even for North India, a statistical study made of the class origins of Buddhist monks and laymen recorded in the Pāli texts, produced surprising results.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The greatest numbers of converts in both categories came, not from the Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas, but from the Brahmins. It is not possible to

41 *Ibid.*

42 B. Rajendra Prasad, *Art of South India: Andhra Pradesh*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 18-45.

43 N.S. Ramaswami, *Amaravati: The Art and History of the Stupa and the Temple*, Hyderabad, 1975, pp. 1-47; Philippe Stern and Mireille Benisti (eds), *Evolution du Style Indien d'Amaravati*, Paris, 1961; H. Sarkar, 'Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda', *A.I.*, No. 16, pp. 65-84; K. Krishna Murthy, *Nagarjunakonda: A Cultural Study*, Delhi, 1977.

44 A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p.16. 45 D.C.Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXV, p.19.

46 see below, pp.158-161 47 Prof. A.L. Basham (personal communication). His comments are based on an unpublished

extend the same argument to Andhra. The source material hardly permits such an analysis. The absence of a *ksatriya* category in South India, however, can be tentatively explained in this context.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The Brahmin preachers of the region may have avoided conferring the *ksatriya* status on local rulers lest they support Buddhism, as Buddha himself was a *Kṣatriya*. If the order in which the first two *varṇas* are represented by the Brahmins and Buddhists has any political implications, then the above hypothesis is a reasonable one.

It was the laity, including women of the royal families, which supported monks and monasteries. Inscriptions mention *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, male and female worshippers, who made donations to various Buddhist establishments. Numerous benefactions are made by women of the royal and noble families. More than half of the inscriptions from Amaravati, and the great majority of those from Nagarjunakonda, record donations made by women and by persons in association with women. Some of the establishments were even mentioned by royal and influential women, *inter alia*. Cāmtisiri, the paternal aunt and mother-in-law of the Ikṣvāku king, Virapurīṣadatta, erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister near the *mahācetiya* at Nagarjunakonda and provided it with everything,⁽⁴⁹⁾ obviously for its maintenance as well. A monastery of the Bahusrutiyas founded by the same king's wife

47 contd... Ph.D. thesis recently submitted and passed at the University of Delhi. The author is Usha Chakravarti. The title of the thesis is not available to me at present.

48 For comments other than the one mentioned here regarding the absence of a *Kṣatriya* category in South India, see B. Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 49-50.

49 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

Bhatideva was also provided with all its requirements.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It was called *Devī-vihāra*, probably after the queen (*mahādevī*).⁽⁵¹⁾

Most conspicuous among the ordinary donors was a laywoman, Bodhisiri. She had an apsidal temple (*cetiyaḥara*) constructed on 'the little Dharmagiri' (*cula Dhammagiri*) and provided it with all its needs. Among her many other religious acts were the excavation of a tank at Puvasela, building another temple in the Kulaha monastery (*viḥāra*),⁽⁵²⁾ the construction of a shrine for the Bodhi tree in the Sīhala (Sri Lankan) *viḥāra*, the erection of a pavilion near the eastern gate of the *mahācetiya* at Kamtakasela or Ghantasala and so on.⁽⁵³⁾

A Nagarjunakonda inscription found in two redactions describes a lay worshipper Cadasiri as one who made many religious gifts at important cities and prominent townships and on prominent hills in connection with festivals in honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.⁽⁵⁴⁾ A fragmentary inscription from Nagarjunakonda mentions the meritorious acts of a *mahāraja-vadhamana* in Vijayapura.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The expression *mahāraja-vadhamana* can be literally translated as 'prosperous or augmenting king'. If we compare it with *Devī-vihāra*, it may mean a 'prosperous institution maintained by a king' or 'an institution maintained by a prosperous king'. If the interpretation is valid, it marks one of the few instances of royal patronage from

50 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

51 *Ibid.*

52 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 18.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

54 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9-10.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the area. In the same way, the name *Seṭhivarvvardhamāna* denoting an establishment of the *nigāya* of the *Apamahāvinaseliya* and the *Mahāvinaseliya*⁽⁵⁶⁾ may indicate that it was maintained by a *Seṭhi* or the chief of a guild or banker. A portion of the *seṭhivara* was called *Mahādevīparivena* which was either a college for young monks or a private cell of a monk named after *Mahādevī* who could have been a queen or another laywoman responsible for the construction or the maintenance of the cell.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Similarly, *Ukasiri-Vadhamana*, a Buddhist institution at Ghantasala,⁽⁵⁸⁾ was probably maintained by a person called *Ukhasiri*. There are numerous inscriptions from the important Buddhist centres of Andhra recording donations and gifts to Buddhist establishments by merchants, traders and other private individuals.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Women were not only important as donors, but they also entered the monasteries. Inscriptions of our region refer to many women who entered the monasteries and also to female students.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Some of the *bhikkhūnīs* or nuns were highly qualified women.⁽⁶¹⁾ An interesting inscription from Amaravati mentions one *pavajitikā* Sagarakhitā, her daughter, *pavajitikā* Haṁghā, and the latter's daughter, *Yavā*.⁽⁶²⁾ It appears that married women with children

56 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9-10.

57 *Ibid.*

58 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 3.

59 See for instance, C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, Nos. 50, 87 and 108; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 11, 13, 18, 19; in fact, the majority of inscriptions mentioned in the bibliography are of this nature.

60 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, Nos. 67, 74, 80, 96, 100 and so on.

61 *Ibid.*, No. 74.

62 *Ibid.*, No. 31.

could join the *saṅgha* after renouncing the world.⁽⁶³⁾

Apart from women, an increasing 'middle class' of merchants and craftsmen, as in the rest of India,⁽⁶⁴⁾ were important patrons of Buddhism. During this period, Andhra not only was important in the Indian trading networks but also had significant links with the Roman empire and with Southeast Asia.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Among the traders, different categories of social groups evolved, and some of them were even involved in carrying out civic duties and local administrative functions. Considering the class of people who supported Buddhism, it is not surprising that it was able to thrive in the region.

The large corpus of inscriptions from various parts of Andhra recording donations to Buddhist establishments certainly gives evidence of the popularity of Buddhism in our area. And the idea of acquiring merit through gifts is obvious in several of these epigraphs. A Nagarjunakonda record mentions donations to the Theravādins 'for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world.'⁽⁶⁶⁾ Another gift is to the Mahisāsakas 'for the sake of welfare and happiness to all sentient beings.'⁽⁶⁷⁾

Epigraphs perpetuating gifts in favour of the various branches of the Mahāsāṅghikas or other sects also indicate the idea of the acquirement of merit by donations. A number of the donations made were for the attainment by the donor of welfare and happiness

63 For the role of women in the spread of Buddhism, see N. Dutta, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, London, 1925, pp. 75-77.

64 A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

65 See. Ch. III.

66 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 22.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

in both worlds.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Some of the gifts were not only for the donor's attaining *nirvāṇa*⁽⁶⁹⁾ or the wealth of *nirvāṇa*⁽⁷⁰⁾ but also for the longevity of the reigning king⁽⁷¹⁾ or donors⁽⁷²⁾ and for the welfare and happiness of the donor's relatives⁽⁷³⁾ or of the whole world.⁽⁷⁴⁾

The notion of transferring merit to all beings, or in other words the conception of *karma* as a transferable quality, is evident from Nagarjunakonda inscriptions. One of the inscriptions records the erection of the image of the Buddha by a banker for the happiness and welfare of all beings, and then quotes a *ślōka* which wishes the attainment of *nirvāṇa* by the world or all beings on account of the merit accumulated by making the religious gift.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In another Buddhist inscription from the same place, the Ikṣvāku queen Chāṁtisiri desires not only welfare and joy for both families to which she belongs, but also the attainment of *nirvāṇa* for herself and the bringing of welfare and joy to the whole universe.⁽⁷⁶⁾ This belief in the capability of the laity to attain *nirvāṇa* in return for donations is a Mahāyāna one. Such a trait is first noticed in the area controlled by the Kuṣāṇas.⁽⁷⁷⁾

68 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 18-21.

69 *Ibid*; J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 67; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9-10.

70 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 21; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9-10.

72 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 304.

73 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 21-22; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9-10.

74 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 16 & 24.

75 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 13.

76 Frontispiece of this chapter.

77 For an up-to-date discussion of this particular practice, see

In at least two important studies⁽⁷⁸⁾ it has been stated that the Buddhist architecture of Nagarjunakonda, while Hīnayāna Buddhist in the beginning, was influenced by Hīnayānists who were taking the path to the the Mahāyāna. The monks were in the process of taking to *stūpa* and image worship. It is not then surprising that the *Srīmālā sūtra*⁽⁷⁹⁾ probably written in the third century A.D. for one of the later Mahāsāṅghika sects at Nagarjunakonda, was clearly a Mahāyāna text. Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mādhyamika philosophy, is said to have come from South India and presumably he gave his name to Nagarjunakonda, through the preservation of some vague tradition.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The philosophical aspects of Buddhism and the study of the various schools in our region have been omitted in this thesis, as they would have been peripheral to its theme. In the foregoing discussion, we have noticed the popularity of Buddhism. While the patronage by members of the artisan and trading communities and women of the royal household was impressive, royal patronage was insignificant. The religion of Andhra, however, was not confined to Buddhism alone. In fact, epigraphical evidence shows that the kings were proud of having performed various Vedic rituals.

77 contd.... A.L. Basham 'The Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva', in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, (ed.) Leslie S. Kawamura, Waterloo, 1981, pp. 32-37.

78 H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966, Ch. 5; S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, London, 1963, Ch. 4.

79 Alex Wayman and Hideka Wayman, (tr.) *The Lion's Roar of Queen Srīmālā*, New York, 1974, pp. 1 - 4.

80 R. Kimura, 'Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna works known to Nagarjuna', *I.H.Q.*, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 412 ff; for a useful discussion of Nagarjunakonda and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Andhra Pradesh, see B.S.L.H. Rao, *Religion in Andhra*, Guntur, 1973, pp. 91-113.

Inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas of Maharashtra mention various sacrifices performed by the rulers of the dynasty. The Nanaghat inscription for instance records the different types of Vedic sacrifices performed by them.⁽⁸¹⁾ The earliest evidence of such rites in Andhra is to be found in the Chinnaganjam (Prakasam district) inscription of the region of Yajñasri Sātakarni.⁽⁸²⁾ Although the inscription appears to record a donation to a Buddhist establishment, the donor is referred to as a sacrificer. The mutilated condition of the epigraph does not permit any further interpretation.

Inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku rulers refer to the first ruler Cāntamūla as 'agihat-agiṭhoma-vājapey-asamedha-yāji = Skt. agnihotr-āgnistoma-vājapey-āsvamedha-yājīn' - the performer of the Agnihotra, Vājapeya and Āśvamedha sacrifices.⁽⁸³⁾ He is also referred to as agniṣṭoma-vājapey-āsvamedha-bahusuvārṇaka-yājīn or the performer of the Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya, Āśvamedha and Bahu-suvārṇaka sacrifices.⁽⁸⁴⁾

81 *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, 1883, pp.60 ff.

82 G. Bühler, *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96.

83 See for instance D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 3.

84 D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp.19
The *vājapeya* or the drink of strength and the *āśvamedha* or horse sacrifice are Vedic rituals with religious and political significance. *Agniṣṭoma* is a very simple form of the soma sacrifice. The offering of the *agnihotra* or oblation to the Fire-God is a daily ritual, to be performed, according to Vedic sources, by all twice-born Aryans. See A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 318-348

Among the remains at Nagarjunakonda, one site has been identified as the site of an *aśvamedha*.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Excavations have revealed not only a tortoise-shaped tank, and another tank probably for the sacrificers' purificatory bath, but also the skeleton of a horse and a *suci* or iron mace with which it is believed to have been killed during the sacrifice.⁽⁸⁶⁾ This evidence, however, does not necessarily substantiate the epigraphical reference to Cāṁtamūla's *aśvamedha*. At least three generations of rulers existed after Cāṁtamūla and the citadel area where the evidence is found was where the royal family resided. The sacrificial pit itself, however, may have been used by the ruler.

