CHAPTER III

The formation and the structural evolution
of political institutions

The present chapter attempts to understand the corresponding political structure that galvanized the institutions within the Proto and the Early Historic period. It is essential that we discriminate between the types of political formations that developed in the peripheral and in the nuclear areas. This, in turn can indicate the ecological zone that provided the greatest impetus for advanced political formations, a prerequisite so vital for the emergence of civilization.

How are we then to locate the political processes that evolved within the Primary Region? For the purpose of our study, a working formula may be found in the general characteristics of the pre-state rank society elaborated by Fried (1967: 109-184) and those of the segmentary lineage system outlined by Sahlin (1961: 322-345; 1968: 20-27). While the former gives a useful model for an overall perspective of the total process, the latter emphasises specific aspects associated with socio-political formation.1

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1. The pristine emergence of ranking is dependent on the availability of food. The greater spread of rank society has a firm demographic base. More often rank society develops with domesticated sources of food as the expanding population requires a larger and an assured supply of food. Division of labour is determined by age and sex. These societies possess a subsistence technology. There is however the barest beginning of professional specialization. The process of economic integration is redistribution, where goods flow into and out of the pinnacle of the rank hierarchy. Rank villages are built on the framework of kinship where there is an emergence of clearly distinguished descent principle. The emergence of a core group means, the narrowing access to productive resources, status and a decreasing participation of high ranking individuals in the process of
The crystalization of developed political institutions was more visible during the Early Historic period. The primary factors leading to such developments during that particular epoch were: the process of territorial integration; a more efficient 'control' over communities, strategic resources and production; impact of the metropolitan state of the Nauryas, and subsequently, of the Sātavāhanas; an expansion in the internal exchange network and an intensification of long distance trade. Even so, the elements of leadership and material conditions leading to rudimentary forms of social differentiations, consequently resulting in the emergence of a political elite, had their beginning during the early Proto Historic period, or even earlier.

Cont'd ... f.n. from p. 204 production. In addition, warfare plays a crucial role in enhancing the status of high ranking individuals, where the emergence of chiefdoms (integrating former autonomous clan villages and also resources) is another step in the direction towards stratification (Fried op. cit.).

To take up the segmentary groups, the tribe in itself is a segmental organization, where the 'primary tribal segment' which is the smallest multi-family (varying from about 50-250 people) exploits a few square miles for strategic resources and may reside in a compact village or scattered hamlets. Their subsistence economy does not have a technology requiring intensive division of labour. Thus the tribal segments tend to be politically and economically autonomous. The leadership in this context is characterized by petty chieftains and 'big-men'. Succession to the headship may pass by descent or it may fall by custom to the oldest man. The 'big-man' does not come into an existing position of leadership but personally acquires dominance over other individuals. Among certain cattle people, he is styled 'the bull'. Warfare and 'territorial' expansion often act as pre-conditions for the emergence of leadership or enhance the position of already existing leaders. Population pressure on available resources, limitations imposed by the backward technology, natural calamities and the necessity to acquire prestige items (e.g. cattle) often lead to warfare and 'territorial' expansion. The segmentary lineage system is seen as a social means of intrusion and competition in an already occupied ecological niche. It is the chiefdom that overcomes all these limitations by reducing the local political community to the status of a political subdivision. The chiefdom is a ranked society where the descent and community groups are hierarchically arranged and political organization is established above and beyond the community level. It may not
In this connection it is possible to identify different spheres that gave impetus for political formations. First let us consider the socio-cultural aspect. The extent to which the basic cultural characteristics acted as a mechanism giving rise to elements of social differentiation and its consequent political implications, cannot be gauged in precise terms. In the southern Deccan, at least three primary techno-cultural streams synthesized to form the Proto Historic social matrix (vide Chap. I). There was the Chalcolithic element that moved in from western India via the northern Deccan and introduced BRW, russet-coated painted ware, white painted BRW, graffiti, urn/pit burial/cairn circles, probably the horse and conducted subsistence farming in addition to pastoral activity. A second group or the typical megalithic builders (who probably arrived in the western Deccan from elsewhere, may have introduced iron to this region (vide Chap. I). The third was the indigenous stone using (Neolithic and Mesolithic) groups. The nature of interaction amongst these three groups in socio-political terms is not too clear, though we may draw the following inferences on the basis of archaeological and subsequent literary evidence.

During the early Proto Historic period, the initial social differentiation based on cultural traits may have been two-fold:

Cont'd ... f.n. from p. 205 command the strategic means of production but does possess political pressure to intensify household production beyond household needs and divert the 'surplus' into the collective economy. This situation may witness a greater specialization of labour in a chiefdom economy as well as the capacity to combine several specialized local economies, viz. some mixture of agriculture, herding, fishing and even trading. The territorial scale of the chiefdom also goes much beyond the village domain. The chiefdom is the prelude to the emergence of the state, which is characterized by a class society (Sahlins op. cit.)
The first may be shown as one that existed between iron using groups and the stone using communities. In this context we may note that most techno-cultural elements of the Neolithic apparently continued into the Megalithic. Similarly most stratified excavations also do not indicate a cultural break between the Neolithic and the Megalithic levels. This does not rule out a degree of coercion exercised by the early iron using groups who invariably occupied the Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites. An effort to gain access to strategic resources may have led to tensions between these groups. Hence, we cannot totally deny that the early Iron Age groups did not meet with some degree of resistance from certain autochthonous groups, who did not integrate themselves to the new techno-cultural complex that intruded into their original habitat. In addition to certain cultural traits, the knowledge of the iron technology and the horse, may have given the Megalithic folk a distinct advantage over the stone using groups.

Aspects related to the initial social differentiation based on cultural traits may have prevailed among the iron using groups itself. It is quite evident that in the post c.1000 B.C. period, the descendents of the pure Megalithic and Chalcolithic elements synthesised into a broad techno-cultural complex in the Primary Region. Hence, beyond indicating certain superficial traits of differences e.g. metal technology (copper/iron), use of graffiti, pottery types, burial types, etc., it is difficult to pinpoint precise internal cultural differences between these two groups. However, on the basis of archaeological evidence we may be able to infer certain differentiations that may have persisted even in the post
1000 B.C. period, the antecedents of which may be found within their socio-cultural origins. It may be observed that generally these two groups of burials occur at separate sites. Even at common sites, each group keeps to its particular zone. The burials having no Megalithic appendage do not encroach upon cultivable land. Similarly, there is a higher concentration of this particular group in larger geographical areas suitable for agriculture, especially in the lower alluvial plains. A general assessment of the burial goods indicate that burials having no Megalithic appendage are relatively richer in their content than the pure Megalithic burials e.g. Nagarjunakonda, Brahmagiri, Adichchanallur (Sahni 1965: 33, 36; Subrahmanyam 1975:166-180; Rea 1915). It is significant that even horse bones/bits mainly occur within the stone/cairn/urn burials.

It is also not known to what extent language introduced elements of social differentiation in the Primary Region, a situation that apparently prevailed even between the Indo-Aryan speakers and those who spoke 'mrdra-vāc' in North India where 'speech was the chief component in distinguishing the Aryan from the others' (R. Thapar 1971:410). It is possible that the three main techno-cultural groups probably spoke three languages or even more. The stone using people may have spoken an Indo-Austro-Munda language. The Chalcolithic groups arriving from the northern

1. The proper inter-mixture of burial types occur only at a very few sites and these may be assigned with a relatively later chronology. Such sites mainly occur in the far south.
Deccan probably spoke a Dravidian based dialect or dialects. It is difficult to determine the language spoken by the intrusive pure Megalithic group. Though some consider that the Megalithic culture as a whole was a Dravidian speaking one (Furer-Haimendorf 1953:127-135; 1954:238-247; Subba Rao 1962:132-151; Banerjee 1962:180-189; 1966:163-178), there are others who consider these people to be Āryan speakers (Parpola 1973). While it is possible to observe a fair degree of techno-cultural interaction amongst these three primary groups, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which a specific language accompanied by a more advanced technology acted as an overall galvanizing force.

At least by the 4th/3rd Century B.C. there seems to have been a formation of broader language zones and elite dialects. It is significant to note that by the end of the Proto Historic period, elites and other resident groups at proto-urban sites of the southern Deccan were relatively familiar with the Prākrit language. The location of Asokan edicts in Andhra, therefore, is not surprising. The familiarity of the inhabitants of Macro Zone I with this language is evident, due to the occurrence of Prākrit as the medium of expression throughout the Early Historic period. Evidence indicates that elements of Indo-Āryan culture moved into the southern Deccan through land and sea routes, even prior to the Mauryan invasion.

1. The possible ethno-cultural links associating the Yādavas (in western India, the Andhakas (in northern Deccan), the Chēdis in central and eastern Deccan) and the Vēlirs (in the southern Deccan and south India with each other; adds a new dimension to the cultural identity of the Megalithic-ERW folk (R. Thaper 1975-76; Champakalakshmi 1975-76).
On the other hand, though the material elements of the cultural matrix during the formative period in Macro Zone I and II were relatively homogeneous, there is sufficient evidence to show that the far south formed a separate language zone at least by the Early Historic period. The Sangam sources maintain that north of the Venkadam and the lands of Mannan and Katti, the people spoke an alien tongue. Between the northern borders and the Kumāri, the land came to be known as as Tamilaham because the language spoken is Tamil (Puram 6, 17, 19, 2, 168, 18; Aham 393, 18-20; 294, 211.7-8, 349; Kupun 11.6-7). Yet, this does not mean that a composite language was spoken all over Tamilaham. The existence of 13 regional dialects in Tamilaham was recognized in the Tolkāppiyam. It is said that the Kösārs (who probably moved far South during the Maurya hegemony), spoke four different languages (Maduraik, 508-09).

There is however an unmistakable effort to adhere to Tamil and the attempt to use it for specific purposes which involved prestige. For instance, while the earliest inscriptions in the southern Deccan are in Brāhmi, the Tamil language was used for the inscriptions in the far South. However, the Brahmi script was retained with the addition of a few symbols to suit Tamil phonetics. These inscriptions in Tamilaham record the endowments (of caves, stone beds, etc.) made by elite groups to Jaina and Buddhist monks. Secondly, as Kailasapathy correctly evaluates, these Sangam bards who sang in praise of heroes "possessed an adequate language that could cope with their literary and technical requirements . . . what is striking is the evolved and standardized nature of that language"
(1968:182-83). He also goes to say that this was certainly not the spoken language as an ordinary vernacular, but may have evolved from the dialect spoken particularly by the elite in and around Madurai (ibid.). Though one cannot totally overlook the poets who came from the Cōla country, a virtual concentration of the earliest Tamil Brahmi inscriptions in the middle Vaigai valley of the Pāndya country may substantiate Kailasapathy's assumption to a considerable extent.

It is quite likely that the formation of an elite dialect may have evolved parallel to the internal differentiation that was taking place within the late Proto Historic and the Early Historic society. The elite dialects may have also received greater sophistication due to the southern spread of the cosmopolitan culture of north India accompanied by the northern social ideologies, long-distance trade and the political expansion of the metropolitan state. This apparently evolved a cosmopolitan culture common to elite groups in the Primary Region. Thus, an interaction of the elite dialects was inevitable. For instance, the Brahmi script was borrowed from the north. In addition, all loan words in the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions are taken from Prākrit (Mahadevan 1970:11).

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Socio-cultural factors by themselves cannot lead to internal social differentiation. This also means the necessity to understand the actual material basis that gave an impetus to the emergence of political institutions during the late Proto Historic and the Early Historic period. We may therefore suggest a general framework for pre-state political formations in south east India, a
region that had a relatively homogenous techno-cultural matrix
during the Proto Historic period.

First, these communities that sustained themselves within
a particular environmental, technological and demographic context
had to assign the highest priority to resource requirements. In
this context, the quantum of resources and the mode of acquisition
played an important role in resource requirements. In the multi-
resource broad-spectrum subsistence economies during the Proto
Historic period, primary economic acquisitions were largely
concentrated upon marine and forest resources including certain
species of fauna, pasture land, cattle, water and on particular
types of minerals. These resources, therefore, were a crucial
element within the material basis that linked pre-urban communities
to the habitat and the economy i.e. production technique(s).
Consequently, this largely provided the infrastructure for socio-
economic interaction and community movement (of the clan and of the
tribe). These may be considered as the internal dynamics of
political formations. Secondly, long distance trade (to a larger
extent) and metropolitan state hegemony (to a lesser extent) inter-
sected the above situation as the external dynamic. Thirdly, both
the internal and the external dynamic, in unison or separately, had
a direct impact on the qualitative forms of leadership that emerged
in the Primary Region during its formative period. In each Macro
Zone the above mechanisms operated in different degrees and at
different levels leading to an integration of resources, communities
and physiographic scenes, the socio-political expression of which
surfaced in the form of the rank society and chieftaincies.
In order to study the internal dynamics of political formations in south east India during the pre-state period, we may draw upon the evidence available in the archaeological and literary sources. The internal dynamics may be seen in two overlapping sectors. The first may be called the pre-conditions for the emergence of leadership. These pre-conditions are found within the structure of the existing society and economy located in association with a particular physiographic and environmental context. The second is the mechanisms of control. These mechanisms may be listed as personal or individual qualities (of valour and prowess, of strength and persuasive powers), the acquisition of social wealth and prestige items, traditions and cult beliefs associated with the clan or the tribe.

In south east India, the earliest recognizable political institutions capable of taking more advanced forms in their evolution, seem to have appeared in the peripheral areas. While the archaeological evidence indicates the establishment of the earliest Proto-Historic Iron Age settlements (sedentary and semi-sedentary) in these regions, the subsequent Sangam sources also confirm a co-relation between the eco-zone represented by the physiography, economy, habitat in the peripheral areas and the epithets/titles and

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1. It may be noted that a greater portion of this information in the Sangam texts pertaining to the tribal or clan groups including their eco-system and also details on lineage chieftains and their sphere of influence, mostly fall within a post 3rd century B.C. chronological context. A cautious application of selective information from the Sangam sources can give us a relatively authentic picture about the pre-existing period. The very nature of the uneven development between the peripheral and nuclear areas, invariably furnished the Sangam poets with a true picture, which can be projected to the Proto- and Early Historic pre-state political formations, especially to understand the two overlapping sectors of the internal dynamics.
personal names taken by the leadership and the community (i.e. the nuclear political organization), in such regions.