That the first Ikṣvāku king patronized Vedic ritualism is beyond doubt, and such an adherence had important political ramifications which will be discussed in the next chapter. Several inscriptions of the period immediately after the Ikṣvākus reveal the popularity of Vedic religion and the generous gifts made to the Brahmins. Cāṁtamūla's sister is described as being well-disposed towards Brahmins.⁽⁸⁷⁾ They appear to have been slowly getting a foothold in Andhra during the first four centuries A.D., though the evidence for this is meagre. It points to the growth of religious thought centring on individual gods.

We shall now briefly examine what evidence there is on Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. The material on other cults and on

85 *I.A.A.R.*, 1956-57, p. 37, Pl. LV, A and B.

86 *Ibid.* In earlier times the horse was killed by strangulation.

87 See frontispiece to this chapter.

Jainism⁽⁸⁸⁾ is quite meagre, and does not necessarily contribute to the main theme of the thesis.

At Nagarjunakonda more than a dozen temples were found along the citadel and on the banks of the river Krishna.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Most of them were dedicated to Śiva or Kārthikeya.⁽⁹⁰⁾ In fact, the earliest evidence for Śaivism in Andhra comes from Gudimallam. The *linga* of this place has long been known, and is probably the oldest surviving *linga*. Recent excavations at this place have revealed a hypaethral or open-air type of shrine.⁽⁹¹⁾ An image of a Śiva *linga* datable to the second century B.C. has been found. In the second century A.D., an apsidal brick structure was built to enshrine the image.

An inscription of the reign of Ehuṇvula Cāntamūla from Nagarjunakonda records the foundation of a Sarvvadevaddhivasa or an abode of Sarvadeva.⁽⁹²⁾ Sarva is a name of Siva mentioned *inter alia* in the Mahābhārata.⁽⁹³⁾ Another contemporary inscription from the same place records the erection of a *dhvajasthambha* or flagstaff of a *dēvakula* of Puṣpabhadrasvāmīn who is also called Mahādeva.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Since Mahādeva, like Deva, was an epithet of Siva, the name Puṣpabhadrasvāmīn refers to the same deity. The inscription also records the permanent endowment or *akṣayanīvi* of the

88 For some details, see B.S.L.H. Rao, *Religion in Andhra*.

89 H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 24-31.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

91 I.K. Sarma, 'Some Outstanding Monuments in Andhra Pradesh', *Itihas* (Hyderabad), Vol. IV, 1975, pp. 64-65.

92 B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149.

93 *Mbh.*, III, 167, 47; 173, 42.

94 D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 19-20.

village of Puḍakeḍam, probably for the maintenance of the shrine.

Another inscription datable to shortly after our period mentions gifts made to *tethikas*, that is *tairthikas* of the temple of Jīvasivasvāmin or 'the auspicious (Śiva), Lord of living beings.'⁽⁹⁵⁾ The local devotees probably venerated the image of Śiva as a living one. *Tairthika* denotes a person of the Tirthika sect. The *Tīrthikas* have been identified with the ash-smearing Pāsupatas,⁽⁹⁶⁾ a Śaivite sect founded by Lakulīsa in the first century A.D.⁽⁹⁷⁾ J.N. Banerjea opines that the Pāsupatas were the same as Śiva Bhāgavatas referred to by Pantanjali, and that Lakulīsa only reformed and did not found the sect.⁽⁹⁸⁾ If the *Tīrthikas* of the temple of Jīvasivasvāmin are the same as the ash-smearing Pāsupatas, then the sect was in existence in Andhra at the close of our period. A fragmentary inscription from Nagarjunakonda refers to the *Tethikas*.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The epigraph records a donation to a Buddhist establishment. *Tethika* in Buddhist texts refers to a member of a non-Buddhist sect, and the reference in the inscription does not necessarily allude to the Pāsupata school.

There was one other Śaivite deity venerated by the Ikṣvākus. The first ruler of the dynasty, Cāṁtamūla, whom we have earlier discussed in connection with his Vedic ritualism, is described in a

95 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 89.

96 J.N. Banerjea, *Pāsupatānā*, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 165-66.

97 R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Poona, 1928, p. 116.

98 J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 148 f.

99 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 210.

large number of the Ikṣvāku epigraphs as *Virūpākhaṇḍapati mahāsenapari-gahita*, i.e. as 'accepted or possessed by Mahāsenā the lord of Virūpākha'.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Another inscription from Nagarjunakonda mentions one Elisri as a great devotee of Mahāsenā.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ An inscribed pillar from a temple, attributed to Kārttikeya mentions a Chaṇḍa-Sakti-Kumāra who was probably the founder of the temple.⁽¹⁰²⁾

Mahāsenā literally means the possessor of a great army. It was the name of a god popular among the kings of India in the early centuries of the Christian era.⁽¹⁰³⁾ He is identified with Skanda, who is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the generalissimo of gods.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Virūpakha or Virūpākṣa, of whom Mahāsenā has been described as the lord, is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ as one of the Rudra attendants of Skanda. Skanda, who is also called Kārttikeya, is referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ as the son of Agni, and in the *Mahābhārata*⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ as an issue of Siva, of whom Agni was a form. Many legends describe Kārttikeya as the son of Siva and Pārvatī.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Since the God Mahāsenā (Kārttikeya) of the Saiva pantheon seems to have been conceived as the commander of the celestial army, it is not surprising that Cāṇṭamūla, the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, was not only his devotee but is even referred to as accepted or possessed by him. At least two temples of Kārttikeya have been found at Nagarjunakonda.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

100 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 16 and 19.

101 B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, XXXIII, pp 148-149.

102 *I.A.A.R.*, 1956-57, pl. L1.

103 K. Sinha, *Karttikeya*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 89-108.

104 I, 38. 105 III, 237, 11. 106 I, 37. 107 III, 229.

108 R.G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

109 T.V.G. Sastri, 'Cultural Heritage of Nagarjunakonda', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XI, 1961, pp. 23 ff.

A limestone figure from Nagarjunakonda depicts a person standing with his left hand resting on his waist, to which is secured a sword in a hilt. Although the right hand is broken, on the right side of the figure is probably a staff or spear, the upper part of which is also missing.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ A bird can perhaps be seen below the right arm. This has been identified as an icon of Kārttikeya. Another stone head from the same site⁽¹¹¹⁾ is also considered to be that of Kārttikeya.

Another stone slab from the same place depicts a female figure standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, holding a trident or a standard. A sword is held firmly at the hilt by her left hand resting on her waist. There appears to be a peacock's feather and an umbrella in the background.⁽¹¹²⁾ The peacock is the mount of Kārttikeya.⁽¹¹³⁾ From the above description we can identify this female figure as a consort of Kārttikeya or his Sakti.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

An inscription from Nagarjunakonda which records the erection of the abode of Sarvvadeva, also mentions the person responsible for the pious act as a follower of Kārttikeya and as a devotee of Kumāra, the son of fire (Agni) and wielder of the terrible spear, *Hutavāha tanaya caṇḍa sakti Kumāra*.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Mention of Kumāra as the son of the Fire God betrays the knowledge of *Rāmāyaṇa*, which advocates such a parentage. Perhaps the *Mahabhārata* tradition was also known at Nagarjunakonda; this describes Śiva as one of the manifestations of Fire or Agni and as the father of Skanda or Kārttikeya. The construction of a temple to Śiva by a devotee of Kārttikeya⁽¹¹⁶⁾ may indicate such a belief.

110 *I.A.A.R.*, 1956-57, pp. 36-37, pl. L VII C. 111 *Ibid.*, L VII B.

112 *I.A.A.R.*, 1955-56, p. 25. 113 J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 366, pl XVI, b.

114 *I.A.A.R.*, 1955-56, p. 25. 115 B.Ch.Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149.

116 *Ibid.*

That the epic tradition and belief were familiar to the people of the Andhra region can be deduced from another epigraph of Ehuṇṇa Cāntamūla, which describes him as 'one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagara, Dilīpa, Ambarīṣa and Yudhiṣṭhira and one who is loved by all people like Rāma.' (117 This certainly shows that legends concerning these epic and puranic heroes were known.

Inscriptions mention a number of gods or demi-gods. An inscription from Velpuru datable to the second half of the first century A.D. mentions the construction of a *maṇḍapa* of Lord Bhūtagāha (118 which may be the same as *Bhuta-gr̥hva*, the name of a category of spirit. Although definite interpretation of this name cannot be given, we may note that Siva, Kubera and Vāyu are described in the epic sources as Lords of Bhūtas. (119

Apart from Śaivism, towards the end of our period, Vaiṣṇavism appears to have been becoming popular. A Nagarjunakonda inscription of Abhīra Vasuṣeṇa invokes 'the God of the Bhāgavatas, the supreme God, the primeval man, Nārāyaṇa'. (*Bhāgavata-deva-paramadeva-purāṇa-puruṣa Nārāyaṇa*). (120 It records the re-installation of an image of Bhagavān Aṣṭabhiya-svāmin and wishes the well-being of cows. (121

117 D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

118 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 86.

119 E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, 1915, pp. 97, 142.

120 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197-204;
I.K. Sarma, 'Abhīra Vasuṣeṇa's Inscription at Nāgarjunakonda', *INDICA*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1970, pp. 1-18.

121 *Ibid.*

This association of Nārāyaṇa with cows is not known from any sources prior to the fusion of this cult with those of Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu. A conch found at the same place bears the figure of a wheel or disc, the *āyudha* of Viṣṇu and an inscription referring to Bhagavata Aṣṭabhujaśvamin.⁽¹²³⁾ Thus, the Nārāyaṇa referred to belonged to the composite cult of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa and this early form of Vaiṣṇavism was at least known in Andhra if not very popular. The Ābhīras were associated both with the cult of Vāsudeva and with cows.⁽¹²⁴⁾ They may have popularised the cult in our region. Thus the Aṣṭabhujaśvamin of the epigraph refers to an image of Viṣṇu and considering that the image was being re-installed, we may surmise that it was worshipped even earlier. .

A fourth-century A.D. anthropomorphic representation of Viṣṇu as Narasimha, along with the *Pancavēras* has been found at Kondamotu in Guntur district.⁽¹²⁵⁾ From the sculpture, we can conclude that the worship of the *Pancavēras* with Viṣṇu was known in coastal Andhra. It is the earliest sculptural representation of Viṣṇu. Lakṣmī is here depicted by a symbol like the *Srīvatsa* on the chest of the image of Narasimha.

A fragmentary coping stone from Amaravati depicts a female figure seated on the raised pericarp of a lotus flower and a mythical *makara* gazing at her.⁽¹²⁶⁾ It has been identified as Śrī, the

123 I.A.A.R., 1958-59, p. 8, Pl. V, B.

124 R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism.....*, pp. 36 ff; H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaisnava Sect*, Calcutta, 1920, p. 45; B. Suryavamshi, *The Ābhīras*, Baroda, 1962, p. 59.

125 M.A.W. Khan, *An Early Sculpture of Narasimha*, Hyderabad, 1964, pp. 1-5.

126 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, Pl. XV, 3.

consort of Viṣṇu.⁽¹²⁷⁾ If this identification is correct, since the sculpture is dated to the early phase at Amaravati, we can conclude that she was already known during this period and was even represented in a Buddhist sculpture.

To sum up, the religious undercurrents in early Andhra history appear to begin with the introduction of Buddhism into the region. The various architectural forms of places of worship, with stone forming an important material, suited the local *Pandukal* people whose beliefs centred around the dead and around stone. The new faith appears to have provided a significant religious impulse in the subsequent developments, which led to the evolution of early Andhra culture.

Vedic ritualism and devotional cults made their impact by the beginning of the present era. They seem to have been patronized mainly by kings of the region who probably sought to legitimise their authority with the help of the Brahmins. In fact, the developments towards Mahāyana Buddhism and Purāṇic religions, as we shall see in the following chapter, provided the ideology for the type of power structure that evolved in the region. With the women of the royal families mainly patronizing Buddhism, the ruling groups of our region seem to have catered well to the ideology of their own authority.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIETY AGAINST THE STATE

Andrae (Andhra) of India, a powerful tribe, *'which possesses numerous villages, and 30 towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 1,000,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1000 elephants.'*

Pliny, VI, 23.

There has been a spurt of literature in political anthropology throughout the last decade. For instance, Henri J.M. Claessen and his colleagues have edited three volumes in this context.⁽¹⁾ They have attempted to define not only the various facets of the conceptual 'state', but also various stages in its evolution. For instance, Claessen calls the phase prior to state formation a 'transitional' as opposed to an 'inchoate' type of early state.⁽²⁾ Thus we have a pre-state, proto-state, and semi-state on the one hand and primary and secondary states on the other.⁽³⁾ Central to all this is the Eurocentric notion that every society goes through various phases until it reaches a political formation called the 'state' and perhaps only then can it be called civilized. Although such an assumption provides a comparative tool of analysis, it certainly smacks of ethnocentrism. Such a method only impedes understanding of the local processes of power. For instance, once the idea of

- 1 Henri J.M. Claessen and P. Skalnik (eds.), *The Early State*, The Hague, 1978; S. Lee Seaton and Henri J.M. Claessen (eds.), *Political Anthropology*, The Hague, 1979; Henri J.M. Claessen and P. Skalnik (eds.), *The Study of the State*, The Hague, 1981.
- 2 'The Early State: A Structural Approach', in *The Early State*, p.589.
- 3 See also Ronald Cohen, 'Introduction' in *Origins of the State*, Ronald Cohen and Elman R. Service (eds.), Philadelphia, 1978, pp.12-13.

a centralised unitary state is questioned,⁽⁴⁾ we get a totally different picture of the political formation in medieval South India.⁽⁵⁾

In fact, the application of the western notion of state to pre-modern India was questioned already almost two decades ago.⁽⁶⁾

In a recent article on state formation in early northern India, Romila Thapar observes that 'a state is generally associated with political authority which functions within a territorial unit, delegates its powers to functionaries, is financed by revenue collected from those who contribute regularly on an impersonal basis to its maintenance and acts as an instrument for integrating social segments identified not merely by ritual roles but also by economic functions.'⁽⁷⁾ This author further remarks that 'the state therefore is different from government and is in turn different from society.' The difference between 'government' and 'society', however, has not been elaborated. On the basis of the various works on political anthropology, we may summarize the conditions for the existence of a state as follows:

- (1) a defined territorial unit within which the political authority is accepted and is functional;
- (2) the centralization of enforceable authority;

- 4 B. Stein, 'The State and the Agrarian Order in Medieval South India: A Historiographical Critique', in *Essays on South India*, (ed.), B. Stein, Honolulu, 1975, pp.64 ff.
- 5 B. Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 254-365.
- 6 R.E. Frykenberg, 'Traditional Processes of Power in South India: An Historical Analysis of Local Influence', *I.E.S.H.R.*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1963, pp. 122-142, Reprinted in *State and Society: a Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*, (ed.), Reinhard Bendix, Boston, 1968, pp. 107-125.
- 7 'State Formation in early India', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, 1980, pp. 655-699.

- (3) the existence of a category of functionaries and officials through which authority is exercised;
- (4) as a corollary to the preceding point, the specialization of governmental roles;
- (5) the regular collection of revenue on an impersonal basis to finance the machinery;
- (6) as a corollary to the preceding point, the relation between the functionaries and officials and those whom they govern is not based on kinship or personal ties;
- (7) an economic and ritual integration of the various social groups and segments;
- (8) a certain amount of stability of the structure.

Although these characteristics can be identified in the middle of the first millenium B.C. in northern India, they are not necessarily applicable to peninsular India. An extension of the model could only lead to a lack of understanding of the regional structures and dynamics.

Keeping in view some of this research, we shall try to understand the local processes of power in Andhra Pradesh.⁽⁸⁾ In doing so we shall initially study the external forces that disturbed the rather equalitarian society⁽⁹⁾ of the semi-sedentary *Pandukal* people and then, within the limitations of the available evidence, the consequent developments within their society. The next step will be to study the nature and impact of the extension of *Sātavāhana*

8 The concept of 'state' itself has been taken rather sceptically. For a discussion of the use of historical scepticism, see I.W. Mabbet, *Truth, Myth and Politics in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1971, p. 2.

9 L. Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, pp. 250-251.

authority into coastal Andhra and the developments in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions which give us some idea as to how power and authority were organized in our region. In order to understand this, however, a discussion of the developments in the preceding centuries is imperative.

In earlier chapters we discussed the importance of the evidence from the *Suttanipāṭa*, a Buddhist text of the fifth century B.C.⁽¹⁰⁾ It refers to the Āsmaka *janapada*, and provides evidence of possible trade contacts, and the earliest introduction of Buddhism into our region. The territory comprises the Nizamabad district, in the north-east of Andhra Pradesh. The reference to the region as a *janapada* suggests a type of political formation with an agrarian base organized around *grāmas* and a *nigama* and the territorial unit ruled by a *rājan* or king.⁽¹¹⁾ Although the evidence is the earliest we have for any political organization in our area of study, it is not significant enough to provide any discussion. We must consider that the evidence is based on how north Indian writers perceived the Āsmaka territory from the outside. This is quite peripheral to Andhra Pradesh, although it lies at a significant point on the incipient trade routes of the region. Moreover, archaeological evidence to corroborate such an early reference is not forthcoming. The place, however, has some *Pandukal* burials and we may surmise that the *rājan* referred to is perhaps a local clan leader emulating the cultural traits of the Gangetic valley which may have been introduced by traders and Buddhist monks.

10 See Ch. V, pp. 146-147; Ch. III p. 95.

11 A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, Simla, 1973, pp. 10-15.

It is, however, in the fourth and third centuries B.C. that we have definite evidence for the extension of the authority of a north Indian power into our region.⁽¹²⁾ We also have evidence for commercial contacts and the spread of Buddhism from outside.⁽¹³⁾ The development of these contacts had important ramifications. The development of communication networks with the more advanced region of the Gangetic valley⁽¹⁴⁾ led to the diffusion of new ideas into our region from the outside. With the increasing population pressure of the *Pandukal* people and with the inherent potential for agricultural development, the extension of plough and paddy cultivation and the necessary institutional structures, the intensification of agriculture and the sedentarization of the nomadic people took place.⁽¹⁵⁾ Perhaps the most important development was that the clans of the *Pandukal* people gave way to the class of *gahapati* or *gr̥hapati* as a social category.⁽¹⁶⁾ Thus some of the early agriculturalists who made donations at Amaravati refer to themselves by their clan names.⁽¹⁷⁾

But with the new developments in place of the clan name we get in the inscriptions references to the *gahapatis* or householders making donations along with their extended families. These extended families in one way seemed to have catered to the organization

12 See for instance an Aśokan pillar inscription in D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXV, pp. 40-43.

13 Chs. III, pp. 53ff ; IV, pp. 145ff.

14 Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Harmondsworth, 1977, pp. 50-91.

15 This is the central argument of Ch. II, pp. 8-51.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

17 See for instance R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 8; A. Ghosh, 'The Early Phase of the Stupa at Amaravati, South-East India', *Proceedings of the Second Conference on Asian Archaeology*, Colombo, 1969, Nos. 24, 25, 32 and 7A.

of labour required for intensive agriculture which was centred around the patrilineal household. The *gahapati*s seem to emerge as a powerful people who controlled land which was cultivated by the members of the family and some amount of labour may also have been hired. While the *gahapati* itself is a term adopted from the Gangetic valley, some of these classes with substantial power and control over the exchange networks began to emulate the titles associated with the Mauryan administrators. The developments ensuing from the extension of Mauryan authority into the region will be discussed now. What follows is largely a reconstruction based on very meagre evidence.

Aśokan inscriptions have been discovered both at Amaravati in Guntur district,⁽¹⁸⁾ and Yerragudi and Rajula Mandagiri in Kurnool district.⁽¹⁹⁾ Inscriptions from the adjacent districts of Karnataka refer to a Suvannagiri whence the princely governor or *āryaputra* or *mahāmātras* or officials appear to have issued orders.⁽²⁰⁾ This place has been identified with Kanakagiri in Kurnool district, in the vicinity of the Yerragudi set of major and minor rock edicts. The Mauryans and the northern traders appear to have attached considerable significance to this area, which to this day shows traces of ancient gold workings.⁽²¹⁾ Suvannagiri (Suvarnagiri) means a 'golden mountain' and was the capital of the southern province of

18 See above, n. 12

19 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1965, p. 50.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff.

21 Romila Thaper, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 236-237.

the Mauryan empire.^{(22} The traders of north India sought gold, diamonds and other precious stones in south India.⁽²³ and the local *Pandukal* people were probably crucial in the exchange of these prestige items and as a result the tribal chief who could control these items may have acquired substantial power.^{(24}

The impact of Mauryan authority was far greater in the lower Krishna valley. Apart from the Aśokan inscription, a few other contemporary epigraphs have been found at Amaravati.^{(25} The importance of the adjacent ancient diamond mining area of Partiyala^{(26} and the fertile tracts of the district which were probably cultivated for the part-time agriculture of the semi-sedentary *Pandukal* people the, navigable river Krishna and the strategic location on the routes of communication may have had an important bearing on the establishment of Mauryan authority at Amaravati or the ancient Dhānyakaṭaka. Once again, the demand for prestige goods and the control over these items by the local *Pandukal* people may have had important bearing on the evolution of power in the hands of the *Pandukal* chiefs.

The remains of these people also suggest another possibility for the acquisition of power by the chiefs. The grave goods,

- 22 *Ibid.* The modern name Kanakagiri is derived from the Telugu *kanakamu* which means gold and the name of the place also means a 'golden mountain'. See also F.R. Allchin, 'Upon the Antiquity and methods of Gold Mining in Ancient India', *J.E.S.H.O.*, Vol. V, No. 2, (1962), pp. 195-211.
- 23 See the frontispiece to Ch. III.
- 24 Anthropological literature abounds in information on the status and power associated with the control of rare commodities.
- 25 R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 12; *Lluders List*, No. 1266; A. Ghosh, 'The Early Phase.....', No. 2.
- 26 See J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, (Reprint), Varanasi, 1970, Pl. II.

especially the iron implements, are predominantly martial in character.⁽²⁷⁾ Swords, lances, daggers, spearheads, axes and arrowheads have been recovered in large numbers from most of the *Pandukal* burials in Andhra Pradesh. One of the first uses that iron was put to was for weapons, a situation quite similar to the Gangetic valley.⁽²⁸⁾ Thus the martial nature of the evidence not only suggests violence but also is indicative of an expanding tribal system. As Leshnik points out, bows and arrows are the weapons of regular fighters or woodsmen. In such a context of endemic danger it is only natural that *Pandukal* chieftains should acquire power, and they already controlled the local exchange networks.⁽²⁹⁾ These emergent paramount chiefs acquired even greater power by their association with the Mauryan traders and officials.

One of the Amaravati inscriptions in Mauryan characters records the donation of a pillar at the *Mahastupa* by one *sēnagōpa* Muḍukunṭala.⁽³⁰⁾ *Sēnagōpa* was probably a Mauryan official heading five or ten villages.⁽³¹⁾ Thus Muḍukunṭala could have been a Mauryan official stationed at Amaravati or a local chieftain who either was conferred the designation or was emulating the title. In fact, his name with the prefix *Muḍu* smacks of a Dravidian or local origin. Another contemporary inscription records the gifts

27 L. Leshnik, *S.I.M.B.*, pp. 172-185.

28 R.S. Sharma, 'Class Formation and its material basis in the Upper Gangetic basin (c. 1000 - 500 B.C.)', *I.H.R.*, Vol. II, No. 1, (1975), pp. 2-3.