For the purpose of an in-depth study, let us first take up names and epithets that are associated with the physiographic region or the habitat. The term *kō*, in addition to several other meanings it carries, also means mountain (*DED* 1811). The parallel term of *kō* is *malai* (hill/mountain). The Sangam texts mention chieftains such as *kōman* Pulli, *Vealāvikōman* Padumān, *Malaiyamān* Tirumudikāri. The terms *kōman*, *malaiyamān* and *nequ(mān)* may convey the meaning 'hill chieftain'. It is also suggested that the epithet *malaiyamān* is synonymous with epithets such as *kōdan* and *Porai*. There were chieftains named *kōdan korran* and *Poraiyan kadungō*. *Kōdan* and *porai* mean hill or hill top (*PPTI* 336-8, 616-17). Another epithet attributed to hill chieftains is *nātan*. More often this epithet is preceded by the adjective *perunkal* (high mountain) or *malai* (*vide* Kailasapathy 1968:165; Aiṅguru 183, 212, 214). Though the etymological derivation of *nātan* is inhabitant, countryman, ruler, lord of a country (*DED* 3012), the *nādu* as a territorial unit had its incipient beginnings in the peripheral hilly regions (*infra* pp.331-335 for details on the evolution of the *nādu*). *Nātan*, therefore, confirms that petty chieftains sometimes derived their names or epithets after the habitat associated with a particular physiographic region and the economy.

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1. It was recognized during the Sangam period that the names of communities and leaders coincided with a particular ecological (tiṟai) zone where their habitat was located. The Tholkāppiyam mentions this in the following manner:

Āyar Veṭṭuva rāṭiṇut tiṉaippēya
ravayin varuṇ kilaṟuru mularē
Enōr pahṅiṇu menugu kālai
yāṉā vakaiya tiṉinilaip peyare.

(*Tol. Porul. Ahat. 21-22*).
More than any other sector of the multi resource broad spectrum subsistence economy, the pastoral cum subsistence agricultural sector apparently formed the most vital area of the Proto Historic economy that carried relatively more potential for institutional formation. To elaborate, let us consider some personal names and epithets associated with chieftains in the peripheral areas.

For instance, chieftains Fēkan, Eyyinan, Andiran had epithets such as Āy, Āvi, Āviyar. Āy and Āvi(yar) derive from the root āñā, which means the female of the ox, sambur, or buffalo (DED 283). Āyan and āyar also derive from the same root and mean cowherd/shepherd (PPTI 85-86; DED 283). Several other names also reveal pastoral affiliations. The chieftains of the Vādāvar was known as Erumaī (Aham 253. 12-19). The Vēlir chieftain Elini was known as Erumāiyūran i.e. Urān (Lord) (Aham 36). The poetic theme erumaimaram describes the 'ferocious attack of a hero which is compared to the 'charging of a wild buffalo' (Kailasapathy 1968:245).

In the same manner, the chieftain of the Kuravar was known as Ėrai and Ėraikkōn. Ėrai seems to derive from Ėru, which primarily means bull, though it also implies the males of certain animals such as deer, pig, buffalo, sambur, tiger and lion (DED 777; Tol. Porul. Mara 557). Another hill chieftain was malaiyāman kāri. The etymological meaning of kāri is 'black bull' (DED 1073). Chieftain Nālli was called Kandirakkō because he controlled the Kandīram hill. Kandī is 'a common masculine name and also the male of a buffalo' (PPTI 208; Tol. Porul. Mara 557, 623).

Cont'd ... f.n. from p.214 Āyar (shepherd) and vettuva are the male names of the region; among whom there are chiefs. Among others also, if we examine, there may be found the names of the region. (Tr. Ilakkuvaner 1963:155).
Another example may be found in the titles kō/kōn/kōman.

The etymology of kō is emperor, great man, and also leadership (DED 1810). It is believed by some that the term kō may have derived from the Sanskrit word gō (cow) and that the terms kō and kōvelar in the Sangam context implied cow and cowherd respectively (PPTI 352-4). Apparently the terms kōn (king) and aycchi (queen) originally denoted herdsman and herdswoman (Sirinivasa Iyengar 1929:10), which clearly indicate the pastoral origins of such titles. Hence, we find the term kō/kōn utilized as a prefix or as a suffix to another name e.g. kōvendan (vendan: king, Indra, sun, moon - DED 4549), Aviyar kō, kandirakkō, or even as Irunkkōël, Velāvikōmān, kōman (kō-makan) conveys the meaning 'great chieftain' 'great cowherd' or 'descendent of the cowherd' in this context. In a later Tamil Brahmi inscription from Pillayarpattī, the lord of Ėrukāttur is called 'erukāttuṟukkōn' (Mahadevan 1966:12, No. 75).

The above evidence clearly shows the relationship between the names/epithets and the primary occupation associated with pastoralism. Such an association was in vogue more specifically in the peripheral areas during the Proto Historic period.

1. The recent discovery of a Megalithic symbol and Brahmi letter bearing bronze ring from an extended burial at Anaikodai (Jaffna, Sri Lanka) perhaps indicates that the symbol may carry the phonetic value kō. This symbol which is found within the Chalcolithic and the Megalithic context, in all probability represents a cult symbol associated with a god of war/heroism, lance bearer, or depicts to the Harappan symbol (a combination of the trident and the man) Es kanta or 'warrior' (Mahadevan 1979:267).

2. The three pronged fork (sandī) is still manufactured by the Agaria and is used by the herdsmen of Chotanagpur (Elvin 1942:202. Fig. 28).
The greatest fillip to the emergence of leadership and authority perhaps came from the socio-economic interactions of the Proto Historic society. In the previous chapter we spoke of the existence of a segmentary lineage system, that was apparently cemented by cross cousin marriage. This consequently provided a strong pre-condition for the lineage or descent group to extend its domination of the tribal sector(s). Similarly we have also pointed out the mechanisms of the household economy where the immediate family or the resident kin group i.e. the clan composed of extended families, formed the unit of production. It was also pointed out that an exchange mechanism functioned due to several factors viz. the proportional disparity in the distribution of strategic resources, the nature of specialization and the availability of 'specialists', periodic ritual ceremonies, bride price, war booty, the accumulation or the distribution of 'prestige' items by the tribal elite. The exchange vortex was operated via a micro and macro exchange mechanism involving affinal or lineage groups as well as inter tribal sectors (vide Chap. II).

In this context the resident kin group associated with a particular economy and physiographic region in the peripheral areas becomes significant. The lineage group which was perpetuated largely by the cross cousin marriage system may have provided a convenient social context for the emergence of leadership in association with the resident kin groups. The alliance between families and lineage perpetuated by the cross cousin marriage system made the kin nuclei a 'tightly integrated whole', where the intrusion of strangers was avoided and thereby ensured the hegemony or the domination over the tribe exercised by the lineage group.
This situation may have had its political implications in relation to the emergence of leadership (vide Appendix - V).

The Sangam texts introduce us to a series of chieftains in the peripheral areas known by the epithet perumakan or perumān.¹ For instance chieftains such as Ori (Puranam 152), Korra (Nayar 265-268), Erai (Puranam 157), Pēkan (Sirupān 86-87), Erumai (Aham 115.5) had the epithet perumakan preceding their personal names. Some of the etymological derivations of makan are son as well as husband (DED 3768).² The etymological meanings for perumān also include elder and elder brother (DED 3613). Among certain resident kin groups, if the leadership was associated with the head of the local descent group, the term makan (son) may have well implied the 'descendent' of the clan lineage ancestor. The clan graves and ancestor worship probably associated with the Megalithic burials may be recalled at this juncture. Apparently where leadership was claimed through descent, the term perumakan (peru + makan) may have carried the meaning 'great descendent/scion/son'. Similarly, Konān (ko + makan) in certain instances may have conveyed the meaning 'descendent/scion/son of the cowherd'. The tribal, clan, pastoral and peripheral hilly territorial affiliations of a chieftain is best demonstrated by the epithets attributed to Pēkan of Palani hills viz. Āviyar perumakan perumkal nāṭan Pēkan (Sirupān 86-87).

1. The disappearance of the inter-vocalic-k- and the assimilation of the two vowels, perumakan becomes perumān (Velupillai 1980:10).

2. The Adiyans or the Adigal of Kerala have a headman in all their settlements who is known as the perumān. The Adiyans apply the same term to the senior member of the family (Luiz 1962:27-28).
It is quite evident that the chieftain was not selected or chosen purely on the lineage factor. It is pointed out that certain tribes in Tamilaham chose the chieftain from amongst all the members of the clan. In certain cases the age factor was not important. More essential were personal qualities such as intelligence and knowledge of affairs in order to obtain the consensus of the whole body (Singaravelu 1966:175).

Qualities essential for leadership to acquire primary or strategic resources were crucial pre-requisites in gaining control over the community. What were the means of resource acquisition that contained elements of leadership or political formations and germs of social differentiation? Predatory expansion perhaps was one of the most effective mechanisms of acquiring resources and initiating community movement. The terms vetchi and vanji described in the Sangam texts may give us additional clues to this particular mechanism during the preceding Proto Historic period. Vetchi (during the Sangam period) implied the first stage of war. This was demonstrated as a challenge made in the symbolic act of cattle lifting (Tel. Poru. Pura 56-6; Arunachalam 1968). The act may have belonged to the pre-Sangam period in its origins. When the acquisition of primary economic resources went beyond the accumulation of cattle, it was extended to the acquisition of land, perhaps pastures. The term vanji (tipai) is described as the 'act of confrontation' by the land hungry kings of the mullai (pastoral) tracts (Tel. Poru. Pura. 61; Sivathamby 1966:327; Kailasapathy 1968:224). In fact the segmentary lineage system

1. The clan representatives of the Toda tribal council have to be persons with great intelligence, eloquent and those who have great persuasive powers. Similarly the headman of the clan is chosen by virtue of his character and ability (Rivers 1906:551-57).
itself is considered a "social means of intrusion and competition in an already occupied ecological niche" (Sahlins 1961:323). It is quite likely that by the end of the Proto Historic period a relative demographic expansion may have created a demand for more pastoral resources, raw material and more cultivable land for settled agriculture. In this sense predatory expansions may be considered as a "means by which the tribe can avoid population pressure on available resources" (Vayda 1961:353).

The chieftain had a direct role to play in the acquisition of resources. We may quote some examples from the peripheral areas during the Early Historic period. For instance, while perumakan Eurmai led his tribe on cattle raids (Aham 115.5), perumakan Uri conducted hunting expeditions with his people (Puram 152). It is suggested that sections of the Puránánuru dealing with unknown heroes and cattle lifting appear to belong to a very early strata of Tamil heroic poetry (Kailasapathy 1968:23). Similarly the chieftain was also expected to protect the resources of the resident community. Chieftain Elini, for instance, protected the herd with his spearmen (Kupun 219). Ātantōmbal is the term given for the effort made to protect the cattle in Veṭchi (tina) (Tel. Porul Puram 57). It is said that Āy Āndiran drove the marauding kongar to the western sea board (Puram 130.5-6).

The above situation provided the most conducive pre-conditions for the emergence of leadership and authority precisely because resource requirement and community movement had to be given direction and organization. It is here that personal qualities such as heroism, prowess, the ability to wield arms went to consolidate an already existing leadership or to create the clan or tribal 'big man'. 
The element of heroism especially had a fundamental role to play in this situation. The heroic situation in the above context achieved almost an aesthetic expression in the (construction of) Megalithic burials (and subsequently in the hero stones) and also in the form of bardic poems composed to eulogize the valour of such heroes.

There are also personal names and epithets of chieftain which indicate valour, strength and prowess. The Sangam texts mention a minor chieftain by the name Ėrai. Though this name derives from the word Ėru, the etymology of Ėrai is 'the male of any animal remarkable for its strength' (DED 777). To take up another example, the personal name Poruna (taken up by several Sangam chieftains) apparently derives from poru 'to fight' > porunam 'a warrior' (Kailasapathy 1968:97). Interestingly, poru also means 'to join, unite, combine, reach, extend' (DED 3684). An Ay Porunam held sway over Nañjilnādu (Puram 137-140). In the same manner peru/ periya (per 'large' > peru 'to be large', great) convey the meanings big, large, powerful, greatness. These are often prefixed to other names and epithets. Periyon is a chieftain mentioned in the texts. In fact some of the other etymological derivations assigned to the term makan are exalted person and warrior (DED 3768). With the prefix peru added to it, the epithet perumakan may have also conveyed the meaning 'exalted person or great warrior', which was an essential qualification for leadership and may be equated with the 'big man' status in ethnographic terms.¹ Makan or mān was applied as a suffix

¹. The epithet perumakan > perumān seems to have been in vogue even during the mediaeval period, though it was used in slightly different forms in the post 2nd - 3rd Cent. A.D.
to other terms e.g. kōmāṇ : vēḷāvikōmāṇ; malaīyamāṇ : malaīyamāṇ Kāri; vēṃmāṇ : Nānan vēṃmāṇ; ēyīmāṇ hallikōdan etc. kō and malai in this context may describe the physiography while vēṃ (vēḷ) māṇ and ēyīman describes leadership over the community or group.

The ability to bear arms invariably increased the prowess of such heroes. The social significance of this aspect is clearly seen from the archaeological evidence. The deliberate interment of iron weapons viz. trident, lance, axe, sword, dagger, etc., indicate the prestige and the ritual significance attached to these implements of war, where military prowess played a crucial role in determining the ability to control resources and also exercise social domination. We have already mentioned that iron weapons (mainly lances) thrust point downwards were reported from Adichchanallur and Pudokottai. In another case at Pulavayal in Pudukottai, urn burials revealed skeletons in a squatting position having swords in their right hands (Ayyar 1940:523). Kailasapathy has pointed out that chieftains of Tamilāham often had epithets signifying their prowess in arms e.g. malaḷvēḷ (‘of the many lances’), vēḷvēḷ (‘sword that never goes awry’) (1968:158-9). He also draws attention to a simile in a love poem which “refers to an arena where youths of warrior families hold their presentation ceremony; an exhibition of the use of arms” (Kailasapathy 1968:260-1). Thus, iron weapons were useful not only in harnessing the environment and gaining an edge over more backward technological groups, but also as a source of internal domination vis-à-vis other clan/tribal groups.
The striking power of iron was greatly enhanced by an ability to be mobile. In this context the horse became a convenient carrier providing quick mobility during community movement and warfare. Though the horse was probably not unknown during the late Neolithic-Chalcolithic, its wider use can be definitely associated with the Iron Age folk.¹ The literary sources credit the Malavar as the earliest users of the horse in Tamilaham (vide Aralkiaswami 1956:42; infra pp.21-2 for archaeological data on horse remains from Proto Historic sites).