29 Especially iron. Ch. III, p. 62.

30 *Lüders List*, No. 1266.

31 *Arthaśāstra*, II, 35, 36.

made by a *kumāra* Avatakama.⁽³²⁾ This title is common to the princes of royal blood in Aśokan inscriptions,⁽³³⁾ who were positioned as provincial governors.⁽³⁴⁾ Thus, Avatakama was either a Mauryan governor positioned at Amaravati or a local chieftain who was conferred the status for accepting Mauryan authority.⁽³⁵⁾

Yet another inscription from the same place datable to the third and second centuries B.C., mentions a *rajalekhaka*⁽³⁶⁾ or royal scribe. Amaravati provides us not only with the earliest evidence for writing in our region⁽³⁷⁾ but also the majority of the early historical inscriptions before the turn of the present era are from this place. The Aśokan Brāhmī script of some of these epigraphs strongly suggests that the *rajalekhaka* was a Mauryan official. Other Mauryan officials such as the *rajukas* and *mahāmātras* who are mentioned in the inscriptions from Kurnool district may have been located at Amaravati, although the evidence at present is not forthcoming.

Although the estension of Mauryan authority and the importance of goods traded are obvious, there is no evidence as to the actual working of the Mauryan administration in Andhra Pradesh. The few officials or administrators mentioned do not appear to have organized politics at the local level. Their role

32 A. Ghosh, 'The Early Phase.....', No. 2.

33 See for instance at Tosali or the modern Dhauli in Orissa, D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 44.

34 For a discussion of Mauryan administration, see Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, pp. 94-136; I.W. Mabbett, *Truth, Myth and Politics in Ancient India*, pp. 41-53.

35 For instance *Puṣyagupta* and *Yavana-rāja* Tuṣāspa were appointed by the Mauryan rulers as district governors in Western India. See D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p.177.

36 R.P. Chanda, *E.I.*, XV, No. 12. 37 I.K.Sarma, *S.I.E.*, pp.61,66.

may have been to keep up the flow of tribute^{(38} from the local chieftains and facilitate long distance trade. This also explains the findings of silver punch-marked coins datable to this period at Amaravati.^{(39} They were probably used to enable exchange with local people.

In the Sangam literature we find a reference to the subjugation of a tribal stronghold called Mokur in South Arcot district by the Mauryas.⁽⁴⁰ As this district is not far from Kurnool, we may assume that the Mauryas may have attacked from their base in the latter area. In this operation they were apparently assisted by a tribe of the south, called Kośars.^{(41} These allies may have been the local *Pandukal* people. Kurnool district abounds in their burial sites. We may postulate a similar pattern for the lower Krishna valley where the local chieftains probably had accepted or had allegiance to the Mauryan authority. It is not surprising then that some of these tribal chieftains established themselves as kings, emulating their predecessors in subsequent centuries.

Before we go on to discuss the evidence from the inscriptions of the second and first centuries B.C., we shall try to interpret the meagre evidence from *Pandukal* burials in the context of the present argument. Although a number of these burials have been explored, very few have been systematically excavated and reported. The evidence from the majority of them is uniform and yields little data for the present discussion. We shall, however, discuss the evidence

38 I.W. Mabbett, *op. cit.*, pp. 124,135.

39 P.L. Gupta, *The Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*, Hyderabad, 1963.

40 M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Mauryan Problem in Sangam Works in Historical Perspective', *J.I.H.*, Vol. LIII, Pt. II, (1975), pp. 243-254.

41 *Ibid.*

from the *Pandukal* burials of the Nagarjunakonda valley which have been excavated before the submersion of the area.⁴²

In the valley, two localities separated by 2½ km have yielded *Pandukal* remains in areas unsuitable for cultivation. This is in keeping with the general pattern in the rest of south India. One minor cluster was located at site no. 44 and a major one at site no. 63. The latter consisted of 18 stone-circles out of which 13 have been excavated. Only one has been excavated from the former, and the total number is not available. An isolated late medieval example from site no. 76 suggests that the same burial practices continued to a limited extent in subsequent centuries. All the grave goods contained the usual *Pandukal* paraphernalia such as iron implements and Black and Red ware pottery. Burials VII and XIV, however, provide material that could be interpreted for any social differentiation.

At site no. 63, No. VII out of the 13 excavated is the only grave containing a cist. It also had multiple capstones which, however, were also found on No. IX and at No. I at site 44. The latter is the only other cist found in the excavations in the valley, although it yielded no information of significance. Even among the remaining graves at site 63, eleven out of twelve were pit burials where the pits were cut into hard rock. The massive slabs of brown quartzite for both cist burials appear to have been brought from a distance of over 25 kms, which points to their significance. No. VII contained a very rare brass armlet. It also contained the only

42 The following account is based on R. Subrahmanyam *et. al.*, *Nagarjunakonda (1954-60)*, New Delhi, pp. 165-204; A.H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Delhi, 1938.

fragments of the rare all black ware which carries a glossy slip on both sides. The scant human remains from the pit may have been those of an important person. It is also relatively late.

Similarly we have significant finds from No. XIV. These constitute two spiral earrings of gold and 35 small cylindrical beads of thin sheet of the same metal. An alloy of silver was used to make 18 spacer beads. The origin of the metal is open to question. The silver must have been acquired through trade contacts, as it neither occurs in a natural state nor is it found in south India. The closing date of *Pandukal* burials at Yelleswaram near Nagarjunakonda has been put around 200-100 B.C.⁽⁴³⁾ We have assumed a similar date for Nagarjunakonda. In such case, the occurrence of silver punch-marked coins at Amaravati becomes significant. The silver content of the beads may be from the metal of these coins. Only a spectrometric analysis can solve this puzzle. I am strongly inclined to think of this possibility, as there is no other way of finding a link for the way in which the silver reached Nagarjunakonda.

The gold may have had a similar story, although it did not come from coins. We have earlier seen that Amaravati and Kanakagiri area in Kurnool district were provincial headquarters of the Mauryas. The latter has been convincingly attributed to local gold. As both regions are connected by the river Krishna and its tributary, the Tungabhadra, we may assume the importance of the

43 M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on Yelleswaram Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 4-9.

river for communications and trade links between the two regions. Nagarjunakonda is half way between the two areas. Both Nagarjunakonda and Dharanikota have wharves.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The beginnings of the latter at least are datable to the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. Now we may assume that the Nagarjunakonda valley was inhabited by a tribal people who built the *Pandukal* burials. The Mauryan administrators and traders may have had friendly relations with them. The jewellery from XIV is certainly derived from this link. The remains from XIV are those of a woman. We can assume that she probably was married to the local chieftain from Amaravati, and that the jewellery was her personal property which was probably fabricated by a goldsmith at Amaravati. We have evidence for goldsmiths from Amaravati for this period.⁽⁴⁵⁾

It has been shown elsewhere that the Ikṣvākus had close affinities with the physical features of the present-day Chenchu tribal people.⁽⁴⁶⁾ In fact, the tribal chieftain who married a woman from Amaravati before the turn of the Christian era may have been an ancestor of the Ikṣvākus who later emerged as a dynasty in the same valley and even practised setting up commemorative pillars of stone, to the west of burial no. IV.

From the foregoing discussion we can assume that exchange networks, whether in prestige items or women, probably were crucial to the evolution of the local power structure during this period.

⁴⁴ Ch. IV, pp. 115-128.⁴⁵ I.A.A.R., 1964-65, p.2.

⁴⁶ A Ray, 'Sculptures of Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1965, pp. 9 ff.

In fact, women figure prominently in the polity of the Ikṣvākus in the subsequent centuries. At this juncture we may point out that Northern Black Polished ware,⁽⁴⁷⁾ an extremely fine variety of pottery of the Gangetic valley, may have also figured in the exchanges and it was probably considered as an item of great value with status significance.

In the background to all these developments was Buddhism, introduced before the Mauryan penetration of the area, but which became significant in the third century B.C. at Dhānyakaṭaka and a few other places. In the centuries to follow, Buddhism provided an important ideological dimension to the evolution of the early historical culture in our region. As mentioned before, the importance of stone as an object of devotion for the *Pandukal* people and its widespread usage in the early Buddhist places of worship is an important facet to the spread of Buddhism in early Andhra. The spread of a faith associated with the rulers from the Gangetic valley and the consequent effects of Sanskritization provided an important means of legitimizing symbols of authority which were emulated by the local ruling élite. In subsequent centuries Brahmanical faiths catered to this purpose as well.

In the second and first centuries B.C., we have some evidence for a few chiefdoms or kingdoms in our region which were controlled by a ruling élite which was the result of the alliances and authority of the Mauryan penetration in our region. Five inscriptions from Amaravati, datable to the second century

47 For a study of the evidence of this pottery in our region, see I.K. Sarma, 'NBP C-14 dates', *J.I.H.*, Vol. LII, No. I, (1974), pp.49-56.

B.C., record the gifts made by people called Pākoṭakas.⁽⁴⁸⁾

While three of the donations were collective, two of them were by individual donors. One of the latter Dharaka had the designation of a *senāpati* or commander. While the tribal name appears to be indigenous, the personal names and title definitely bear the cultural stamp of Mauryan presence in the region. It is likely that the Pākoṭakas were a local tribe who formerly subscribed to Mauryan authority. The differences in the nature of the gifts, and the collective and individual titles indicate some social differentiation. A third century A.D. inscription from the same district refers to a *gahapati* or householder called Vākāṭaka.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Pākoṭakas of the inscriptions are identified with the Vākāṭakas who ruled in central India and were contemporaries of the Guptas.⁽⁵⁰⁾ From the above evidence we may conclude that the Pākoṭakas were local tribal people, probably people associated with the building of the *Pandukal* burials, who became subordinate to Mauryan authority in the third century B.C. In the next century they acquired more power with the disappearance of the Mauryas from Andhra. They appear to have remained influential and prosperous until the 3rd-4th century A.D., when they established themselves as an important ruling dynasty in the adjacent region.

Another inscription from Amaravati refers to a *rāja-kumārī* or princess Sammalī who, along with her retinue, *parivesakas*, made

48 See above n.17. 49 R. Chanda, *E.I.*, No. 27.

50 *Ibid.*

a collective donation.⁽⁵¹⁾ Although no further interpretation can be given, we can assume that by the second century B.C., certain north Indian titles were being emulated.

The most interesting information of this period comes from Bhattiprolu in the lower reaches of the Krishna.⁽⁵²⁾ The *stūpa* at this place yielded inscribed caskets which refer to a king or *rājan*, Kuberaka, who was the son of one Śārīra. The latter carries no royal title. A *goṭhi* or committee of the inhabitants of the *nigama* headed by Kuberaka donated a casket. The epigraphs also give names of people who probably formed the *goṭhi* and were the inhabitants of the *nigama* or the adjacent settlements. A treasurer who was the son of a village headman *gāmanī*, also features in the inscription. A monk is also represented. A place called Nāṁdapura is referred to in another inscription. This was probably the name of the same place. Kuberaka was a local chieftain who ruled from Ghantasala over the adjoining territory.

We have already discussed earlier the rise of a hierarchy of settlements as a result of the intensification of agriculture and the extension of trading networks. The reference to the *grāma nigama*, *pura* and the *rājan* point to the formation of a *janapada*-type settlement. In this most fertile tract of the lower Krishna valley, the people of the *Pandukal* culture made a transition to sedentary, organized life. Judging from the absence of *Pandukal* burials from

51 A. Ghosh, 'The Early Phase.....', No. 37.

52 The following details are based on inscriptions. *Lluders List*, Nos. 1329-1339.

the region, we can surmise that the area around Bhattiprolu was cleared and settled by one of the tribes and the incipient coastal trade may have provided the incentive.

An inscription from Amaravati refers to an *uparaka* from Kaḍimuṭi, the modern Kondamudi in Guntur district.⁽⁵³⁾ *Uparaka* could be either an official or a person associated with the excavation of tanks and wells. *Uppara* in Telugu refers to a caste with such a function. With the increasing number of settlements in the Guntur district where catchment areas and tanks are important because of low rainfall, it should not be surprising if we come across a reference to *upparas* as a social group. An inscription from Kesanapalli in the same district refers to a⁽⁵⁴⁾ *bhāṇḍākarika* or storekeeper who may have been employed by a prosperous householder who controlled the surrounding area. He probably dealt with the storage of grain. Evidence from excavations of the same site, a courtyard with storage bins, points to such a possibility.

From the meagre inscriptional evidence and from the increase in the number of early historical sites by the turn of the present era, we may safely assume that with the intensification of agriculture and the increasing sedentarization of the *Pandukal* people, with the growth of exchange networks and the impact of ideas from the Gangetic valley, a number of chiefdoms or kingdoms evolved

53 R. Chanda, *E.I.*, XV, No. 33.

54 M.A.W. Khan, *A Monograph on an Early Buddhist Stupa at Kesanapalli*, Hyderabad, 1969, p.4.

all over Andhra, especially in the lower Krishna valley. The agrarian elite, which became more clearly defined in subsequent centuries, was made up of heads of patrilineal households who not only controlled land but also provided for long distance trade. Some of them who probably were *Pandukal* chieftains in the earlier centuries became dominant, and began emulating the sanskritic titles and symbols of the rulers from northern India. They probably maintained their position by forging not only marriage alliances with one another but also with those who were subordinate to them. This certainly was the situation under the Ikṣvākus in the third and fourth centuries A.D. when we have more definite evidence. Before dealing with the later period, we shall examine what little evidence is available for the first two centuries of the present era.

An inscription of the early second century A.D. from Velpuru in Guntur district records that a *maṇḍapa* or pavilion was completed or caused to be constructed by the female torch-bearer or *disi dharikā* of Gālaveya Aira Mahārāja Hārītīputra Siri Mānasada.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The editor of the inscription suggests that the king was related to the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas on the grounds of the common family name *Aira*. But *Aira* or *Arya* appears to be more of an honorific title than a family name.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The title *Mahārāja* is, however, important. It is used for the first time in Andhra. This title appears to have been popular for kings at least from the time of

55 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 86.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Khāravela in the eastern parts of the peninsula.⁽⁵⁷⁾ It is quite possible that Manasada's predecessors paid tribute to Khāravela on his expedition to subdue the rulers of eastern Andhra.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In the following decades they probably emulated the titles of both *Mahārāja* and *Aira* used by Khāravela. Such manipulations to legitimise their authority were not limited to the impact of the rulers of Kalinga alone.

The metronymic *Hārītīputra* and the honorific *Siri* smack of very strong Sātavāhana influence.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Sātavāhanas, however, do not seem to use the title *mahārāja*. They used the title *rājan* quite uniformly⁽⁶⁰⁾ and it was adopted by the western Kṣatrapas,⁽⁶¹⁾ and in the succeeding centuries by the Ābhīras,⁽⁶²⁾ and the Sātakarṇi family of Vanavāsi.⁽⁶³⁾ Thus the symbols of two important ruling houses of the early peninsular India were used by Mānasada to legitimize his authority. As we shall see in the following pages, this strategy was continued by the successors of the Sātavāhanas in Andhra, the Ikṣvākus, who adopted both titles: *rājan* and *mahārāja*.

The Hathigumpha inscription⁽⁶⁴⁾ of Khāravela, who was a king of Kalinga located to the northeast of Andhra and apparently caused the destruction of Pithumḍa which was founded by a former king. This place, which has also been referred to by Ptolemy as an inland city and a metropolis, and in an early Jaina text can be identified with Dhānyakaṭaka.⁽⁶⁵⁾

57 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 217-220. 58 *Ibid.*

59 See below, pp. 190ff. 60 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 283; G. Bühler, *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96; H. Krishna Sastri, *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 318; H. Sarkar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273-74; E. Senart, *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 59-96.

61 E. Senart, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82 ff. 62 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

63 G.S. Gai, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 241.

64 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 217-220. The inscription is dated to the first century B.C.

65 See Ch. III, pp. 82-83 for a discussion of this place.

Yet another inscription of Khāravēla has been recovered from Guntupalli in Krishna district.⁽⁶⁶⁾ This place has not only yielded an ancient monastery but also in its vicinity are ruins of ancient habitational sites spreading over an area of a few square kilometres. Large quantities of ancient pottery, ring wells and bricks of large dimensions have been discovered. Based on field observation we may assume that systematic excavations would reveal an urban centre of the same nature as at Amaravati or Nagarjunakonda. At present we can only assume that an important kingdom evolved here during the early centuries of the Christian era.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Ptolemy in the second century A.D. mentions also the territory of the Salakenoi and their capital Benagouron. The latter has been identified with Veṅgīpura, the modern Peddavegi, and the people with the Śālaṅkāyanas.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The above-mentioned Guntupalli is only about 40 kilometres from Peddavegi. A second century B.C. inscription from Amaravati mentions a place called Kudūra which has been identified with Guduru near Machilipatnam.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Kudura was also the capital of the Br̥hatphalāyanas in the third century A.D.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Thus, in the first and second centuries A.D., the region of Guntupalli was probably controlled by the ancestors of the two dynasties mentioned above. They were probably of *Pandukal* clans which settled in this region.

66 R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupally Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela*, Hyderabad, 1968.

67 Subrahmanyam's identification of the place with Pithumḍa or Pityndra is not tenable: *Ibid.*, p. 5. The evidence of the *Uttaradhyaṇa sūtra* clearly shows that the place was on a waterway. Guntupalli is an inland site. Ch. III, p. 82.

68 D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp. 63 ff. 69 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 297.

70 E. Hultzsch, *E.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315-319; D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp. 42-43.

These kingdoms or centres of local power continued into the newly emerging system under the later dynasties when they became the different building blocks that were precariously placed in the local power structure. In the second century A.D., we have evidence for the extension of Sātavāhana authority into our region. There are neither coins nor inscriptions assignable to the pre-Gautamīputra period from coastal Andhra.⁽⁷¹⁾ An inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi from Nasik in Maharashtra refers to the territories of Asika, Aśmaka and Seṭagiri conquered by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.⁽⁷²⁾ Aśmaka has earlier been identified with the Nizamabad region. Asika could be the area between the rivers Krishna and Godavari. Seṭagiri has been identified with a hill near Nagarjunakonda⁽⁷³⁾ and this is the earliest reference to the inclusion of a district of the lower Krishna valley in the Sātavāhana territory. In the inland districts, however, Sātavāhana coins of Sātakarṇi I and Śrī Sātavāhana were found at Kondapur and Hyderabad.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Such numismatic evidence, portable in character, could have reached these places through trade channels, and need not necessarily suggest the ^{early} extension of Sātavāhana authority into that region.

In the second century A.D., however, the wide distribution of Sātavāhana coinage all over Andhra Pradesh does indicate the extension of their authority into our region.⁽⁷⁵⁾ A few of their inscriptions have also been recovered from coastal Andhra.⁽⁷⁶⁾

71 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Satavāhana Empire*, Delhi, 1980, 'Historical Introduction', pp. 1-29.

72 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 203 ff. 73 *Ibid.*

74 I.K. Sarma, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-94. 75 See Ch. III, Chart II and Map IV.

76 See Map VIII in this chapter. *Inders List*, No. 1248, 1340, 1341; H. Sarkar, 'Some Early Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum', *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. IV, pp. 6, 8; H. Sarkar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI.

It has been noticed earlier that the extension of Sātavāhana authority and coinage into the coastal districts was simultaneous with the growth of maritime trade, and the very distribution of coins along the principal trade routes points to a monetary economy facilitating essentially long distance trade rather than local trade. We have also noticed that the commodities of trade were mainly of prestige value. So these rulers obviously had a stake in controlling trade in our region. It is not surprising then that they even issued ship-marked coins which were probably meant for facilitating maritime commerce. (77)

Given the political importance of prestige goods, we may assume that the Sātavāhanas used these goods to a certain extent for establishing their authority. Part of these goods were probably paid as tribute to them. Moreover, control over trade meant also control over precious metals such as the Roman gold and silver. It also meant control over traders and bankers who, having emerged out of the landed élite, were wielding a certain amount of influence in the market centres.

Beyond some very general inferences, the scant evidence does not allow us to make any definite comments on the Sātavāhana polity. The evidence of epigraphs from Maharashtra does not explain much on our region. There is no material on the taxes and one wonders if they were levied at all. Nor do the inscriptions

76 contd. pp. 273-74; P. Seshadri Sastri, *E.I.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 256-260; J. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 61; V.S. Sukthankar, *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153-55.

77 This paragraph is based on the discussion in Ch. III.

give any idea of the administrators or of salaries. What appears to be a possibility is that when the later Sātavāhanas moved into our region, they made alliances with the local ruling élite. Such alliances were especially matrimonial in character and were clearly recorded in the inscriptions of their successors, the Ikṣvākus.

Rulers of both dynasties and their subordinate kings used metronymics in their inscriptions, which usually took the form of a feminine of the brahmanical *gotra* name with *putra* as a suffix. These metronymics were apparently first used by the Śuṅgas of northern India and the Sātavāhanas used them for the first time in the peninsula.⁽⁷⁸⁾ We have already discussed such usage by a king Mānasada in Guntur district.

The use of metronymics, however, did not mean matrilineal descent. In a recent book, Trautmann⁽⁷⁹⁾ substantiates this view successfully by resorting to early Indian literary as well as epigraphical sources. He points out that such names were used to distinguish among half-brothers, a distinction dependent on the status of their mothers. Thus the mother's patrilineage was quite important in order to trace a person's descent on the father's and mother's side. The Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku kings were polygynous, which resulted in an increasing number of sons whose relative rank may have been difficult to determine. This problem was enhanced by the practice of cross-cousin marriages. An increasing number of heirs and the practice of royal endogamy must have led to a conflict situation as far as succession was concerned. Given such

78 T.R.Trautmann, *Dravidian Kinship*, Cambridge, 1981, pp.363-65.

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 363-380.

a situation, the bilineal reference to rank probably provided an easier means of ranking between potential heirs.

Trautmann also discusses in detail the lineality of the Sātavāhanas and their aristocracy. He bases himself primarily on the evidence from Maharashtra.⁽⁸⁰⁾ These rulers were patrilineal and had patrilineal succession to the throne. They married freely and quite regularly with two groups of people called *mahārāṭhi* and *mahābhoja*. These two groups also intermarried, and they formed the aristocracy of the Sātavāhanas. These groups were internally divided into patrilineages and their status was hereditary. They subscribed to the authority of the Sātavāhanas. The marriage ties between the ruling family and these groups apparently articulated the Sātavāhana polity.

Such evidence for the study of Sātavāhana rule in the Andhra districts is very fragmentary. A large number of coins with the legends of a *mahārāṭhi* family was discovered in the Hyderabad Kondapur region.⁽⁸¹⁾ The legends read *mahārāṭhisā* and *Sātakani Mahārāṭhi Sādakaṇa*. Another coin issued by a *mahārāṭhi* named Śiva Katana has been reported from Nellakondapalli in the Nalgonda district.⁽⁸²⁾ By an extension of Trautmann's argument, we may assume that these *mahārāṭhis* were allies of the Sātavāhanas in the inland districts of Andhra Pradesh. Some of them enjoyed the right to issue coins with their own names. These *mahārāṭhis* probably issued coins towards the close of the Sātavāhana rule.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 363-375.

81 M. Rama Rao, *Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1961, pp. 13 ff; A.M. Siddiqui, 'On a new Mahārāṭhi Coin', *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, (1966), pp.57 ff.