In addition to valour and heroism, an unequal distribution of social wealth can be termed as another crucial mechanism of control. Judging by the description of the chieftains in the peripheral areas, the Sangam texts make it quite clear that firstly, there was already an 'accumulation' of prestige items and other objects of social wealth in the hands of the chieftains.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Sangam chieftain/group in Tamilaham</th>
<th>Resources, regions and communities controlled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ahudai</td>
<td>Gifted elephants (Kurun 298.5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Anni</td>
<td>Lord of Pāram and possessed cattle (Aham 262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Aṇḍiran (Āy)</td>
<td>Lord of Āy kuḍi in Podiyil hills. Lord of Talaiyēru. Possessed rich ornaments. Distributed much rice (Puram 127-136; Kurun 84.3; Aham 69, 152).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ It is significant that pure Neolithic sites in the southern Deccan do not reveal remains associated with the horse. Its earliest occurrence in a very limited scale may have been made in this area by the intrusive Chalcolithic groups. Horse bones and teeth were obtained from the upper Neolithic-Chalcolithic levels at Mallur and Sanganakal. These layers have been radio carbon dated to c. 1300 B.C. and 1600 B.C. respectively (Nagaraja Rao 1971:122; Allchin 1969a:319-20).
4. Añchi (Adigamān Mequmān)/Elimi
Ancestors introduced sugarcane to Tamilaham. Lord of Kudirai hills and Tagadūr. Possessed cattle, elephants and chariots/horses (Puram 99.2, 158.8; Aham 36.16, 372, 115; Kurun 91).

5. Āndai
Lord of the fortified town Eyil (Puram 7.12)

6. Ātan Elimi
Lord of rich Sellūr (Aham 216)

7. Āti Aruman
Lord of Mūtūr (i.e. ancient settlement) (Aham 165.8; Kurun 293).

8. Ĉenti (son of Añchi)
Lord of the city Ārkkētu. Hunted elephants and other animals (Kurun 258.7).

9. Erumai
Lord of kuḍa nādu or Erumāiūr. The chief of Vadukar people. Led cattle lifting expeditions (Aham 253.12-19, 115.5).

10. Ėrapikkōn
Lord of Kudiraimalai, chief of Kuravar people and possessed elephants (Puram 157.7; Kurun 82, 95, 346).

11. Evvi (Māvēl)
Mis territory on the left bank of Kāverī had extensively cultivated fertile tracts of rice and sugar cane. Lord of Kilaiikkūram and Mīṉūr. He possessed Nīlal a coastal town having marine resources such as fish and pearls (Puram 234; Aham 197, 266.10, 366.12).

12. Eyinan (Āy) (son of Velīyan Vēnman)
Gifted tuskers (Aham 142, 208).

13. Kaluvul
Chief or Kāmūr (Aham 135, 365).

14. Katti
Chief of Vadukar (north of Tamilaham where Tamil was not spoken). Possessed many spears (Kurun 11).

15. Kannān Elimi
Lord of Mūdukkūram (Aham 197.7).

15a. Kannān
Lord of Tēnūr (Mahadevan 1966:11, No.71).

16. Kāri (Malaiyamān Tirumuți)
Lord of Kullūr, Kōval and Koḻunkal on the river Pennai. Possessed iron weapons and spear (Aham 209, 35; Kurun 198, 312).

17. Koḻumuți
Lord of Āmūr (Aham 159.18-19).

18. Kaḻalan
Lord of Vilangili (Aham 81.13).

19. Matti
Chief of the Paradavar people. Lord of Kalār at the confluence of the Kāverī. He had spearmen (Aham 226, 236.)
20. Musunrai Vel Lord of Alumbil (Maduraik 344–5).


22. Nalili (Kandira-kkopperu) Lord of Totti hill. Eyirapaṭṭīnam was in his domain. Gifted chariots and elephants. Possessed much cattle and ghee (Puram 150.20; Kurun 210.1).

23. Nannan (i) Lord of Parambu hill (Aham 356.8, 19).

24. Nannan (Vēnumāṇ) (ii) Lord of Elimalai and centres such as Viyalūr and Pāli (the latter fortified with brick ramparts). His land full of gold and bamboo. He gifted valuable ornaments and elephants (Aham 15.10–11; 97.12; 142.9; 153.13; 152.12; 173.16; 349.8).

25. Nannan (iii) Lord of Punnādu (Aham 396.2).

26. Nannan (iv) Lord of Kohkānān and probably the same Nannan who controlled port towns (Nār 391.6; Aham 392.27).

27. Nannan Udiyan (vel) (v) Lord of Nālai (Puram 179).

28. Nāgan Lord of Podiyil hills. These hills had tuskers. His palace full of gold (Aham 1, 61)

29. Neduvēl Avi Lord of Podiyil hills. These hills had tuskers. His palace full of gold (Aham 1, 61)

30. Ori (Malavar Perumakan) Chief of Malavar people. Lord of Kolli hills. These hills had aivanam (hill paddy), tuskers and plenty of jack fruit. He also possessed chariots (Puram 152.3; 158.5; Nār 52.9; Kurun 100; 199; Aham 208–9).

31. Oyman Nalliya-kkōdan Lord of Oyman which had Nāviliangai, Eyirapaṭṭīnam, Vēlūr and Amūr. Amūr was protected and was rich in cultivation (Puram 176.6; Sirupān 152.3, 160, 173, 187–88).

32. Oyman Vili Adan Lord of Nāviliangai (Puram 376).

33. Palayiyana (i) Lord of Pōr, which was a town on the banks of the Kāveri (Aham 186, 326).

34. Palayiyana (ii) Lord of rich Mohoor, which had plenty of rain and rich crops (Maduraik 508).

35. Panan Lord of Cirukudi located north of the Kāveri. A generous gift giver (Aham 54.14, 177.16; Puram 173, 388).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Panni (Kōdaippoorunā)</td>
<td>Lord of Kōda hills. Possessed much arrows, elephants and a generous gift giver (Aham 13). Performed Vedic (?) sacrifice (ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36a.</td>
<td>Kōpperu Pasrāpan</td>
<td>Lord of Erulkattūr (Mahadevan 1966:12, No. 75).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Pāri (Vēl)</td>
<td>Lord of Parambunādu. It had 300 villages, reservoirs, fields yielding paddy, hills yielding bamboo rice, Valli, Jack fruit and honey. He gifted villages (Puram 105, 109, 110, 117-18).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Pēkan (Vēlavikōperum)</td>
<td>Lord of the Kontal hill. Distributed much gifts (Aham 262; Puram 158).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Periyan</td>
<td>Lord of Purandai/Poraiyāru, on the coast. He possessed chariots (Aham 100; Nar 131).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Porunāy (Āy)</td>
<td>Lord of Nañjilnādu. (Puram 137-140).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Pulikatimal (Irunkōvel)</td>
<td>Lord of Kodumbalur (Puram 201.15, 202.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Puli</td>
<td>Lord of Venkadam and the chief of the Kalavar people. These were pastoral activity in his land and elephants (Aham 61, 83, 311.8-12).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Talukāban</td>
<td>Lord of the fortified town Ünūr (Aham 227.17-18; Nar 300.10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Tāmān (Tonrīkkōn)</td>
<td>Lord of the Tonri hill. (Puram 399).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Tirayar/Tiraiyan, Ven vēl.</td>
<td>Lord of Venkadam (Aham 85.9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Tirayar/Tiraiyan, Polam Pūn</td>
<td>Lord of the coastal town Pavattiri (Aham 340.6-7). Lord of Pavattiri wore gold jewels (ibid.). The Tirayar largely controlled the Tondaimandalam area. They also took the epithet Tondaiman e.g. Tondaimān Ḥantiraiya, Lord of Kañchi (PPTI 119, 435-6, 468).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47a.</td>
<td>Tiraiyan</td>
<td>A prince who was brought to the shore by the waves (tirai) of the sea (Perumbān 30-31).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Titiyan</td>
<td>Lord of Podiyil (Aham 25.20). He possessed spearmen, chariots and gold ornaments (Aham 331, 332).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Ancient Vēlir people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Ton mudir Vēlir</td>
<td>Hid their gold in a secret place in Mount Pāli (Aham 372.3, 258.2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Vēlir of Virai paṭinam</td>
<td>Controlled the port and had heaps of salt dunes (Aham 206.13).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Vēlir of Muttur (Muttuṟu)</td>
<td>Though it was in Marutam land, this place may have obtained its name from muttu i.e. pearl. Muttur may have been located close to a pearl diving area or may have been a pearl market (vide Puram 24.22).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, there was an effort on the part of the chieftains to 'redistribute' a portion of this wealth. We may suggest two methods by which this unequal distribution of wealth took place. The kinship network may have been one method that had some functional role to play in the concentration of social wealth in the hands of certain lineage groups who may have emerged as dominant political groups in the subsequent period. Especially where the cross cousin marriage system operated, there may have been on the one hand the horizontal transmission of social wealth (i.e. as bride price) and, on the other, the subsequent vertical transmission of wealth (i.e. to the lineage group). This kinship system which maintained the kin nuclei as a tightly integrated whole and prevented the intrusion of strangers, also acted apparently as an in-built device in creating a basis for the channeling of resources to the chieftain and to the lineage group. In addition, if the chieftain took a bride from an affiliated kin village within the tribal sector, it may have given him an opportunity to establish his sphere of influence over an extended kin group as well as an extended physical area.
The system of predatory expansion and cattle raids may have given further opportunities to the chieftain to claim a larger share of resources over other members of the group by virtue of his position as 'big man' or as the head of the lineage group. It is extremely significant to note that during the Sangam period the collection of booty, the division of booty, the feast and the distribution of gifts were considered as integral parts of veṭchipurai (Tol. Porul Pura 61). At such tribal, clan or community gatherings, the chieftain had access to a larger share, either purely due to his ability to wield authority over others or alternatively as a gesture on the part of a grateful resident group who bestowed upon him a larger share in appreciation of his leadership.

Thus, on the one hand the above mechanisms may have resulted in an unequal division of wealth and the consequent accumulation of prestige items with the chieftain. On the other hand as Kailasapathy correctly points out 'these objects were not hoarded by the heroes but displayed and distributed' (1968:254).

1 The act of redistribution may have witnessed a greater enhancement of authority over the community through two avenues. First, the act of gift giving, as a form of redistribution provided an opportunity for the chieftain to establish a rudimentary element of inequality or differentiation vis-à-vis the resident group in a donor-recipient status. Secondly, through the act of redistribution the chieftain could gain influence over the resident community and even over certain outsiders. For example, after 'confrontation' in the pastoral (mullai) tracts, the gift giving to warriors by chieftains

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1. Precious objects in primitive societies were ... objects to show off, to give away or redistribute in order to create a social
was known as *kōdaimai* (*Tol. Porul. Purā. 65.3*). The Sangam texts also provide a vivid documentation of gift presentations by chieftains to outsiders, especially the travelling bards. This apparently paid rich dividends as these bards sang in praise of the valour, riches and the munificence of the patron chieftain, which in turn enhanced the prestige of the latter in an era of competition for status.

The Megalithic monuments may further supplement our suggestion on resource accumulation that acted as a strong material factor leading to internal social differentiation. This is to be seen in the remains of certain items (interred within the tombs) for which the Proto Historic society apparently had certain 'values' attached as 'status' giving objects. To quote a very general example, we may take Megalithic burial 5 at Sanur as a case in point. This burial contained large quantities of human and cattle bones, a wide range of iron objects (arrow heads, spears, wedges, horse bits, daggers, swords, scrapers, chisels), objects of shell, (incised conch shells, shell beads, shell ear ornaments) and a range of pottery (Banerjee et Sounbararajan 1959). In addition, burial 5 is described as a pit circle covered over by a prominent cairn heap (3 ft. 6 inos, above the ground level) and having a large stone circle measuring 50 ft. in diameter (*ibid.* II).

Contd ... f.n. from p.228 relationship ..., in symbolizing a superior social position, potlatch de luxe objects are accumulated and redistributed by important people (chiefs or kings). They served as a means of social exchange, of multiple and complex value in a distinct and separate sphere of circulation, within limits determined by the very structure of the social relations of production and power (*Godelier 1977: 128*).
The association of cattle bones in certain burials is extremely significant in terms of economic and social status attached to pastoralism and cattle wealth and also in relation to heroic individuals who indulged in cattle raids. For instance, from a cairn circle at Hashmatpet (Hyderabad district), legbones of a calf were found in association with human skulls and BRW (Yazdani 1934-35:10). In 1929 Krishna uncovered cattle bones and teeth from the urn and cairn burials at Chandravalli (1931:9-10, 16-17, 21, 25-26). At Nagarjunakonda, burial XII (pit circle) revealed a clear case of a certain sacrifice made soon after human bones and other objects were placed at the bottom of the pit (Subrahmanyam 1975:177-8). The identical ritual has been reported from Maski (Thapar 1957). Nagarjunakonda burial IX shows a clear figure of a humped bull hallowed out on the stone slab (Subrahmanyam op. cit. 175).

The occurrence of cattle bones in particular burials may suggest greater access perhaps the chieftain and his lineage group had to this valuable economic resource i.e. cattle and their produce.\(^1\) From the Sangam texts we may derive evidence belonging to a slightly later context, chieftain Nalli or Tōttimalai is known to have possessed much ghee (from the milk) of many cows in his territory (Kurun 210.1). Similarly Elini protected his herd with spearmen (Kurun 219). It is even possible that perumakan Erumai, who conducted cattle lifting expeditions (Aham 115.5), may have taken this personal name due to the possession of cattle wealth. Hence,

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1. There is still sufficient evidence to establish that in the remote past, clan and family ownership of cattle prevailed among the Todas (Rivers 1906:541, 557).
greater access to such an important primary economic resource by the chieftain and his lineage group most obviously became a potential element of internal socio-economic differentiation.¹

The evidence forthcoming from the Megalithic burials indicates that the horse was another highly prestigious possession. As a source that enhanced quick mobility and striking power, a natural association developed between this animal and the hero. It is possible that, the limited occurrence of horse bones, teeth and bits, may point to a general restriction of the use of this animal to certain individuals, perhaps the clan/tribal elite.