82 *Ibid.*

Similarly local chiefs designated *mahāsenāpati* appear to have had a considerable amount of autonomy. The title literally means the 'great commander in chief of the army'. There is some evidence for them in the Andhra region. The Chinna Ganjam inscription of the later Sātavāhana ruler Yajñasrī Sātakarṇi refers to one.⁽⁸³⁾ They probably ruled as subordinate chiefs in different parts of Andhra Pradesh. The title was probably conferred on them for accepting the Sātavāhana authority and status was probably hereditary. An inscription of Puḷumāvi from Myakadoni in Kurnool district refers to the country of the Sātavāhanihāra belonging to *mahāsenāpati* Khamdanāka (Skandanāga).⁽⁸⁴⁾ He probably was a local Nāga chief ruling over parts of the Kurnool district and for submitting to the Sātavāhana rulers he may have had conferred on him the title of *mahāsenāpati*. His kingdom may have been one of the two Nāga kingdoms referred to by Ptolemy on the Andhra coast stretching far into the interior.⁽⁸⁵⁾ A coin from Kondapur datable to the third century A.D. was issued by *mahāsenāpati* Bharadwāja-putra Śaka Māna of the Chutukula,⁽⁸⁶⁾ who later on became an independent ruler in northern Maharashtra. Similarly there were contemporary local coins from Kotalingala issued by a local ruler.⁽⁸⁷⁾

83 G. Bühler, *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96.

84 V.S. Sukthankar, *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153-155.

85 *Ptolemy*, pp. 186-187.

86 V.V. Mirashi, 'Two More coins from Kondapur', *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XV, (1953), pp. 115 ff.

87 *Bhārati*, (Telugu), June, 1978, pp. 51-55.

An inscription from Allur contains the earliest known reference to a *mahātalavara*.⁽⁸⁸⁾ It is dated on palaeographic grounds to the Sātavāhana period. The inscription refers to very generous donations made to a local Buddhist establishment. We may assume that this title was similar to the foregoing one. We shall discuss it in greater detail in the next section as it occurs very prominently in the Ikṣvāku records.

Now the question is whether the Sātavāhanas employed any officials and had a bureaucracy. The evidence for the Andhra districts is minimal. An interesting designation which occurs in inscriptions is *amātya*. *Amātyas* figure prominently in the Sātavāhana records of Maharashtra as executors of land grants, treasurers and governors. In Andhra, at Kodavolu, Eastern Godavari, an inscription of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Chandra Sātakarṇi refers to the establishment of the residence of an *amātya*.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The eastern Godavari district was hardly inhabited during this period and the nature of the evidence in the inscription can be interpreted as referring to the settling of new lands and the title may have been conferred on the local chieftain or on the royal chieftain. If we interpret the title *amātya*, then there is no supporting evidence for an established bureaucracy in Andhra at this time. Two inscriptions from Dharanikota and Amaravati refer to another *amātya* under the Sātavāhanas.⁽⁹⁰⁾ He is described as the grandson of a householder or *kuṭumbika*. In an earlier chapter we have discussed the social and economic background of the *kuṭumbikas* in inscriptions.

88 A.R.S.I.E., 1923-24, p. 97; K. Gopalacari, E.H.A.C., App.A, pp.88ff.

89 H. Krishna Sastri, E.I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 316-19.

90 P. Sheshadri Sastri, E.I., Vol. XXIV, pp. 256-260;
H. Sarkar, J.A.I.H., Vol. IV, pp. 6 ff.

Early historical Andhra Pradesh

Map VIII

The last mentioned inscription leaves some leeway for interpretation. The Sātavāhanas appear to have tried to extend some features⁽⁹¹⁾ of their polity from Maharashtra to Andhra. Such an extension was quite horizontal, and they probably never tried to organize politics at the local level. Thus the *amātyas*, as at Dharanikota and Amaravati, were local individuals of prominence who formed the aristocracy controlling land along with other *gahapatis* and *kitumbikas*. The last mentioned *amātya* appears to have participated and probably controlled the urban activities and wielded a certain amount of power. He may have been a local ruler who subscribed to Sātavāhana authority.

An inscription from Amaravati datable to the middle of the second century A.D. refers to an urban institution called *bhadanigama*⁽⁹²⁾ which was headed by the *setṭhis* or merchant-bankers of Chadakicha or Chandakritya. The identification of this place is not possible. It may have been very close to the findspot, and probably was part of the ancient Dhānyakataka.⁽⁹³⁾ The corporate body referred to may have been very similar to the *nigama-sabha* of Maharashtra which regulated the various activities of the merchants and artisans.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The *setṭhis* were perhaps the most influential and

91 R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1968, pp. 201-215. This discussion is based on evidence from Maharashtra.

92 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, p. 294.

93 The ancient Dhanyakataka was probably a conglomeration of small settlements. Ch. IV, pp. 111-120; See also J. Burgess, *op. cit.*,
141. pl. II.

94 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 164 ff.

powerful by virtue of their wealth in this context, and they probably operated in close association with the rulers to further their own interests. The title of the *amātya* was probably conferred by the Sātavāhanas on one of them who also controlled a substantial area of land and was influential locally. How else can we explain the Sātavāhana control of one of the most prosperous trading centres of the times?

The later Sātavāhana rulers themselves with their retinue and the subordinate rulers probably located themselves at this urban centre. A large number of coins and some important epigraphs of the later Sātavāhana rulers have been discovered at this place.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Patronage by the influential members of the royal family and aristocracy and the prosperous merchants and traders accounts for the growth of the local Buddhist centre.⁽⁹⁶⁾

From the foregoing discussion, we can assume that the Mauryan penetration of the lower Krishna valley, the simultaneous development of long distance trade and the increased diffusion of Buddhism coupled with the inherent potentialities for economic expansion of the area and the cultural attainments of the *Pandukal* people were crucial in the origins of the urban centre of Dhanyakataka. In the first two centuries of the present era, this urban centre seems to have become an important regal ritual centre of the Sātavāhanas. In fact, this cultural role of Dhanyakataka

95 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, pp.76-106; see above, n. 76 for relevant references.

96 See for instance, *A.S.M.G.M.*; D. Barrett, 'The Early Phase at Amaravati', *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, 1967, pp. 35-48; D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London, 1954; Philippe Stern and Mireille Benisti (eds.), *Evolution du style Indien d'Amaravati*, Paris, 1961.

can be traced back to Mauryan times. The presence of a ruling class is also manifest in the evidence of a citadel from this site.⁽⁹⁷⁾ From the incipient stages it was an important centre of pilgrimage⁽⁹⁸⁾ for people who accepted the precepts of Buddhism. Future excavations would certainly reveal some Brahmanical places of worship as well, and the Sātavāhanas with their propensity for Vedic rituals would have patronized some of these. From personal observation of the recent renovations of the Śaivite temple of Amarēśwara at this place and the surrounding archaeological evidence, we may hazard a guess and say that there was probably an ancient Śaivite shrine at this place even before the development of the present temple in medieval times. We do not, however, have any stratigraphic evidence, and this is probably impossible to establish as an excavation of the site is bound to bring down the wrath of millions of Śaivites on the archaeologist.

Thus the first process of urbanization in our region can be defined in terms of the evolution of centres of dominance which have cultural roles of the highest importance and greatest consequence in the given society. In spite of the meagre evidence available and the inchoate state of investigation, we have reasonably reconstructed not only the regal-ritual or ceremonial cultural role but also the mercantile cultural role of Dhānyakaṭaka. From the

97 *I.A.A.R.*, 1962-63, pp. 1-2; 1963-64, pp. 2-4; 1964-65, pp.1-4.

98 See R. Chanda, *E.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 258-275; H. Sarkar, *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-13.

discussion of the available archaeological evidence from other sites,⁽⁹⁹⁾ we may extend such an argument to the other urban centres in the region, including Nagarjunakonda, of the second, third and fourth centuries A.D.

What is interesting is the occurrence of citadels at almost all these sites which clearly indicates a ruling group at each of these places. Perhaps we could summarize the Sātavāhana polity by interpreting the observation recorded by Pliny quoted as a frontispiece to this chapter. The numbers were probably exaggerated. Although the account is datable to the latter half of the first century A.D., Pliny apparently utilized earlier accounts. D.C. Sircar,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ however, quite rightly suggests that Pliny probably received his information from a later source. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* datable to the time of Augustus (27 B.C. - A.D. 14) assigns a large territory to the Andre Indi.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The reference appears to be to the Sātavāhanas, who not only became very powerful by the first century A.D., but were also described in comparatively late sources as Andhras.⁽¹⁰²⁾

If some of the towns defended by walls and towers were from our region,⁽¹⁰³⁾ they were probably regal ritual centres of an autonomous ruling élite who controlled not only the surrounding region but also the principal trade routes that skirted these towns.

99 See the discussion on various sites in Ch. IV.

100 In *The Age of Imperial Unity, History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1951, pp. 195-96.

101 E.H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. II, London, 1879, pp. 696-97.

102 See above n. 100. 103 For instance, Dharanikota, Nagarjunakonda and Dhulikatta.

These groups formed the aristocracy of the Sātavāhanas, and the marriage ties probably articulated the polity. The Sātavāhanas conferred on them titles such as *mahārathi* and *mahāsenāpati* and derived their military strength from them. In such alliances, the circulation of prestige goods would undoubtedly have been quite crucial, and it was such commodities that characterized the contemporary long distance trade. Is it not then natural that the Sātavāhanas not only extended their authority into coastal Andhra to benefit from the increasing maritime commerce and that they issued coinage of considerable variety to facilitate transactions?

The successors of the Sātavāhanas in our region were the Ikṣvākus, and theirs was the first local dynasty of Andhra Pradesh.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ We have earlier commented on their origins. The ancestors of the Ikṣvākus were probably the *Pandukal* burial builders of the Nagarjunakonda valley. They were probably allies or subordinates of the Mauryas. Amita Ray has convincingly argued that the men and women depicted in the sculptures of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda were akin to the present-day Chenchu tribal people of Srisailam.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Thus the Ikṣvākus appear to have been indigenous people.

Earlier studies have tried to find a link between the Ikṣvākus and the ancient north Indian kṣatriya lineage of the Ikṣvākus in the Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic traditions.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Based on such an inference they assumed that the Ikṣvākus migrated to Andhra from the Gangetic valley. Such a theory fails to explain the

104 For studies of this dynasty see D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp.9-40; M. Rama Rao, *Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri*, Tirupati, 1969; M.Rama Rao, *Studies in the Early History of Āndhradeśa*, Madras, 1971.

105 See above pp. 179-180. 106 See above n. 104.

prevalence of cross-cousin marriages among the Ikṣvākus. Sircar attempts to rationalize these marriages by suggesting that they were Dravidianized Aryan immigrants.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ He again approves of Caldwell's view that the Aryan immigrants to the south were mainly Brahmins and that local kings were Dravidians who took Sanskrit titles and pedigrees devised by the Brahmin preceptors.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ We can, however, agree with Trautmann on the possibility of their being Aryanized Dravidian local chiefs.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

As has been shown above, the Ikṣvākus appear to have been the descendants of the local *Pandukal* people in the Nagarjunakonda valley. Although the dynastic name implies a claim to descent from the Vedic Ikṣvākus, the popularity of Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley may have been the reason for their making such a claim. After all, according to tradition, Buddha belonged to the Ikṣvāku lineage, and this is specifically referred to by Vīrapurī^{sa}datta in an inscription from Nagarjunakonda.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

We have earlier noted the conquest of Seṭagiri by the Sātavāhanas and the place has been identified with Nagarjunakonda.⁽¹¹¹⁾ If the local chieftains of Seṭagiri were the ancestors of the Ikṣvākus, they probably began calling themselves Ikṣvāku *kula* from being subordinates to the Sātavāhanas and emulating the Brahmanical ways of the latter. There is strong evidence for Sātavāhana authority in the valley. An inscription belonging to the Sātavāhana king,

107 D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp. 10-13.

108 *Ibid.*

109 T.R. Trautmann, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

110 J.Ph.Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 22.

111 See above, p. 188.

Vijaya Sātakarni, has been discovered at Nagarjunakonda.⁽¹¹²⁾

Excavations have also revealed from pre-Ikṣvāku deposits a coin-mould of the portrait coin-type of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and many hoards of later Sātavāhana coins.⁽¹¹³⁾ The capital of Ikṣvākus Vijayapurī itself was probably named after the king Vijaya mentioned in the inscriptions.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Another point needs clarification. If the Ikṣvākus were seeking legitimacy by associating themselves with the lineage of Buddha, it sounds paradoxical that they should be staunch supporters of Vedic ritual.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The first king, Chāṃtamūla I, who established his capital at Vijayapurī assumed royal titles such as *rājan* and *Siri*, common to the Sātavāhanas. From the records of his successors we learn that he apparently performed a number of Vedic and Brahmanical sacrifices like *Agnihotra*, *Agniṣṭoma*, *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya*.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Such activities show that he was seeking legitimacy of his rule by conforming to various Brahmanical practices. These probably became popular in Andhra under the Sātavāhanas. The same king is also attributed with the practice of several of the sixteen *mahādānas* including *Hiranyagarbha* which symbolized rebirth or reentry into the caste-system. This was probably done to acquire respectability, and the dynastic name Ikṣvāku *kula* was taken or given by the Brahmin preceptors after the ceremony.

112 H. Sarkar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273-74.

113 I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, p. 109.

114 See above n. 112. 115 Ch. V, pp. 158-59.

116 *Ibid.*

Thus, the Brahmanical and Buddhist sides of the story of the adoption of the Ikṣvāku *kula* by the dynasty at first pose a contradiction. It could, however, have been the result of the ingenuity of the Brahmanic preceptors of Chāṁtamūla. If anything, the Brahmins and Buddhists may have had a close affinity. It has been pointed out in a statistical study on the class origins of Buddhist monks and laymen recorded in the Pali texts that the greatest number of converts to both categories came not from Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas but from the Brahmins.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Ikṣvāku authority extended to the whole of the lower Krishna valley. Their inscriptions are found mostly at Nagarjundkonda and a few at Rentala, Gurzala, Kesārapalli, Dachehalli, Ummadivaram in the Guntur district, at Uppugunduru in Prakasam district and Jaggayyapeta, Alluru and Ramireddipalli in Krishna district.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Their coins have been found at Ongole of Prakasam district, Gannavaram and Kesarapalli of Krishna district.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

The Ikṣvākus had matrimonial alliances not only with a number of subordinate ruling families in the lower Krishna valley but also with rulers in the adjacent territories. The nature of control extended by the Ikṣvākus over their territories seems to have been very similar to that of the Sātavāhanas in this region. It was a complicated strategy of marriage forging. This they achieved through their daughters and through many queens they took. They used cross-cousin marriages to strengthen the royal family.⁽¹²⁰⁾

117 Professor A.L.Basham (personal communication). For details see Ch. V, n. 47.

118 See Map VIII.

119 Ch. III, Map IV.

120 T.R. Trautmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-380. This work became available just at the time of the final drafting of this chapter.

Women not only were given to the lower ranking aristocracy but they were taken from them too. They adopted metronymics and were patrilineal like their predecessors. Such bilineality must have facilitated successions. Probably the princes born of mothers from influential external royal families had a higher ranking status than their half-brothers.

We get clear evidence for the prevalence of marriage alliances entered into by the Ikṣvākus. A class of subordinate rulers designated *mahātalavaras* were crucial in these exchanges. This title is quite often found in association with that of *mahāsenāpati*. The earliest known epigraphical reference to a *talavara* is from Alluru in Guntur and it has been dated to the Sātavāhana period on palaeographic grounds.⁽¹²¹⁾ The prefix *mahā* meaning 'great' is obviously Sanskritic, but the *talavara* appears to be non-Sanskritic and probably is Dravidian. In Telugu, *talavari* means a 'beadle', 'porter', 'guardsman' or 'watchman'. In Kannada *talavara* refers to a village watchman who is paid in land with only a quit rent. In Tamil *talayari* means a village watchman and *talavay* refers to a general or a ruler or a king. Although the duties of a *talavara* from the meanings of analogous words in the Dravidian languages suggests that of a constabulary nature and used in such a sense under the later Vijayanagara empire,⁽¹²²⁾ the *mahātalavaras* of Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku times were certainly far more important, and formed the aristocracy with which the latter had a number of marriage alliances. Like the *mahārāṭhis* and *mahābhōjas*

121 K. Gopalicari, *E.H.A.C.*, App. A, pp. 88ff.

122 T.V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, 2nd Ed., Madras, 1969, p. 138.

of the Sātavāhanas, the *mahātalavaras* also appear to have been patrilineal and hereditary. It would appear that what the *mahābhōjas* were to the Sātavāhanas in Maharashtra, the *mahātalavaras* were to the Ikṣvākus in Andhra. Their origin is difficult to trace, but they appear to have been indigenous people. In the inscriptions of Vīrapuruṣa datta, the Pūkiya family mentioned had at least three members who were *mahāsenapatis* and *mahātalavaras*.⁽¹²³⁾ They were Mahākhamdasiri and Khamdasiri, who may have been brothers. The third was the latter's son, Viṇhusiri. In another epigraph of Ehuvaḷa Cāmtamūla we learn that one of his wives, Kuṇḍasiri, had a father and a grandfather who held the title *mahātalavara* as a hereditary one.⁽¹²⁴⁾ As mentioned above, the great majority of *mahātalavaras* in the records married into the Ikṣvāku family.

Thus the chieftains with the *mahātalavara* were subordinate rulers under the Ikṣvāku kings. The *mahātalavara* must have been quite independent to have been able to grant lands, a substantial sum of money and cows and bullocks, carts, and even servants, as is the case in the Alluru inscription.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Some coins belonging to the latter half of the third century A.D. of a *talavara* are also found at Kondapur and Panigiri in Nalgonda district.⁽¹²⁶⁾ A somewhat late commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, the *Subodhikā* by Vinayavijaya, not only mentions the *mahātalavara* as one of the *gaṇarājas* but also explains the meaning as a subordinate ruler or viceroy who was 'favoured' by a turban by his overlord or

123 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 20-21.

124 D.C. Sircar, K.G. Krishnam, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

125 K. Gopalacari, *op. cit.* 126 Based on unpublished source material checked at Hyderabad.

master.⁽¹²⁷⁾ This probably refers to the ritual aspect which undoubtedly had a symbolic meaning and ensured the loyalty of the subordinate rulers. In one of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, the term *talavaravara* occurs as a designation of one Elisiri.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Since *vara* of the title means 'best', it was probably the same as *mahātalavara*. There were also *talavaras* mentioned. Similarly we have *senāpati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *raṭhika*.⁽¹²⁹⁾

There is yet another important title often associated with the subordinate chiefs of the Ikṣvākus and the above-mentioned titles. The earliest reference to the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* in our region is in an epigraph of the year 27 of the Sātavāhana king, Yajñasrī Sātakarṇi.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The earliest reference to the term *daṇḍanāyaka* is from a Kuṣana record of Kaniska's reign.⁽¹³¹⁾ It has been translated as a 'general' and the term with prefix *mahā* has been interpreted as the 'chief justice' or the 'chief of the army'. The exact meaning of the term, however, is not clear from any of the sources. Ikṣvāku records mention the same persons holding the title along with *mahāsenāpati*.⁽¹³²⁾ Since *daṇḍa* could denote either a rod, a symbol of judicial authority or punishment or a royal army or military formation, we could assume that the term denoted judicial as well as military duties.⁽¹³³⁾ Since the term is associated with *mahāsenāpati* which obviously meant a military position, it probably referred to an office of judicial character.

127 D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, p. 19.

128 B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147-49.

129 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 14-15.

130 This inscription is fragmentary and epithet *mahādam*... could be the same as the one under discussion. See G.Bühler, *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 95-95.

131 *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 149. 132 J.Ph.Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 18.

133 See also *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. VI.

The distinction between the two duties may not have been very pronounced either during this period or in subsequent centuries in India. A tenth century inscription from Sri Lanka clearly mentions that the function of a *daṇḍanāyaka* was judicial in character.⁽¹³⁴⁾ There are, however, instances in Sri Lanka itself where the duties of military, judicial and administrative nature were entrusted to *daṇḍanāyakas*.¹³⁵

The *Sātavāhanas* usually bore one title. The earliest occurrence of multiple titles assigned to the same person is from Chinna Ganjam inscription of Yajñasrī Sātakarṇi where *mahāttaraka*, *mahāsenāpati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* appear together.⁽¹³⁶⁾ This becomes the usual practice under the *Ikṣvākus*. During this period, almost all of the *mahāsenāpatīs* were also *mahātalavaras*. These two titles were mentioned in association with the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* in at least one inscription.⁽¹³⁷⁾ A person mentioned in an *Ābhīra* inscription from Nagarjunakonda also carried three titles, *mahāgrāmika*, *mahātalavara* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The term *mahāgrāmika* associated with these may also have been the title of a sub-ruler. It occurs on some coins and in an early Kadamba inscription there is reference to the *Tagare mahāgrāma* consisting of 24 *pallis*. It becomes an important designation under the *Rāṣṭrakūtas*.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Since this designation was mentioned in an inscription by a ruler from outside our region, it was probably not common in our area.

134 *Epigraphia Zelanica*, Vol. I, p. 96.

135 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 86; Vol. V, pp. 137, 139.

136 G. Bühler, *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 96.

137 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 18.

138 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197-203; I.K. Sarma, *Indica*, Vol. 7, pp. 1-18.

139 *Ibid.*, see also D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, p. 305.

Thus we find that the subordinate rulers had multiple designations. The practice of taking several titles first noticed under the later Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus in Andhra becomes a common feature of Indian polity from the time of the imperial Guptas.

As mentioned before, bilineality was also adopted by the Ikṣvākus. It was meant to make the succession clearer. It appears that the hierarchical titles *kumāra* and *Mahārājakumāra* were quite important. The former appears in the name of a step-brother of King Ehuvaḷa Cāmtamūla who was also a *mahāsenāpati* and bore the honorific title *Ēli* probably derived from *elika* meaning a ruler, king or master.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ We can assume that princes who were not heirs to the throne held very important positions and probably ruled over territories as subordinate rulers. In such a situation they may have moved away from the core of the kingdom, probably towards the mother's family's territory. The metronymic may have been quite important here.

This was not, however, the case with the potential heir to the throne. A Nagarjunakonda inscription recording the creation of a permanent endowment of *akṣayanivṛi* of a village for the maintenance of a shrine constructed by the donor refers to him as *mahārājakumāra mahāsenāpati Haritīputra Virapurīṣadatta*.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ We have no clear evidence as to whether he succeeded to the throne or not, as the Ikṣvāku evidence is not clear for the fourth and last generation. It is important to note that the prince while introducing himself gives a detailed description of his maternal

140 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 11.

141 D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp.18-22.

connection along with his paternal links. This clearly points to the claim to the throne by emphasizing both lineages of the parents and hence legitimacy.

The Ikṣvākus forged a number of marriage alliances and these kinship relations were central to the establishment of their power and authority. The alliances were with the chieftains who ruled over different localities. We shall deal with the material relating to the four generations of the Ikṣvākus genealogically.

Chāmtisiri, the sister of the first king, Chāmtamūla, was the wife of a *mahāsenāpati mahātalavara* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Kaṁdasiri of the Pūkiyas. Chāmtisiri was one of the most prolific donors at Nagarjunakonda, making more than a dozen gifts.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Another woman who figures in two inscriptions, whose name however has not been found, but who belonged to the same family of Pūkiyas, was referred to as the wife of *mahāsenāpati mahātalavara* Vāsiṣṭhīputra Mahā-Kaṁdasiri.⁽¹⁴³⁾ This woman may have been the wife of either Kaṁdasiri himself or of one of his brothers. The importance of the Pūkiyas is further shown by the marriage of Chāmtisiri and Kaṁdasiri's daughter Khamdasāgarannakā to the next king, Vīrapuriṣadatta.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ The Pūkiyas or Pūgiyas apparently derived their name from *Pūga - Pāka - Poka* which means areca nut.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ They can be associated with Pūkirāṭha which is mentioned in two inscriptions from Amaravati.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Pūṅgi or Pūgi naḍu of later centuries may

142 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 15-21; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 65-66.