Horse bits have been reported from the Megalithic-BRW sites at Polichetticherugutta near Janampet (Warangal district) (Ramachandran 1971:1, No.4), Sanur, Kunnattur and Adichchannallur (Gururaja Rao 1972:266; Ramachandran 1961:170-171). Similarly horse remains were unearthed at Jaggayapetta from stone circles (Master C.G. 'Report on Megaliths', Government of Madras Publicaton Department No. 1620, November 1, Archaeology. cited in Leshnik 1974:151). What appears to be horse bones were obtained from a cairn-circle at Yeleshwaram, which we earlier mentioned as the same burial containing two complete skeletons one on top of the other in an extended position (Khan 1963:6-7, pl.v).²

¹. There is the hierarchical organization of the Toda tribe which is based on the ritual organization of the buffalo herds and of the dairies and ritualized dairy operations. This is largely determined by the dairy grades (quality of the produce). Not only are the pens of the higher grade buffaloes separated, but the dwelling quarters of their owners are also located separately from the rest of the tribe. Corresponding to the hierarchy of dairy grades, there is a partial but very clear cut hierarchization of language (Rivers 1906; Eminena 1974:6).

². In addition to these remains (within the primary region), Megalithic burial IX (pit burial with a cairn circle) at
This association between the hero and the horse is relatively well documented in the Sangam texts. For instance, Atigamān Anōchi is frequently associated with fine horses (Kailasapathy 1968:157). Kāri and Īri went to the extent of naming their horses after each one's personal names (Sirupāṇi 110-111).

Kudiramalai i.e. horse mountain, was once controlled by perumakarn kōḷkan and at another time by chieftain Elini (Puram 158:8). The gifting of horses to bards by patron chieftains was held in high esteem due to the prestige attached to this animal and as the act itself was a rare gesture (Kailasapathy 1968:220-1).

Metal objects quite obviously formed an important section of these prestige items. It is apparent that each metal had a different functional context that in turn augmented its prestige value. Iron for instance had an important role to play in hunting, in warfare and as an instrument capable of harnessing the environment. The interment of a wide range of iron objects within the Neolithic burials clearly establishes the significance of this metal in relation to the socio-economic and the political context. In quantitative terms however, certain burials contain a larger number

Continued... from p. 231: Nagarjunakonda shows a crudely engraved figure of a horse on its capstone (Subrahmanyan 1976:175). A figure of a horse is depicted in a rock graving at Pīklianāl (Allchin 1960:16). The Mallapadi cave paintings (a site yielding a Neolithic-Neolithic overlap) show a horse rider in a hunting or a battle scene (Raman 1978:124). Several sites in north and central Deccan have yielded horse remains. Horse bits, bones and other ornaments of this animal were revealed near human remains within a stone circle at Mahurjāti in Maharashtra (Deo 1973:51-2, plates xii, xvi). Horse bones in association with human bones were unearthed from a stone circle at Khapa in Nagpur district. These excavations also yielded an ornament of thin copper sheet resembling the face of a horse (IAR 1967-68:33-4). A stone circle at Khaivara (in Maharashtra) revealed a pot containing a large number of horse teeth and bones (Carey 1871:238-9). At Junapani, horse and human bones were obtained from Megalith I, a stone circle (IAR 1961-62:32-3). It is significant that the north west Deccan was originally known by the name Assaka, which was probably a name assigned to a particular tribe.
of iron objects, especially in the form of weapons, over the rest of the burials at these sites. Megaliths II (pit circle) and XV (pit burial) at Nagarjunakonda, for example, revealed a wide range of iron weapons and implements (including a plough-share in burial II), whereas the other burials contained only a few implements or none at all (Subrahmanyam 1975:166-180).1 A complete documentation of iron objects at all Megalithic sites is bound to reveal a pattern related to 'special burials' and this 'prestige' item.

Certain other minerals were also considered equally prestigious, either due to their rarity or intrinsic value. For example, copper and bronze objects are relatively rare in the Megalithic context. Copper objects are generally restricted to ornaments and toilet objects vis. bangles, rings, bands, collyrium rods and (very rarely) utensils such as bowls (Gururaja Rao 1972:272). At Kadambapur (Karimnagar District), Megalith I (pit burial) revealed a curved dagger with copper hilt near the skull (IAR 1974:75:3-4). In all probability access to such rare metals may have been the privilege of a restricted group in society. Bronze objects are even less frequent in their occurrence in burials. The best representation of bronze objects from the Proto Historic context comes from the Adichchanallur burials (Rea 1902-03; 1915).2 Judging by the high

1. Burial XV at Nagarjunakonda in fact contained bronze and shell objects including white lime. In addition to this, the arms of the skeleton were folded and rested on the chest which is indicative of the remains belonging to an important person (Subrahmanyam op. cit. 180-183).

2. The Nilgiri burials also yielded a large quantity of bronze objects. These do not indicate a date before the early Christian era (Leshnik 1970; 1974).
content of tin (23%) in the composition of these objects (Rea 1915:3 Note 3), it is quite evident that the bronze objects were imported as tin is not locally available. A rare metal such as this carried much value and prestige. At Adichchanallur bronze objects are, therefore, normally placed within the burial urns. Bronze dishes (rarely placed outside the urns) contained important agricultural products such as grains of paddy (at times paddy husks) and millet. In addition, bronze was also used to fashion the 'diadems' ('fillets') which seem to be either decorative or ornaments indicating status.

It is possible that the intrinsic value and prestige of gold may have appreciated in the late Proto Historic and the Early Historic period when gold was extensively sought after by the Magadhan empire and by the northern merchants. Though gold mines were worked in southern Mysore and at other local centres during the Proto Historic period, the relative paucity of gold objects within the Megalithic context indicates the restricted use of gold in society. Even the range of gold objects is extremely limited and is represented mainly in the form of gold beads viz. Maula Ali, Brahmagiri, Nagarjunakonda. Considering the gold beads, the iron weapons and animal bones interred along with the skeleton, the female buried in Megalith XIV (at Nagarjunakonda) apparently was a person of high status. In addition, gold objects were found at Suttukani

1. The composition of bronzes from Adichchanallur (75% copper, 23% tin, 0.2% lead, 0.4% iron) is similar to the bronzes from the burials at Maula Ali (Hyderabad) and Taxila (Leshnik 1974:63).

2. Beads made of high quality gold were found at Maula Ali (Beck 1930). The Brahmagiri burials yielded 33 gold beads (Wheeler 1948:264). Burial XIV (pit circle) at Nagarjunakonda yielded 35 gold and 18 silver spacing cylindrical beads (Subrahmanyam 1975:179-180).
and Kadambapur. Similarly the occurrence of gold 'diadems' within the burials of Adichchanallur is extremely significant. The archaeological context of these gold 'diadems' clearly indicates the association of this metal with 'affluent' socio-political groups during the pre-urban period. According to the Sangam texts an 'ancient Vēlir clan' (Tont Mudir Vēlir) once hid their gold in mount Pāli (Aham 372.3). While Hannot Vēnman possessed much gold (Aham 173.16), chieftain Titiyan had many gold ornaments (Aham 331-2).

In addition to gold, silver, copper and even chank, Proto Historic communities seem to have attached prestige value to semi-precious stones. The wide range of beads with a variety of shapes turned out of raw material such as carnelian, jasper, agate, onyx, steatite, quartz, etc. found within habitation and burial sites (Beck 1930; Gururaja Rao 1972:273-278) indicate that there was


2. According to Balakrishna Mayar, gold 'diadems' similar to those found at Adichchanallur were unearthed at the Iron Age site of Sankaram (Vizagapatam district) (1977:181 note 43). We have not been able to locate any other source confirming this statement.

3. The urns containing the gold 'diadems' were invariably placed at considerable depth (10-15 ft.) below surface level and protected by deposits of large stones or boulders extending from the surface right down to the urn. Alternatively small urns were placed at some height over them. The urns containing them were always large and usually had considerable deposits (both inside and out) of pottery, bronze vessels and iron implements. When all these indications occurred, a gold ornament was almost sure to be found. The diadems invariably lay at the bottom of the urn (Rea 1902-03:120).
some degree of movement of raw material between micro regions. However, the discovery of beads of Lapis Lazuli from Raigir (Beck 1930:Art.No.134) clearly indicates that this material travelled hundreds of miles from the north (i.e. Badakshan) and had much prestige value attached. The Sangam texts carry notices on precious stones and also mention that chieftains such as Ay Andiran possessed rich ornaments (Ahau 69). It appears that mica had some prestige value or ritual significance. The mica strips unearthed from the Adichchanallur urns (Rea 1915:4,5) were obvious imports from the upper Tambapanni region. The fine sand and mica filling revealed within the Chataperamba urn burials near Cochin were foreign to that locality (Leshnik 1974:75).

Within the prestige giving items we may take into account of the term kalam mentioned in the Sangam context and the significance of which has been already pointed out by Kailasapathy. The etymology of kalam primarily denotes vessel, plate, utensil, jewel, weapon (1968:253). It is quite noteworthy that during the Sangam period kalam implied ornaments, vessels or utensils, baked pottery, weapons of war (PTT 232-233). Interestingly, the prestige goods interred within the megalithic burials seem to be the identical objects graded as kalam during the Early Historic Period.

It is not surprising that we come across certain monuments reflecting the importance of the individual(s) buried within them. This may be inferred either by the grave goods deposited or by the nature of the burial monument itself. Such burials may be called

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1. A wider demand for semi precious stones may have occurred during the Early Historic period when the exchange network linking southern Deccan and south India with Sri Lanka, north India and the Greco-Roman countries intensified at a greater scale.
'special burials'. The elaborate method of construction and grave goods prompted Wheeler to record the existence of 'specialized burials' at Brahmagiri (1948:197). We may note several other 'special burials' within the primary region.

About 1½ miles north east of Kalyanadurg (Anantapur district), two oblong cairns which have special features stand on the hill above the rest of the burials surrounding it (ARAS 1912-13:56-57).

At Nagarjunakonda, megalith IV has the distinction of being the largest pit circle at that site. The floor of the pit is coated with lime (Subrahmanya 1975:169). Similarly the twin cists and the elaborately arranged cairn circle at Yelleshwaran may be assigned the status of special burials (Khan 1963:5, 6-8). The cairn circles at Perundurei (Coimbatore district) show even more interesting features. Here, some of the cairns are of extra large size and have triple stone circles. These particular burials have a large standing monolithic slab at the head of the circle. The largest burial of them all is located at the centre of the burial ground (Walhouse 1874:33-34). At Devanur in South Arcot, a menhir prominently stands out at the middle of a dolmen burial site spreading over 3-4 acres (Garstin 1876:159-160). It is possible that the post holes near burial pits at Putrapalaion (near Pondicherry) were dug for the purpose of erecting a burial canopy (Leshnik 1974:42), perhaps to show greater respect to individuals buried there. Apparently this practice was in existence even during the Early Historic period, where a cloth canopy was set above hero stones (Purum 260:7-8).
This brings us to another very important mechanism of control viz. that of certain cult beliefs and practices that perpetuated socio-political domination. There seems to have been two basic aspects related to the funerary monuments, viz. the veneration of the dead or ancestor-worship and the belief in a life after death (Gaur 1969:107; Gupta 1972:242ff.). We have already indicated that in terms of its function, ancestor worship apparently played a crucial role in the social and power structure of the Proto Historic communities. More specifically, in cases where there were segmentary lineage groups and where leadership was claimed through descent e.g. *perumakan*, the cult group was composed of the descent group. It has been pointed out that ancestor worship was strongest among such groups because solidarity and the continuity of the lineage gives stability to such societies.¹ Under such circumstances, the veneration of the dead and ancestor-worship may be considered as a 'legitimating ritual' which provides a strong psychological basis for the chieftain and the lineage group to perpetuate their hegemony over the resident community.

In addition, it becomes quite apparent that the economy and acts of valour linked the hero to the resident community on the one hand and to the tribal pantheon on the other. It is extremely

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¹ "The cult group in this religion consists solely of persons related to one another by descent in one line from the same ancestor or ancestors. In most cases descent is patrilineal ... but in some societies ... descent is matrilineal ... What is called ancestor-worship consists of rites carried out by members of a larger or smaller lineage ... with reference to the deceased member of the lineage. Such rites include the making of offerings, usually of food and drink ... In such a society what gives stability to the social structure is the solidarity and continuity of the lineage, and of the wider group (the clan) composed of related lineages ... The disintegration of the social structure and the decay of the ancestral cult proceed together" (Radcliffe-Brown 1976:163-4).
interesting to note that, worshipping of goddess Korra vai and gods Murukan and Mayon including the funerary monuments formed an integral part of veṭchi in the kuriṅkhi (hill) tracts (Tal. Porūl Purā 59-60). The tribal chieftain, may have also played the role of the 'medicine man'. This mediation between the super-natural and the clan or tribe may have been another important avenue through which the clan/tribal chieftain wielded some form of psychological control over the resident community.

What is implicit in this situation is firstly, the recognition of particular individuals as being 'superior to other men' (Kailasapathy 1968:74-75). Secondly, it also establishes a symbolism that linked the pre urban economy, habitat, the community and the cult symbol.

For instance, the cult symbol represented especially by the spear or trident, may have been important to chieftains who indulged in acts of heroism and valour. The etymology of the word veḷ is, spear, dart, lance, javelin, trident (DED 4555). Veḷan deriving from vēḷ) which means 'spearman' also denotes Murugan (ibid; PPTI 797). The very interment of spears and tridents within the megalithic burials may have been an effort to associate the cult symbol of a patron deity with the political elite. In fact the trident symbol is one of the most frequent graffiti marks found on the Chalcolithic and Megalithic pottery. We have already pointed out that the graffiti mark  may symbolize leadership and authority. ¹

¹. In as much the word kō ( > kōn) implies shepherd, king and even God, kōyil (from kō) means palace as well as temple (Caldwell 1976:621; PPTI 340).
The foregoing evidence clearly establishes two factors. First, it indicates the extent to which the origins of political institutions and authority seem to have been linked to the resident community in the peripheral areas which was largely composed of the kin groups. Secondly, leaders of the kin group or the community were considered superior to others and seen fit enough to be associated with the qualities of deities and their cult symbols. The titles/epithets taken up by chieftains/leaders/kings are on the one hand used for the deities and religious symbols/personages and on the other hand identify males who wielded authority within the family/household unit. This is precisely what we earlier called an overlapping situation linking the pre-urban economy, habitat, the community and the deity (vide Table No. 2). In order to substantiate the above evidence within a specific historical and cultural context, the Velir community may be considered an excellent example (vide Appendix V.). Such a study can also give us an insight into certain cultural groups who had evolved rudimentary political organizations governing the clan, and how they also managed to establish some form of political hegemony to maintain themselves as the social elite of south east India during the Late Proto Historic period and the initial phase of the Early Historic period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief/Warrior/Leader</th>
<th>Lord/Master/King</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>Elder brother</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Murugan</th>
<th>Indra/sun/moon</th>
<th>Sage</th>
<th>Arahant</th>
<th>Priest</th>
<th>Brahman</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Exalted person/person of eminence</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Al
2. Aiyar
3. Aiyar
4. Attan
5. Irai
6. Ko/Kon/Komân
7. Makan
8. Talaivan
9. Vel
10. Vendan
In the present section our task is to understand the processes of political formation in Macro Zone I during the Early Historic period and determine the qualitative transformations that evolved during each different epoch. For our convenience, the historical sequence of political formation has been divided into two primary phases as pre-state political formation and the development of the state, which can be applied to Macro Zone II and III as well.

On the basis of the general framework outlined in the preceding sections, the incipient pre-state political formation that emerged in a recognizable form in the Primary Region, may be identified as a tribal polity. In very elementary terms, tribal polity here implies, the resident kin group occupying or rotating within a traditionally prescribed 'territory' having evolved rudimentary forms of leadership and also elements of social differentiation. There were several such communities, already existing in Macro Zone I by the time the Mauryas extended their political hegemony over southern Deccan and other areas south of the Vindhya hills (see Chart No. 6).

There is little evidence for the existence of any institutionalized authority among such groups controlling the means of production and labour, though there were at least the smallest beginnings of pre-conditions facilitating 'control' over communities.

### Chart No. 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>II RE Girnar</th>
<th>V RE Girnar</th>
<th>XIII RE Girnar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yōna</td>
<td>Yōna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kambōja</td>
<td>Kambōja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Gandhāra</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Raṭhika**</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pitinika</td>
<td>Pitinika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bhōja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North/Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Āndhra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Palinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yōna-rāja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yōna-rāja Antiyoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antiyaka</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Antiyoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tulamaya</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Antekina</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Maka</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Alikyashudala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Far South</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Chēḍa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Chēḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pāṇḍya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Satiyaputa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ketalāputa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Tāṃraparṇī</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tāṃraparṇī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Forest communities are not mentioned by specific tribal names.

** Yavanarāja Tūṣāspa is called Rāṣṭriya in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman.

*** The Sangam texts mention the Kōśår tribe in association with the southern Deccan.
and resources by an elite stratum by the end of the Proto-Historic period (vide section I-3 in this chapter). Such crucial developments though limited were made possible during the pre-Maurya period due to certain internal changes more specifically in areas with potential for development. Hence, the generalized remarks made by Kosambi and Chakrabarti are over simplified statements expressed without taking cognizance of the historical reality of the pre-Maurya epoch in the Primary Region.

This does not imply that we can minimize the role played by the external impetus i.e. Maurya state and long distance trade, introducing certain qualitative changes to the pre-state political structure in south east India. In other words, this implies the necessity to ascertain the mechanism of interaction between two political systems and the strategy applied by the metropolitan state to incorporate the political elite in the occupied regions as a means to control resources, labour and redistribution (vide Appendix - II).

1. Such internal developments, as we have described in an earlier context are: a relative demographic expansion, a more efficient use of iron, rudimentary forms of water control and irrigation, greater sedentarization, the switch-over from dry crops based on swidden cultivation to high-yielding wet crops on plough agriculture i.e. an assured agricultural surplus, a relative improvement in craft specialization and the linking of the internal exchange network to the long distance trade mechanisms operated by northern merchant or by their intermediaries.

2. 'The prehistoric (sic) megaliths of Brahmagiri in Mysore continued to be erected and even increased in size after the Mauryan occupation, which must mean that the local tribes were not immediately converted to the innovation of an agrarian life by the availability of iron' (Kosambi 1972:139). 'It needed the long arm of the Mauryan empire to shake the south out of its tribal somnolence' (Chakrabarti 1973:337).
It is difficult to determine as to how long the hegemonic control of the Mauryas prevailed over the southern Deccan after Asoka's death, which may have occurred around 233–2 B.C. There is reason to believe that during the latter stages of his strong personal rule, Asoka had to face up to certain economic restraints and political constrains, which may have affected the stability and the durability of the political structure and consequently hastened the process of disintegration of the Maurya state following his demise. It is suggested that, following this, the physical area covered by the Maurya state was divided between Kunāla and Dasharatha (R. Thapar 1961:194). The inscription at Nagarjuni hill in Gaya, confirm Dasharatha's sway over the eastern sector. We are also uncertain about the quantitative authority the metropolitan state exercised over the provincial areas following Asoka's death. It may not be incorrect to assume that after Asoka's death, the metropolis may have had only a marginal or minimal authority over primary zones such as the Lower Krishna,¹ or the Lower Mahanadi plains.² Probably, the Mauryan state authority may have altogether disappeared as a political force from these regions by the end of the 2nd Century B.C.

1. It is suggested that the Amaravati heard of silver punch-marked coins may have been deposited during the reign of the last Maurya king, Erhadratha (Kosambi 1966:52), probably in face of a political turmoil. This particular coin heard (which was unearthed in 1953, about 20 yards from the stūpa at a depth of 8–10 ft. below the surface level) is believed to have been issued during the reign of Asoka (Gupta 1963:152).

2. In spite of the suffering inflicted upon its resident community, Kalinga possessed the capacity to throw up chieftains from local lineage groups with the first cracks appearing on the metropolitan state structure. Kharavela calls himself the third descendant of the Mahāneghavāhāna kula of Kalinga (Sircar 1965:213). In a donative record the chief queen of Kharavela mentions her father and grandfather. In fact, her father Lalāka took the title rāja
In order to understand the process of political formation leading to the emergence of the state (during the post-Maurya period) in Macro Zone I, it is necessary to identify the institutional dynamics that led to the evolution of a better defined ruling class which forms an essential component of the state. Such a development has to be located, firstly, within the material base, especially in areas that thrust the pre-state polity beyond the confines of a clan-based organization. Secondly, one may also note that ideological basis that acted as an overall galvanizing factor in legitimizing the existence of a hierarchized institutional power structure sustaining and perpetuating the hegemonic authority of the ruling classes.

It is pointed out that "what counts more in the formation of chiefdoms is less the nature of techniques of production than the importance of the 'surplus' they produce" (Godelier 1977:88). The crux of the matter, however is, what gave the chieftains the power and authority to extract the surplus within a particular socio-economic context. It is important therefore to understand the nature of control over labour and the ability to extract the surplus through which the local elite groups stabilized their political authority within the existing economic structure in evolving a suitable material base tending towards the formation of the state during the Sātavāhana - Ikṣvāku period.

Cont'd ... f.n. from p.145 (Banerji 1955-6:159-60). These inscriptions can be dated to c. 50 B.C. If a minimum period of 120 years can be assigned for three generations, within a lineage group to emerge, then we can approximately give a date around late 2nd Century B.C. as the initial political ascendancy of such elite families. Interestingly, this coincides with 181-180 B.C. which is the suggested terminal year of the Mauryas (R. Thapar 1961:196).
For this purpose, let us first consider certain aspects related to the units of production that were gradually integrated and brought under the sway of chieftains. An interaction between the internal developments and the external dynamic (more specifically long distance trade) had far reaching consequences on the structure of the settlement units housing residential communities. This may be described as the evolution of pure and simple clan villages operating within a household economy into petty production-distribution centres. This does not, however, imply an immediate disintegration of the clan-based units of settlements. Such clan-based units apparently continued well into the early Christian period, though an equation between the settlement/habitation and its composite identity with a particular clan or clans was becoming less conspicuous in the post 1st Century B.C. period. In fact, what one observes during this period is the restructuring of settlement units to serve more specific socio-political and economic functions.

This gradual transformation can be traced at two levels. At one level we have the clan-based villages, which are probably single economic units (specializing in a particular craft), which invariably linked them to the commercial network. At another level, there is a simultaneous development towards a hierarchization of settlements, the antecedents of which probably evolved during the end-phase of the Proto Historic period.

For this purpose let us take up the available archaeological and inscriptions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name of Individual</th>
<th>Clan/Family</th>
<th>Nature of Settlement</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reva.ta. (senapati)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dhammakaṭaka-nigama</td>
<td>Chanda 1919-20:262 No.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalavaira-gāma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sarma 1975:70, pl.xiv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kudūra-(calakā)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ghosh 1979:103, No.27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ragāma</td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid. 102, No.15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ni?)gama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sivaramamurti 1977:275 No.16 No.16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Paḍipudiniya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chanda 1919-20:264, No.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cūla</td>
<td>Pākoṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid. No.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pāko(ṭaka)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid. No.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>(thabaka)kula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chanda 1919-20:263 No.7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
those assignable to the pre-Christian period, record the existence of communities and settlements (vide Table No. 3).

We come across settlements such as Kalavairagama, Nhapatagama and Kudura. In the earliest context, we consider grama and ur to have been synonymous conveying the meaning 'village' settlements.¹ The borrowing of the Indo-Aryan term grama to denote the village indicates the strong north Indian influence on these settlement units. Apparently, the gama or the ur at this stage housed the clan or clan groups. For instance, the Vitapala community identify Nhapatagama as their place of residence. We are, however, unaware whether Nhapatagama housed other clan groups as well. The very fact that the residents of Kalavairagama and those of Kudura made their donations as a whole, may indicate the existence of closely knit groups i.e. clans, who probably formed the household units of production as well. To take one example, if we are able to identify thabaka kula, with a family unit (Kula) involved in the craft of copper working or some activity associated with copper (tamba > thaba), it may indicate the existence of specialized units of production, ultimately supplying the long-distance trade network. The simultaneous gradation or hierarchization of settlements may have been a consequence of the new socio-economic situation. The inscriptions assignable to the pre-Satavahana period mention three types of settlements. These are the gama, or ur, nigama and pura.

In the course of time, the nigama and pura became synonymous.

¹ ur/uru in Dravidian is 'village, town, city' and ura in Prakrit is village (DEd 643). In addition ur also means 'place' (ibid.) Amaravati inscriptions also mention Kavurra, Hiralura etc. (Sivaramamurti 1977:297, 302).
It appears that different interest groups, specialists and even clan groups integrated or incorporated themselves into more organized, enlarged and complex units within the nigama. This integration of the residential community is expressed in the term nigamaputa (Buhler 1894:328-329), literally 'sons of the nigama,' and also in their effort to make donations as a whole (Ghosh 1979:101 No.6). This form of cohesion had to evolve either through some voluntary measures or through the establishment of some controlling authority over the resident community.

This hierarchization of settlement units may indirectly indicate the initial gradation related to the status each residential group held according to the functional role they played in the socio-economic structure. At the upper level of the settlement hierarchy was the nigama and pura. These were not only primary centres of production-distribution, but were also administrative centres that housed the political elite as well. For instance, a Maurya kumāra resided at Dhanayakaṭaka nigama. So were the local elites such as sengopa Madukutala and the Pakoṭaka senapati Dharsaka. Rāja kubiraka not only resided at a nigama settlement of which he was the head, in addition to being the pamukha of the Simha gōsthī (Buhler 1894:328 No. vi).

1. The existence of five corporate bodies i.e. pañcharakṣaṇa in the city of Taxila may indicate the prevalence of such a situation.

2. The occurrence of the term pura in Andhra may post date the nigama in the inscriptions. The earliest known instances of a pura is from the Bhattiprolu inscriptions (Buhler 1894:329 No. X). It is interesting to note that the southern group of Asokan edicts do not refer to nagara/pura or administrative functionaries associated with such centres. However, the
The occurrence of the title holder Mahātalavara around the 1st Century B.C. period in Andhra indicates yet another group associated with the emergence of indigenous chieftains during the Early Historic period. The evidence below may establish a further broadening of the Aryanized political elite by absorbing an increasing number of chieftains who apparently emerged from clan-based societies in the nuclear as well as in the peripheral areas.

The earliest notice of the title Mahātalavara appears on a copper coin which was unearthed from the pre-Satavahana, Early Historic BRW level at Polkonda in the Warangal District (IAR 1975-76:5). The legend on the coin reads Mahātalavara Siva Saka (ibid). There seems to be Mahātalavara derived from talavara and the latter in turn from talai. The etymology of the Dravidian word talai is 'head, top, end, tip' (DED 2529) and conveys the meaning head, best, highest, first, person of highest quality and rank (TL 1929:III, iv 1774). Similar meanings can be found in the etymology of two terms deriving from talai viz talaimai — leadership, pre-eminence (DED 2529) and taleivan — chief, headman, lord, leader, husband (ibid). It is indeed significant that the term talai and its derivations are associated with meanings...

Contd ... f.n. from p. 250 1st Sep. R.E. at Dhauli refers to Mahāmātras of Samapa and Tosalī as nagala — viyohālaka; i.e. 'Judicial officers of the city' (Hultzsch 1922/1969:92-93, 114). In spite of definite traits of urbanization, Dhañaka continued to be called negama. This was also the political-administrative centre at least under one alien power (Satavahana) who held sway over the lower Krishna valley. It is, therefore, possible to suggest that, in the post 1st Century B.C. period, the term negama had a far wider meaning than the original 'market town'. Hence, negama and pura may be considered synonymous (for similar traits in north India vide Srivastava 1968:212). Alternatively, those associated with the negama continued to call it by the original name even after such centres evolved or developed traits of urbanization.
denoting kinship affiliations, personal qualities of eminence and leadership, which in turn have a striking resemblance to the epithet perumakan. We are therefore of the opinion that the talavera originally may have been a leader of the kin group i.e. the resident community. Interestingly, one of the Tamil meanings deriving from talai is talaiyari i.e. village watchman (Vogel 1929–30:7 Note 3).