143 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 21. 144 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

145 M. Rama Rao, *Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī*, Tirupati, 1969, pp. 53ff.

146 C. Sivaramamurti, *A.S.M.G.M.*, pp. 279, 298.

have referred to the same region. ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ The region is identified with that on the banks of the Gundlakamma river in Prakasam district. A third century A.D. inscription refers to the chief city of *adhiṣṭhāna* of Pūki raṭha. This region had at least two important and extensive contemporary sites, Chandavaram ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ and Uppugunduru. ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ The latter also yielded an Ikṣvāku inscription. ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ While the former is inland, the latter is on the coast.

If we accept the interpretation of the word Pūga as areca nut, which could have been a family symbol or totem, then it is likely that this place was Uppugunduru on the coast, where these could have been grown widely. This site may also have supplied salt, as the name of the place implies, to the Ikṣvāku kingdom, and could have played an important role in long distance maritime commerce.

The above evidence shows that the first Ikṣvāku king forged very important matrimonial alliances with the rulers of the territory between the heart of the kingdom in the Nagarjunakonda valley and the coast. Not only did he give his sister in marriage to the family but he also took back his niece in marriage to his son and successor. The alliance also underlines the political importance of cross-cousing marriages. The king, Cāṁtamūla, may have entered into many more matrimonial alliances. After his death, a memorial pillar at Nagarjunakonda raised in his memory

147 K. Iswara Dutt, *Historical Geography of Andhra Pradesh*, (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 219-220.

148 I.A.A.R., 1972-73, p. 3; 1973-74, pp. 6-7; 1974-75, pp. 6-7; 1975-76, p. 13; 1976-77, pp. 9-10.

149 B.S.L.H. Rao, 'Buddhist Antiquities discovered at Peddaganjam', *I.H.C.*, 1957, pp. 75-78; B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-191.

150 *Ibid.*

by his uterine sisters, mothers and queens lists the names of 29 women.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ They can be categorized as 13 sisters, 11 mothers and step-mothers, 5 queens and there are two concubines mentioned at the end. Some of these queens may have come from various important ruling families in Andhra Pradesh. The list, however, provides only the personal names and it is difficult to identify Cāmtamūla's mother or the queen who gave birth to his successor. The practice of setting up a memorial stone pillar itself smacks of the *Pandukal* origin of the people.

The next king, Siri, Vīrapuriṣadatta, married, apart from the above-mentioned daughter of Cāmtisisi, Bapasiri and Chāthisiri who were his cross-cousins, daughters of Hammasiri, who was the sister of Siri Cāmtamūla.⁽¹⁵²⁾ The *mahisī* Mahāvallabhikā Yakhilīnikā was another of his queens and her name suggests that she probably came from the family of some ruler in northern Maharashtra.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Another of his queens was Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā who is referred to as the daughter of the mahārāja of Ujjain.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ But none of these queens was the mother of the next king, Ehuvaḷa Cāmtamūla. His mother was a Vāsiṣṭhī and is referred to as mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā, and her genealogy is not known.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

The Dhanakas were another important ruling family subordinate to the Ikṣvākus. Aḍavi Chāmtisiri, daughter of Chāmtamūla and the sister of king Vīrapuriṣadatta was given in marriage to *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Khamda-Visākhamṇaka of the Dhanaka family. We have no evidence as to the history or origins

151 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64; D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 3-4.

152 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 19-20.

153 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-11.

154 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 19.

155 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 23-24; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 62.

of the Dhanakas. Thus, from the evidence available for Vīrapuriṣadatta, we find that at least two marriages were forged with the ruling dynasties outside the territories of the Ikṣvāku authority, two marriages were with subordinate rulers and three cross-cousin marriages within the royal family.

The next king, Ehuṇḍa Cāmtamūla (II) had at least three queens. One of them is Kupaṇasiri of Puṣyakandiya lineage. She is referred to in an inscription of her son Mahārājakumāra Vīrapuriṣadatta.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Both her father's and mother's families carried the title of *mahātalavara*. Although she is not related to the Ikṣvākus, this marriage must have brought the Puṣyakandiyas into an alliance with the ruling dynasty. Another queen is mahādevī Khaṇḍuvulā whose genealogy is not known.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ The third queen is Mahādevī Siri Vammabhaṭṭā of the Brhatpālāyana *gotra*, in which case she would not have been the mother of the next king, Vāsiṭṭhīputra Ruḍapurisadatta, although an inscription refers to her as his mother.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Sircar suggests the possibility that she was a step-mother, as the word *mātā* can be interpreted as a mother or a step-mother, as in the case of the above-mentioned memorial inscription of Cāmtamūla.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ This queen is a daughter of Mahākhatapa and gives us a second instance of a marriage alliance with the Kṣatrapas of western India. The Kṣatrapas are, however, not known to have used Brahmanical *gotra* names like Brhatpālāyana. Unless this is an exception, we come to a second possibility: that is Vammabhaṭṭā retained her mother's *gotra*.

156 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 19.

157 H.K. Narasimhaswami, *E.I.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 139.

158 D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 22.

159 See also T.R. Trautmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-379.

We have no evidence of marriage alliances for the fourth generation of the Ikṣvākus. There are, however, two other lineages which figure prominently in contemporary records of the region. An inscription dated to the reign of the second king mentions the donation of Chula Chāmtisirinikā who was married to the *mahāsenāpati mahātalavara* Khamdachalikireṃmaṇaka of the Hiraṃpaka family.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ The donatrix is referred to as a daughter of the Kulahakas. Her mother may have been an Ikṣvāku princess married into the Kulahaka lineage. An epigraph inscribed on a pillar erected prominently outside the eastern gate of the Ikṣvāku citadel commemorates *Mahāsenāpati* Chāmtapula of the Kulahaka lineage.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ The similarity of his name to two Ikṣvāku rulers, the number of epithets ascribed to him, and the praise of his military exploits and the location of the pillar suggest that he may have been related to the Ikṣvāku family. The possibility of a marriage alliance cannot be ruled out. We may assume that he married an Ikṣvāku princess and that his daughter is the Chāmtisirinikā who was married into the Hiraṃpaka family. A monastery called Kulahavihara was probably constructed and maintained by the Kulahakas.⁽¹⁶²⁾ It is difficult to establish their territorial association. The Hiraṃpakas, however, appear to have been from a territory constituted by parts of the Cuddapah and Nellore districts which in later inscriptions was referred to as Hiranya-rāṣṭra.⁽¹⁶³⁾

160 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 18.

161 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 16.

162 J. Ph. Vogel, *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 22.

163 K. Iswara Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

A contemporary inscription from Nagarjunakonda refers to Puphagiri identified with Pushpagiri in Cuddapah district⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ and from the nature of the inscription we can assume that the region may have been under the control of the Ikṣvākus. The name Hiraṃpaka may also be associated with the local goldmining in Kurnool district. Their ancestors/^{may} have been formerly the allies of the Mauryas, the local *Pandukal* chieftains.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

An inscription from Chitaldrug district in Karnataka dated to the fifth century A.D. refers to the Kekaya chief Śivanandavarman who belonged to the lineage that 'gave and received daughters in marriage with the royal sages, the Ikṣvākus.'⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Sircar identifies the latter with the Ikṣvākus of Andhra.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Although it is at least two centuries later, we cannot rule out the possibility of former matrimonial alliances. In such a case, we can tentatively assume that the Ikṣvākus also had alliances with the Kekayas of Karnataka.

Inscriptional evidence from Nagarjunakonda reveals the names of subordinates whose relation to the Ikṣvākus cannot be established. A memorial pillar to a Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Araka Mahākoḍuvaka Ayabhuti.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Mahākoḍuvaka can be broken down into *mahā - koḍu - vaka* where *mahā* means 'great'. The remaining two words are certainly Telugu. While *koḍu* means a rivulet or branch of a river or an artificial canal, *vaka* means a 'side' and could mean a bank. So the composite word can be taken as referring

164 A.R.S.I.E., 1926-27, p. 73. 165 See above pp. 173-4, 177

166 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, p. 142; D.C. Sircar, *S.S.L.D.*, pp. 315-316.

167 *Ibid.* See also T.R. Trautmann, *op.cit.*, p. 379.

168 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 17.

to the banks of a great river or the great banks of a river. In such case, Ayabhuti was probably a subordinate ruler who controlled the territory called Mahākoḍuvaka.

Another inscription refers to a *Talavaravara* Ēlisrī, the son of Gāṇḍi and the grandson of *senāpati* Anikki who had a temple constructed.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ While the names of his father and grandfather sound very local and non-Sanskritic, how own name could mean one who rules and in such a case he may have been another chieftain subordinate to the Ikṣvākus. In an Ikṣvāku inscription from Ramireddipalli in Krishna district, the *Mahātalavaras* of the Mugīyas are mentioned.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ They do not have any connection with the Pūkīyas and could have been local rulers on the western banks of the river.

Once again we have no evidence as to whether the Ikṣvākus levied any taxes. In the absence of any references, and from the discussion of marriage alliances with their subordinate rulers, we may assume that the Ikṣvākus relied on tribute instead. The rather conspicuous number of donations made by women at Nagarjunakonda becomes very important in this context. A number of these represented the aristocracy which was scattered all over the Andhra districts. Their women who were married into the royal family or the princesses from the latter who were given to them in marriage may have been important political representatives, at least in a symbolic way. It is not then surprising that these women should exhibit such wealth in the nature of their donations. Some of

169 B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149.

170 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1926-27, p. 74.

laywomen must have come from very influential families of householders and traders also.

Vijayapurī, the capital of the Ikṣvākus, has already been discussed in detail.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ It certainly exhibits evidence for regal-ritual or ceremonial and mercantile cultural roles.

There is very little evidence as to how the Ikṣvākus⁽¹⁷²⁾ administered this urban centre. From the layout of the place, we may assume that apart from the citadel and some ceremonial and public buildings, direct administering would not have been necessary. The activities of traders and artisans were probably regulated by an urban body referred to as *setṭhi-pamukha-nigama* in a third century A.D. inscription⁽¹⁷³⁾ from Nagarjunakōṇḍa. The role of this corporate body was probably similar to the one at Dhānyakāṭaka. They appear to have carried out certain civic duties as well, such as the care of religious establishments. The *setṭhis* must have been quite influential not only in catering to the everyday needs of the aristocracy and the royal family but also in controlling the prestige goods whose circulation articulated the local power structure at another level.

Thus the Mauryan penetration, extension of exchange networks and the introduction of Buddhism led to a number of changes

171 See Ch. IV, pp. 172 *Ibid*, Maps VI and VII.

173 D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp.3ff.

in our region. With the intensification of agriculture and the sedentarization of the *Pandukal* people, we get an agrarian structure in which their former clans had undergone a change with the *gahapati* or *gr̥hapati*, the head of the household emerging as a distinct social entity. This dominant group began participating in long distance trade of prestige items which enhanced their social situation. Some of them, probably the earlier chieftains who wielded considerable power in their locality began emulating Sanskrit titles, and probably practised Vedic rituals or patronized Buddhism to give legitimacy to their new position. With the proliferation of agrarian settlements in the early historical period, such groups probably were widespread.

These groups formed the core of the newly evolving power hierarchy within which the *Sātavāhanas* and *Ikṣvākus* had brought them into a pyramidal structure which was articulated through marriage alliances and through the circulation of prestige goods. Yet these subordinate groups controlling their localities remained autonomous. Such a situation, in which the different building blocks were also ritually integrated, led to the growth of devotional faiths and the growth of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Either the necessity for the state did not exist or it was a case of the society resisting a superstructural state.

174 See A.L. Basham, 'The Evolution of the Concept of the *Bodhisattva*', in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, Waterloo, 1981, p. 46; see also the conditions for the existence of a conceptual 'state' which does not seem to apply to our region, above, pp. 169-170.

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