There is also another group of terms associated with talai, found in the Dravidian group of languages, which indicate a strong bias towards warfare and military activity. These may be listed as (Tamil) talam-army, (Malayalam/Tamil) talavari-a general, (Telugu) dalamu/dadamu - army (Emeneau et Burrow 1962:39 No.196).1 This group of meanings become more interesting in the light of certain other local elite groups who were associated with titles such as senagopa, senapati, which were affiliated to the provincial administration of the Mauryas in a military capacity.

It is not known whether the Mahatalavara group of chieftains, who could muster the support of the related groups, were associated with the Mauryas or not. Mauryas, in fact, obtained the support of the Kēśar tribe in the southern Deccan. Interestingly, in the Karimnagar District, (adjoining Warangal) at Dhulikatta, the mud-built rampart around the habitation is believed to have an antiquity extending up to the 3rd Century B.C. (IAR 1975–76:2). It is possible to suggest that at least by the 1st Century B.C. a

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1. Emeneau and Burrow (op.cit. 196) suggest that the original root was the Sanskrit dala i.e. a detachment of troops, which was borrowed by the Dravidian group of languages as talam. Vogel (op. cit.) and Sircar (1939:19) believe this to have a southern origin from Dravidian.
group of chieftains called the Mahātalavara may have conclusively emerged from amongst these indigenous clans and in all probability controlled a larger number of clan villages hence a more extensive physical area than the pre-existing talavara. The very association of the prefix mahā 'great', may indicate the qualitative difference (in terms of authority) between these two i.e. talavara and Mahātalavara and also the emergent gradation that prevailed in the hierarchy.

One may also question why some chieftains, especially those in the primary nuclear area took the title rāja and not Mahātalavara. First, there is a distinct possibility that the term rāja was preferred because the influence of the Great Tradition was much stronger in the lower Krishna region. Secondly, the more plausible explanation is that rāja may represent a leadership/authority that was not necessarily based on and evolved out of kinship or clan situation, and were individuals who perhaps rose to power by being shareholders of the craft/commercial complex e.g. kubiraka. On the contrary, the Mahātalavara group may have been leaders who originally emerged from clan groups (probably as in the case of Madukutala or the sepārati of the Pakōtaka clan), newly drawn into the economic and cultural milieu of the Great Tradition, and may represent political entities where kinship ties yet played a significant role in the power structure. This situation associated with powerful Mahātalavara clan groups is relatively more clear during the Sātavahana-Ikṣvāku period (for a similar distinction that prevailed between the rāja and Mahātalavara, observe the existence of distinct groups known as Ventar and parumakan, vēlir
in Macro Zone II and also Aya, rajha and parumaka in Macro Zone III). ¹

If we are able to accept this argument about the 'power base' of the Mahātalavara, then it is possible to infer that they may have also been in a strong position to extend a vertical control over surplus production and distribution including resources. The very ability of Siva Saka, the Mahātalavara to issue copper coins indicates his authority over a territory and community, political and economic strength to establish his coinage, control over distribution and transactions to regulate exchange. Though the Mahātalavara group may indicate the continued prevalence of the hegemonic control of particular clan groups over others within a particular geographical area, the ascendancy of individuals such as Kubiraka raja shows that leadership and its economic interaction within the resident community was not strictly based on narrow kinship affiliations. However, at best, this may be called a transitory situation. The uneven development of productive forces may be shown as a primary reason resulting in this qualitative and quantitative difference in class formation between the nuclear areas and the peripheral as well as some hinterland areas. Especially in the peripheral areas communities were just breaking into historical light and were in the process of adjusting to a rank society. Their integration into the class structure occurred during the subsequent epoch.

¹ The title talavara continued to be in use as an important title even during the 6th Century A.D. (vide Venkataramayya 1949-50: 226-235; Narasimhaswami 1955-56: 74-80).
Table No: 4

Pre-Satavahana political and administrative designations in Macro Zone I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Personal Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kumāra</td>
<td>Avatakama</td>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>Chanda 1919-20:262, No. 12;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rājakumāri</td>
<td>Sammaliya</td>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>Sivaramamurti 1977:276-77;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Senāgopa</td>
<td>Mudukutala</td>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>Nos: 18, 26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Senāpati</td>
<td>Dharaka</td>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>Ghosh 1974:101 No. 2, 102;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rāja lēkhaka</td>
<td>Bala</td>
<td>Maurya</td>
<td>No. 7A, 103, No. 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(Dhamma)raṇa</td>
<td>Asokasiri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gadre 1955-56:87-88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rāja</td>
<td>Kubiraka</td>
<td>Chief of gōsthī and nigama</td>
<td>Ruhler 1894:328 No. vi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gāmaṇī</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hiraṇakāra</td>
<td>ibid. No. v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mahātalavara</td>
<td>Siva Saka</td>
<td></td>
<td>IAR 1975-76:5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bhāṇḍāgārika</td>
<td>Parāla</td>
<td></td>
<td>Khan 1969:4 No. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lēkhaka</td>
<td>Cūla gōma (Probably affiliated to Kaliṅga)</td>
<td>Subrahmanyam 1968:7.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Ava raja of Pituda mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscription has not been included in this list.
Thus, at this developmental juncture, we cannot point to an evolution of a full fledged functionally hierarchized stratified class society. Even the progressive dilution of the kinship basis as the foundation of the polity in particular areas was not necessarily accompanied by an actual emergence of the state. The inscriptions of Kubiraka or those of Asokasiri are localized by nature and not associated with clearly demarcated large territorial entities. Nor do the inscriptions refer to the other components of the state such as a standing army, revenue collection, or the most important bureaucratic apparatus. The Pre-Satavahana inscriptions of Macro Zone I indicate a non-continuation of most of the Maurya administrative designations in the post Maurya period and also a very limited number of titles in use during the same period (see Table No. 4). This natural as a bureaucratic hierarchy, such as the one under the Metropolitan state, had no functional role to play in petty chiefdoms. Therefore, the occurrence of only functionaries such as lāchaka and bhāndāgārika is in keeping with the nature of the political-economy of this period.

It is quite apparent that Kubiraka and Asokasiri took upon themselves the title rāja/raha in the absence of any other superior authority. While it was a clear effort to continue the tradition associated with the Mauryas, it clearly did not carry the same degree of authority, power and sanction associated with the metropolitan rulers. Thus, the post Maurya political elite took such titles, more in a symbolic sense to denote political
leadership and an unequal status differentiating themselves from the rest. In fact, the very introduction of the prefix mahā i.e. great, big, superior to the title talavara not only distinguished the title holder from the rank(s) below him but also designated a superior status over the rest of the community.

It is also extremely significant that Kubiraka did not inherit but acquired the title rāja. Clearly, the inscriptions do not associate this title with his father’s name. This may substantiate our argument that Kubiraka reached a position of eminence not through lineage, but through his personal ability where a position of strength was probably based on wealth accumulated through economic activity associated with craft and commercial groups. His personal name, Kubiraka (from kuvāra > kubēra > kubira), which means, 'lord of wealth/prosperity', symbolizes his real economic status and strength (infra p. 456 for the lion symbol).

The very effort on the part of the local political elite to borrow and use north Indian politico-administrative titles has other important implications. The powerful techno-cultural and economic force emanating from the cosmopolitan centres in the

1. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman names the District Governor of Asoka in Saurashtra as Yavanarāja Tuṣāsapa (Sircar 1965:177). It is more likely that ṛāja in this context indicated leadership rather than kinship. It is also not known whether Tuṣāsapa actually used this title or whether it was attributed to his name when the inscription was engraved a few centuries after his period.

2. Compare this situation with Kharavela’s Queen’s inscriptions where her father, and not her grandfather, is associated with the title ṛāja (Banerji 1995:159-60).
north provided these attributes for the indigenous elite to use as symbols to distinguish themselves culturally and socially from a large segment of non-status groups. In fact it is at this juncture that one finds a great coalescence between a new cultural identity and new socio-political status turning out to be a primary expression of the new ideology legitimizing the subsequent establishment of a functionally hierarchized stratified society in Macro Zone I. It is interesting to note that a local ruler (at Saluhundam) took up the personal name Aśoka and the title Dhamma rāja i.e. 'the righteous King' or 'the propagator of the faith' (?), the latter being a Buddhist title. Personal names such as 'Siri', 'kubiraka' and 'Siva' also indicate the acceptance of religio-cultural symbolism or north India as a mark of distinction. The very effort to patronize particular religious and ritual establishments transmitted from the north may be considered as an effort by certain elite groups to totally identify themselves with a new cultural milieu.

In a wider sense, such borrowings and imitations, which are all part of the process of acculturation, identified the indigenous status groups with a common sub-continental elite culture that cut across the geo-political boundaries especially during the post Maurya period. It is not an exaggeration to state that the political elite became the primary patrons or rather exponents of the Great Tradition in each Macro Zone. The Great Tradition which initially spread in a horizontal direction, was successfully
diverted in a vertical direction in each Macro Zone by such Aryanized status groups. The dynamics of this process reached new heights during the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku period in Macro Zone I, under a different set of historical conditions.

The study made by Chatterjee (1976) on Andhra, demonstrated the proliferation of social groups and habitation sites in the post 2nd/1st Century B.C. period. This is clear evidence of the intensification of productive forces and a demographic expansion. One of the most striking features in the post 1st Century B.C. period, is the stratification based on the social division of labour and the clear juxtaposition of the ruling classes and the primary producer in the social hierarchy. In broad terms, this period witnessed a further intensification in the production and distribution at urban and semi-urban centres, the expansion in agriculture and the conclusive establishment of an urban-rural symbiosis, and a total subordination of the primary producer through a control over the means of production, land, surplus production and its distribution by the ruling classes. Therefore, in order to face a newly developing situation, the political structure in Macro Zone I had to alter its form during the post 1st Century A.D. period.

There is little reason to believe that concepts associated with kinship and state, as known to the Great Tradition, were
unfamiliar to the political elite of Macro Zone I prior to the extension of the Sātavāhana hegemony over this region. The occurrence of the cakravarti (universal monarch) figure on a limestone carving from the pre-Christian remains at Jaggayapeta (Burgess 1882: Pl. xvii) and the taking up of the title rāja by local chieftains may be shown as proof of this awareness. The very emergence of the Sātavāhana state in western India during the 1st Century B.C. (Sharma 1968:201-215), and the emergence of the state in Kalinga were tangible developments affecting a further institutional formation in the adjoining regions such as Macro Zone I. In fact, on the basis of the Ratigumpha inscription and the Guntupally inscription (Sircar 1965:214; Subrahmanya 1968), it is quite evident that the Kalinga rulers did hold sway over the

1. The occurrence of coin, assignable to the early Sātavāhana period, carrying the legend Maharathī Śivaka (a king) at Nellakondapalli in the Khammammet District in Andhra (Rama Rao 1957:184), clearly indicated that such titles and elite groups were not unknown in Macro Zone I even prior to the extension of Sātavāhana power over this region.

2. Inscriptions attributable to the Mahābedahāna family of Kalinga give the following details on the state and its integral components, as it prevailed in the Kingdom. The inscriptions refer to the rājavamsa (royal dynasty) maharāja (great king), kalingadhiratī (lord of all Kalinga), chakravarti (universal monarch), mahārājabhisha (royal consecration), chakradhāra (holder of the wheel of sovereignty), rāja niyāsa (royal residence/palace), vijaya (victorious conquest), senā (army) consisting of haya-gajarnā (horse-elephant-men). Khāravēla is described as a master of lekha-rūpa-ganapāvahāra vidhi (writing-coinage-accounting-legal systems). Some of the members of the royal household mentioned are, aga-mahisī (chief-queen), yuvārāja (heir-apparent), kumāra (prince). The members of the bureaucracy and state officers mentioned are nāgarakadahāsa (city-judge), lēkha-kāra (scribe). The kingdom had a capital called khibira (Kalingaragāra khibira), which had gopura (main entrance) and pākhāra (fortification walls). The subjects resided in nāgarā and purā (city, fortified towns) and also in janapada (agricultural tracts). Public spending and the distribution of wealth as gifts is also mentioned.
nuclear area of Krishna-Godavari, prior to the Satavahana rule over this region.\footnote{There is some uncertainty about the identity of Aira Maharaja Manasada, mentioned in the Velpuru inscription (Sircar 1957:58; 82-87). It is located in the Guntur District and is dated to the early 2nd Century A.D. Both Aira and Maharaja are titles associated with the Kalinga royal house from 50 B.C. It is not impossible that a descendant of Kharavela wielded power in the nuclear area until Pulamavi II (132-159 A.D.) took control over the region.}

It is difficult to argue that the Saka threat was singularly responsible for prompting Gautamiputra Satakarni (107-121 A.D.) and his successors to look for an additional base in the east. The rich resources (in terms of agrarian tracts, mineral resources, population) and the well evolved economy was a greater attraction. The evidence at hand indicates that the earliest Satavahana ruler to establish his hegemonic control over Macro Zone I was Vasishthiputra Pulamavi or Pulamavi II (c.132-159 A.D.) whose inscriptions occur in the west at Adoni in Bellary (Sukthankar 1917-1918:153-155) and in the east at Amaravati (Sivarangamurti 1977:284-85: No.51).

In their effort to impose power from above, the Satavahanas may not have found the task all that difficult to implement. They, in fact, intruded into a region that had already evolved a series of localized political nuclei which had successfully established a system of controlling communities and resources in each entity. Further to this, some of these entities housed a stratified society, organized and specialized units of production and communities already absorbed within the ideological and cultural mainstream of the
Great Tradition. The subjective conditions being ripe enough, the Satavāhana hegemony only had to act as an over-arch ing organization to give greater efficiency and centralization to the management and the extraction of the surplus. For this purpose, at one level they did the most logical thing by absorbing the local chieftains in a subordinate position to the power structure. At another level, they operated a state bureaucracy. The success of this system is seen by the fact that, as time passed, these two levels coalesced to provide the Satavāhana–Ikṣvāku states with a clearly demarcated ruling class. It is therefore logical that we take up some of the indigenous political elite groups to understand this process under the Satavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus.

We have already suggested that the rāja group may have emerged and thrived within an economic structure largely dominated by craft production, mercantile activity and urbanization; while the Mahātalavara group probably had its incipient origins in clan societies largely based in agricultural and raw material producing areas. There is reason to believe that the Satavāhanas may have gradually eliminated the rājas from their political and economic base situated in the urban production-distribution centres. However, the Satavāhanas apparently followed a conciliatory policy towards the Mahātalavara group, a situation parallel to their policy adopted towards the indigenous elite in western and southern

1. If it can be definitely established that the house of Kalinga Mahameghavāhana held sway over the nuclear area until 1–2 Century A.D. they may have been responsible for eliminating the rāja chieftains.
Deccan e.g. Maharathis. It was this conciliatory attitude that enabled the Mahātalavaras, unlike the rājas, to retain and perpetuate their economic base through the period of Sātavāhana hegemony and subsequently establish themselves as the dominant power group during the Ikṣvāku period.

It is possible that until the early Christian era, the rāja group held their own in the eastern sector through a vertical extension of authority along the production and settlement hierarchy. However, there is a noteworthy absence in the occurrence of the individual rāja title in Andhra during the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku period. Conversely, in western and southern Deccan some of the subordinate rulers continued to use the title rāja under the Sātavāhana hegemony. The Sātavāhanas themselves took the title rāṇa.

One possibility is that rāja chieftains were absorbed into the upper bureaucracy of the Sātavāhanas. For instance, we have already mentioned rāṇa Asokasiri at Saluhundam. From the same place, nearly two centuries later, an inscription mentions a rāstrapālaka (Ramachandran 1949-50:113-37). From a slightly later date, probably during the time of Vijaya Sātakarṇi (203-208 A.D.) a seal mentioning a bhōjaka was found at Ramathirtham (ARADSC 1910:11-13), and this site has extensive Buddhist remains (ARADSC 1909-10:20-21). Both Saluhundam and Ramathirtha are located in District Srikakulam, of North Andhra. It is not known whether the rāstrapālaka and bhōjaka belonged to local ruling families, probably rājas, who were absorbed to the Sātavāhana administration. Significantly, Ramathirtham is located on the route extending south from
Kalingapattnam—Salihundam towards the Godavari delta via Kodavali, which has a Satavahana inscription recording a donation by an anātya (Sastri 1925:26). It is also likely that, in their effort to control the lucrative craft centres and exchange routes, the Sātavāhanas may have conveniently eliminated the rājas totally from these politically and commercially strategic centres. 1

One way or the other, from the 1st Century A.D. the erosion of the political and economic power of the rāja group is clear. To quote one example, during the 1st Century B.C. we hear the rāja pamukha ... (vide Buhler 1894:328 No. vi). The 1st Century A.D. reflects a different situation. One inscription from Amaravati reads '... seṭhipamukasa bhadanigamasa ...' (Sivaramamurti 1977:294, No.87). Two other inscriptions from the Ikṣvāku period read 'seṭhipamakha nigama' and 'kulika pamukha ...' (Sircar 1963 :4-5; 1961-62:210-11). During the pre-Christian years, Bhattiprolu, the seṭhi was only a member of the nigama headed by rāja kubiraka (Buhler 1894:328 No.viii). However, by the early Christian era, the mercantile group emerged as the most powerful economic factor in Macro Zone I. Therefore, when the rājas were challenged by a superior political power, in the post 1st Century B.C. the merchants could easily move in to replace the rājas in their economic stronghold.

In any event, the Sātavāhanas had quite clearly established their control over the urban centres of this period. Such units were

1. It is known to us that Khāravēla, another invader, who probably held sway over the lower Godavari and Krishna region for sometime, destroyed Pituda the market town of Ava raja.

There are at least two inscriptions recording the term amachcha (amâtya) or Minister of the King, which are located at religious centres in the nuclear area (Sastri 1937-38:256-260; 1925-26:316-319). In fact, one donation was at the Mahâvihâra of Dhânyakadaka (which was the administrative capital of the Sâtavâhanas) and that particular amâtya is identified as a resident of Atapura (1937-38:259). It is apparent that these high officials of the Sâtavâhana state (Sharma 1968a:203) were associated with urban administrative centres in the nuclear area rather than the administrative units of the peripheral regions.

Further to this, the issue of coins carrying the portrait and a legend of each king and also incorporating the guild and trade symbols (found on the Punch-Marked coins) produced in different metals and weight denominations, are efforts to control internal commercial transactions within the Sâtavâhana state. The occurrence of different denominations of Sâtavâhana coins may have been for commercial transactions rather than for revenue payments to the state.

1. Though some letters and words in the Dharaniketa Dharma Chakra Pillar inscription are not very legible (vide Sastri 1937-38:259), it is possible to deduce that the amâtya mentioned in this inscription (probably belonging to the period of Vasîśthiputra Pulamâvi) was the grandson of kutumbika Skandânâga. If this deduction is accurate, then it is clear that members of the agrarian and commercial elite did have upward mobility gaining access to some of the most powerful positions in the upper bureaucracy. This also indicates the coalescence of particular socio-economic groups in a vertical direction.

2. The kodâvali inscription of Chandasati, mentions an amacha from Khaddavali (Sastri 1925-26:318; also see Sircar 1957-58:83 Note 7).
In the non-urban viz. rural and peripheral, sectors the Satavahanas seem to have devised a civil and military administration at two levels. At one level, the Mahātalavaras, the indigenous ruling class, functioned overlooking their traditional territories within the Satavahana state as a part of the existing political hierarchy. At another level, the Satavahanas maintained under their rule a series of civil and military administrators. The incorporation of the Mahātalavara group under the Satavahana hegemony and the necessity to enforce a bureaucratic hierarchy to overlook administrative divisions were largely an outcome of an expansion in the agricultural sector, the incorporation of new communities into the production arena and the necessity to collect the surplus production more regularly in the form of a stable revenue and also finally the importance of maintaining law and order in the rural and peripheral areas where production and an upward flow of resources were not to be disrupted. In other words, one may call this the conclusive emergence of a dependent peasantry who were now producing for a superior authority and a further consolidation of private ownership in land (Wolf 1966: 3-4; Dalton 1972). The introduction and the operation of this hierarchy by the Satavahanas found greater expression during the Ikṣvāku period (Chatterjee 1976:227 ff.). For our purpose, we shall take up mainly the title holders in Macro Zone I and the significance of the interaction between the political elite and the administrative units in relation to the downward movement of authority consequently resulting in an upward movement of the surplus production and services. As we shall see later, this formed the most vital
direction in which the ideological interaction between the ruling class and the common folk developed especially in the post 1st Century A.D.

In this connection the Alluru inscription (Nandigama Taluk, District Krishna), which is dated on palaeographical grounds, to the period of Yajña Siri Sātakarnī (174–202 A.D.) may provide us with some specific information to understand the above mentioned mechanism. This inscription records the endowments made in the form of deya dharma (religious gift) and aksaya nīvi (permanent endowment) by an aila Madavi,¹ a rāja and a Mahātalavara along with his family. The endowments included a vihāra, land, (situated in rural and urban areas), a tank, male and female servants, cows and bullock carts, coined money (in the form of purāna and kāhāpava), brass cauldrons and bronze vessels including lamps (local lamps and the imported yonaka lamps).² All these endowments were made to the Purvaseliya sect (ARSTE 1923–24:71; Gopalachari 1976:93–95).

The inclusion of an aila, rāja³ and a Mahātalavara in the same inscription (though they made separate donations), establishes

1. Aila epithet holders, were probably descendants of the Kaliṅga royal agents in Andhra.
2. The artistic Yavana lamps made of brass are mentioned in the Sangam texts (Perumbān 316–319).
3. Since we do not hear of any other rāja individuals during this period, the rāja mentioned in the inscription may have been a contemporary Sātavāhana ruler.
the existence of certain elite groups linked to each other horizontally, and who went to form a section of the ruling class. This inscription therefore, clearly places the Mahātalavara group within the ruling class. From the western extremity of Andhra, a second inscription in the form of a seal may substantiate the above assumption. This seal was unearthed from the late Sātavāhana levels at Peddabankur (District Karimnagar) and carries the legend '... sa mahātalavarasa viṣṇumakasa siva sadha', along with a symbol of the horse (IAR 1974-75:5). The legend and the associated symbol clearly show that the Mahātalavara imitated the Sātavāhanas, who probably were his overlords.

It is not altogether impossible that the Sātavāhanas expected the Mahātalavara chiefs also to perform military functions. We have already indicated the probable affiliation of these chieftains with military functions, where the man power for their contingents may have been drawn from clan villages. As we shall see later, the Sātavāhana rulers maintained a series of military camps throughout the empire and the services of the Mahātalavara chieftains may have been crucial, which may also account for another possible reason for their survival under the Sātavāhanas. The institutionalization of this situation was a logical development in the subsequent epoch when the additional title Mahāsenāpati was largely associated with the Mahātalavara group.

Another important aspect revealed by the Allur inscription is the nature of the resources controlled by the ruling class. The specific mention of the donation of land and labour (dāsi-dāsa)
shows the direct control they held over these two vital sectors related to production as well as the right to alienation by the ruling class. The donation of cows, carts, metal objects, cash, a building including a reservoir (tāṭaka)¹ points to the accumulated wealth in the hands of the ruling class and a sharp inequality in the distribution of wealth in society.

It is apparent that the Sātavāhana were attempting a vertical penetration of state authority through various administrative mechanisms, which had two primary considerations as their objectives. The first was, essentially, the emphasis given to resource accumulation in terms of labour, surplus production and raw material. The second was the effort to control land by bringing in regions and residential communities breaking into historical light within the purview of the Sātavāhana state administration. For this purpose we are unaware, whether the Sātavāhanas introduced to the eastern Deccan the total administrative hierarchy that operated in the western Deccan. The inscriptions of Andhra record only a few bureaucratic positions at upper levels in this region. Yet, it is clear that the Sātavāhanas did make an effort to introduce an administrative hierarchy, revenue units and divisions.

1. It is interesting that an inscription from Amaravati mentions a state official by the designation called paniyagharika i.e. 'superintendent of water houses', during the reign of Verno Siri Sivamaka Sada (Sivaramamurti 1977:291 No. 72). This evidence of the donation of a reservoir mentioned in the Allur inscription, does not in any way establish that there was state monopoly over irrigation and hydraulic control. In fact, contrary to this situation, an inscription during the reign of Siri Pulamăvi from Adoni (District Bellary), in no uncertain terms records that a gahapati caused a reservoir (tāṭaka) to be sunk or excavated (kāṇitam) at a village (Sukthankar 1917-18:155).
While the Allur inscription records the term ratha (rāstra) (ARSIE 1923:24:71; Gopalachari 1976:94), an inscribed pot from Salihundam carries the legend rāṭavālaka (rāstrapālaka) Haṅkudeyika (Ramachandran 1949-50:135). Both these inscriptions belong to the Sātavāhana period. Ratha or rāstra during this period was the term used to identify the largest administrative units or districts within the kingdom (Sircar 1966:277-78), though it later came to denote a wider meaning as kingdom or country. It is possible that (like the nādu in Macro Zone II), rāstra may have originally represented the eco-zone i.e., natural habitat with its residential community.

For instance, the area surrounding the river Vamsadhara which housed important residential centres such as Salihundam or Kalingapattinam, may have been micro-ecological zones that formed "territorial units" under rāja or rāna chieftains during the pre-Sātavāhana period.¹ Most probably the ratha mentioned in the Allur inscription may have covered a district engulfing some areas in modern Krishna region.² More evidence from the inscriptions ascribable to the Ikṣvāku period, may throw light on the nature of the ratha. Two inscriptions from Amaravati record a territorial entity called Pugarāṭha or Pukiraṭha (Sivaramamurti 1977:279 Nos. 35, 298, 102). We also hear of the powerful Pukiya family.

¹ Both Salihundam and Kalingapattanam have yielded Megalithic-BRW (Subrahmanyan 1964:36-38; IAR 1958-59:68).

² Explorations have revealed middle palaeolithic tools, ground stone axe, pottery comprising BRW and Rouletted ware near the Buddhist site at Allur (IAR 1974-75:5).
during the Ikṣvāku period (Vogel 1929-30:16). It is suggested that the Pukiratha was centred on the Gundalakamma river in the Ongole District (Sircar 1960:224). In all probability, the Pukiyas may have been a local family that held sway over this region. According to Rama Rao, Pukiya probably derived from pokā or arecanut indicating a pre-existing totemistic affiliation of this family (1967:53). It is interesting to note that pōkā or pūgi also means 'heap, quantity, corporation' (Rhys Davids et Stede 1959:470), an assembly of the co-inhabitants of a village or town of different castes and occupations (Srivastava 1968:213), which is also used as a synonymous word for gana (Najumdar 1969:132). Unlike śrēqi or nīgama the origin of terms such as gana and pōkā are associated with clan-based societies of Proto historic north India (ibid.). It is, therefore, not altogether impossible that communities such as the Pukiyas either 'gave these names to the territorial division or derived their tribal names from these' (Rama Rao 1967:12).

Another inscription from the Ikṣvāku period records the Kammākaraṇṭha (Burgess 1882:110), which probably covered the area around northern Nellore and eastern Ongole and southern Guntur (Sircar 1939:34). It is interesting to question whether kammāka derived from kammāra. The metalurgist who worked all metals in general was known as kammāra (Rhys Davids et Stede 1959:195), though the master craftsman i.e. the specialist, was called by a specific name viz. tambakāra, suvarṇakāra etc. Workable deposits of iron ore, suitable for surface extraction, are situated in southern
Guntur extending towards Ongole (supra Chap. I). In addition good copper deposits are also found in the districts of Nalgonda, Nellore and Guntur (CI. AP. 1961 :II pt. ix map 6; Supra Chap I, p. 18; Subrahmanian 1932:133 note 2; APDI.A 1970:23; TA 1881-82:1063; Foote 1916:129). It is, therefore, possible that this region may have been a chief metal producing area during the Proto and the Early Historic period. The Sātavāhanas may have tapped these mineral resources for their coins. These resources may have been invaluable as we are aware that during the early Christian era copper, tin and lead had to be imported to the western parts of India (Periplus/Schoff 1912/1974:42, 45). In this context one may note the occurrence of thabaka kula in one of the earliest inscriptions at Amaravati (supra p. 24 Table no. 3). We may, therefore, infer that the administrative divisions introduced by the Sātavāhanas, may not have totally disregarded the ecological and the ethnic basis of that particular geo-physical area. It appears that an additional basis that went into the creation of a rāṣṭra may have been the relative political and the economic importance of a particular production-administrative unit. For instance, a terracotta seal from the late Sātavāhana period at Peddabankur carries the legend ‘Vijayapura-hārakasa-rathase’ (IAE 1968-69:1-2).

A 2nd/3rd Century A.D. inscription, mentions the term ‘... pukirāṭhe adhīthāne ...’ (Sivaramamurti 1977:298 No. 102). Adhīthāne or adhīsthāne, during this period denoted the capital or the headquarters of the administrative unit (vide Sircar 1966:2, 7; 1939:80, 171, 276, 393; Sharma 1968:252). In all probability,
the rástrapála who executed the authority of the king, resided at the adhísthána.

The inscriptions of this period provide us with further information to understand the structure of the rástra and the vertical extension of authority. In this context, the occurrence of the term `. . . bhójakasa' on the reverse of a clay seal at the Buddhist site at Ramathirtham (District Srikakulam) is useful to our study (ARABSC 1910-11:13, Pl.v). The obverse of this seal carries the symbols ð and around those, the legend 'Siri siva (maka?) vijayarāja selasagasa (ibid.). Clearly, the bhójaka was a subordinate of a ruler, probably the Satavahana king Vijaya Satakarni (c. 203-208 A.D.).

Bhójaka may be called a person overlooking the functioning of a bhōga, which is a territorial unit generally identifiable with a subdivision of a district (Sircar 1966:56). The fact that, the seal carrying the title bhójaka was found in the same region where the inscription of the rástrapála occurs i.e. Salihundam, prompts us to infer that, this particular bhójaka may have been associated with the rástra that covered this area. There are, however, other aspects related to bhōga and bhójaka that are useful to understand the vertical extension of authority supplementing the extraction of surplus production. Bhōga literally means 'enjoyment' (Sircar 1966:56), and bhójaka means 'eating' (Monier-Williams 1872:723).

It is possible that several villages went to form the bhōga. In fact, the existence of the village base in the rástra is mentioned in the inscriptions. For instance, a pillar inscription, from Jaggyapetta, belonging to the period of Virapurisadatta records
the following viz. 'Kamūraṭha gāme nādatūre' (Burgess 1882: 110). 1 Bhōga, therefore, implied production areas, probably consisting of mainly agrarian village or villages where the village units had to supply the king with forest/cultivated products (Sircar 1966:54; Sharma 1968:204), the functioning of which was supervised by the bhōjaka 2. In any case, it is apparent that at least in certain instances the king exercised direct access to resources found within the rātha and the bhōga (comprising a village or a group of villages) located in the rāstra. To quote one example, the earlier mentioned Allur inscription records that the rāja donated 24 nivartanas of land within an urban centre called (Rācer)pura in addition to 32 nivartanas of land within the limits of Nachapada, in the Cāraṭha (Gopalachari 1976:94). A fragmentary inscription engraved on a pot (belonging to the 1st - 2nd Century A.D.) at Salihundam carries the term patipalīka (Subrahmanyan 1964:85 No. 24). If patti derives from patti it has ancient meanings such as a 'fold for cattle, a pound, a small village/hamlet' (Caldwell 1976:574; 3199). However, by this period patti and patti came to mean 'a measure of land' and a nivartana (Sircar 1966:246-47). It is

1. In this context it is interesting to note that the name of the gāma carries the suffix ṛ. It is possible that this place was originally known as an ṛ, which became a part of the compounded name of the village. Subsequently, during the period of greater Aryanization the term gāma was added to identify the nature of the settlement. In fact, in the same inscription we come across another such case in the settlement called mahākāñḍurūra (Burgess op. cit.). In the Pđdaavegi grant of Nandivarman II, a similar occurrence may be observed in relation to Múndūra and Prāḷūra gāme (Sircar 1939:332). The kondamudi plates of Jayavarman carry the interesting sentence: '... kūḍurāhāre gāmaṃ Prāḷūra... (Hultzsch 1900-01:317 plate 5).

2. The Manu Dharmasāstra, describes this as 'those (articles) which the villages ought to furnish daily to the king, such as food, drink and fuel; the lord of one village shall obtain' (Manu vii. 118).
possible that *patipalika* (*pattipālaka*), therefore, may have overlooked the functioning of the smallest units of land i.e. *nivartana* worked (for agriculture, pastoral or other activity) probably as an official of the king.

To substantiate our argument about the vertical penetration of authority and the integration of resources, let us take up the term *janapada*, which occurs in an inscription from Adoni (District Bellary) and it carries the regnal year of Raño Sātavāhana Siri Pulamāvi (Sukthankar 1917-18:153-155). The section relevant to our study is as follows, 

\[ \text{mahāsenāpatisa} \]
\[ \text{khanḍanākasa} \]
\[ \text{janapadē sātvahanihārē (gu)nikasa kumāradatasasa} \]
\[ \text{vathavēṇa gahapatikēṇa ...} \] (ibid.)

The term *janapada*, when it was originally used in Early Historic north India, implied, the 'foothold of the clan' i.e. *jana + pada* (vide R. Thapar 1984:34). It is not altogether impossible that a region comprising clan settlements was identified as a *janapada* having being recently opened up for agriculture. The inscription also mentions the digging of a reservoir caused by a *gahapati*, which was probably to facilitate agricultural work. *Janapada*, in any case, represented rural, peripheral or agricultural tracts juxtaposed to urban areas i.e. *nagara* and *pura*. It is interesting to note that the Bellary region has an extremely high concentration of Neolithic sites (vide Allochin 1963; Paddayya 1973). Some of these nomadic groups may have been converted to agriculturists probably during the

Sātavāhana period in an effort to extend agriculture. It is not known whether such efforts were met with resistance. In any case, one cannot overlook the fact that the Bellary region formed a frontier area of the Sātavāhana state. Considering the above, it is not surprising that the Sātavāhana rulers realized the necessity to appoint a senāpati to administer it and empowered him to enjoy the produce in this region.¹

The term āhāra becomes significant in this context. Āhāra literally means 'food', or 'land for food'. This term is found in the Aśokan inscriptions (vide Saranath Pillar inscription and Rupanath Rock inscription) and as in the subsequent periods, āhāra signified as administrative unit (Hultzsch 1922/1969: 163 note), which was apparently associated with areas producing food. On the basis of the Adoni inscription, Sharma argues that, in certain instances, āhāra and janapada carried the same meaning during the Satavahana period (1968:202). It is, therefore, not incorrect to assume that the āhāra may have been a relatively more important administrative zone over the bhoga and bhukti during this period. The very fact that a Mahāsenāpati was assigned to an āhāra, is a case in point. In another interesting case, a region which was known as Vijayapurahāra (later the Ikṣvāku capital), was elevated to the status of a rāstra during the Sātavahana period (JAR 1968-69:1-2).² Further to this, the very Satavahamāhāra

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1. The Mauryas had the practice of appointing military officials as administrators in the frontier areas.

2. The very use of the term pura, the occurrence of Sātavahana coin hoards and moulds including the location of an inscription of Vijaya Satakarni, quite clearly demonstrates the growing importance of the Nagarjunakonda region during the late
mentioned in the Aloni inscription was called Satavahani rātra during the Pallava period (vide Sircar 1939:189).

Similarly Kudūra (of the Pre-Christian period) was Kudūrahāra during the Brahtphalāyanas (300 A.D.) and Kudūrahāra vigava during the time of the Sālankayānas (320-470 A.D.).

The production base of the āhara was a conglomerate of (clan?) villages. The very existence of the village base in the case of Sātavāhanihāra is clearly established by the mention of the residence of a gaahapeti at Vepuraka (Sukthankar op. cit. 155). It is extremely significant that the administration at the village level, in this case, was maintained under a gumika or gaulmika. In the contemporary inscriptions, the gaulmika is mentioned as an officer-in-charge of troops or outpost (Sircar 1966:113, 123). On the one hand, this may substantiate our view about the necessity to use coercive power in newly opened up agrarian areas or the maintenance of military presence in the frontier areas. On the other hand, it also indicates that the vertical penetration of authority by Sātavāhanas successfully percolated down to the village level. This practice of maintaining garrison camps i.e. skandhāvāra and kataka throughout the Sātavāhana state ensured the stability of the kingdom (also see Sharma 1968:212). In fact Pliny (A.D.23-79) records the large army and 30 fortified towns maintained by and Andhras (McGride 1901).


1. As against Sukthankar's reading, Sircar prefers to read gamika, as this official overlooked the affairs of the village (1942:205 note 5).
It is not out of context to mention another administrative title that occurs in the eastern Deccan during the Satavahana period. An inscription from Amaravati mentions an uparaka Nātu from Koḍimutti (Chanda 1919-20:269 No. 33). *Uparaka* or *uparika*, literally means 'one placed at the top' (Sircar 1966:352).

During the Gupta period, these officials were entrusted with district administration e.g. *Uparakas* in charge of the bhukti at Pundravardhana (Sharma 1968:239). It is pointed out that *bhukti* which literally means 'enjoyment', can be treated as the same as *bhōga* (Sircar 1966:54, 57). If this situation can be projected to our period under study, then it may be assumed that *uparaka* was another Satavahana official, located within the administrative structure and functioning to extract surplus at the local level.

### Table No.

**The probable administrative hierarchy in Andhra under the Satavahanas**

(Satavahana)raṇa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahātavāra</th>
<th>Anātya</th>
<th>Mahāsrāpati</th>
<th>Seṭṭhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(grahdson) Bhōjakā--(bhōga)</td>
<td>(rātha)</td>
<td>(śhāra)</td>
<td>(nigama)</td>
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<tr>
<td>of a <em>Uparika</em>--(bhukti)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Kutumbika</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>in one case)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Patipalika</em>--(nivartana)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Patipalika</em>--(nivartana)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The evidence we have outlined so far indicates that the Satavahanas were able to establish and maintain some form of direct access to the production areas in the urban and the rural sectors through an administrative hierarchy. They were successful precisely
because varying groups were operated for this purpose at different levels. At the upper level, the Mahātalavara, Rāstrapālaka and Mahāsenāpati probably held similar administrative functions within the āhāra, janapada or rāṣṭra. Depending upon the quantitative and the qualitative degree of persuasive power each one had over the kin groups, civil population or the military, they were able to percolate royal authority down to a second tier of officials functioning at a level below them, and who were directly linked with the production units. This functional task of the administrative hierarchy was bound to overlap in a horizontal direction at sometime or the other, which became a feature so clearly apparent during the subsequent, Ikṣvāku, period. In any case, the Sātavāhana period may be called the proper era of state formation in Macro Zone I where all integral components viz. territory, standing army, bureaucracy and revenue collection, political capital were more or less found to be present within its structure.

The introduction of an administrative infra-structure and the integration of the indigenous political elite through an absorption of such groups to the power structure, may be considered as the most lasting contributions made by the Sātavāhanas, which consequently paved the way for the emergence of an indigenous kingdom. This structuring of the geo-political zone (i.e. Macro Zone I), into administrative - production units played a crucial role ensuring the stability of the institutional framework even during a period of political crisis effecting a transfer of authority to the Ikṣvākus. Considering the relative efficiency
of this institutional framework, the successors of the Sātavāhanas had no reason to dismantle, but to expand and consolidate the prevailing structure handed down by their predecessors.

The introduction and the functioning of a relatively organized administrative structure, provided a convenient basis to synthesise the upper stratum of the ruling class in a horizontal direction. The socio-economic vortex on the other hand, operated in a vertical direction linking the upper bureaucracy with affluent socio-economic groups at the urban and rural centres. The very survival of the power structure depended upon the productivity of agriculture and commerce through a domination exercised upon the primary producer. Hence, in addition to the upper bureaucracy, the commercial magnates and the land-owning agrarian elite were linked vertically within the (Sātavāhana - Ikṣvāku) power structure forming a composite ruling class with a common cultural identity vis-a-vis the primary producer as those who 'regulated' labour, production and distribution (vide Seneviratne 1981:332).

To maintain their hegemony and to perpetuate the power structure for a stable centre-periphery relationship, the ruling classes depended upon the kinship network to play a highly functional role. The motivation and the operational mechanism in the functioning of this kinship interaction was qualitatively different from the preceding rank society. With the alteration of property relations and the introduction of a new division of labour based on entirely different principles, the lineage affiliations of the
stratified society essentially had a class basis, extending more in a horizontal direction. This meant an identification of the social classes, not merely by determining their 'economic place' in the 'production process', but in relation to the totality of social practices or the 'ensemble of the division of labour which includes political and ideological relations' (Poulantzas 1973: 27-28). The nature of this class interaction necessarily implied that ideological and production relations between the ruling classes and the common folk also develop outside kinship relations (Godelier 1977:87).

The above mentioned mechanisms related to the bureaucratic hierarchy vis. the urban-rural production units, the class structure, the cultural and the ideological basis of the Great Tradition; all acted as a convenient framework to amalgamate any new physical region or community that came within the political purview of the kingdom. While the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku period witnessed the logical culmination of the political formation during the Early Historic period, in a sense, it was also a crucial epoch that contained the seeds of institutional transformation setting the pattern for the subsequent 'land grant economy' that prevailed over Early Medieval India.

II - iv

The ascendency of Vasithiputra Siri Gaṅtāmula to power and the installation of the Ikṣvāku rājāyamśa, may have taken place around A.D. 220. This dynasty held sway over the lower Krishna for less than a Century in time. Yet, this brief period may be
| Table No. 5 | THE GENEALOGY OF THE IKŚVĀKUS OF VIJAYAPURI, ANDHRA |

| SESĀBAMĀGURUKA | + | MT. SKANDAGOPA [ PUṢYAKANDHA] | + | VĀṢĪTIPUTA CĀMṬAMŪLA I | + | MT. CĀṀṬASRI | + | HAMMASRINIKĀ |

| MT. UTARA | ? + | MT. KHAMBAĻA (IBID) | + | ĀḌAVI CĀṬASRI | MĀḌARIPUTA VĪRAPURISADATA I + (DGT OF CĀṬASRI) | KHAṀḌASĀGAṆARAṆIKA | (VOGEL 1929-30:21-22,E) |

| MS/MT/MC KAMḌA/ĪŚĀKHAṆIKA | + BĀṆASRINĪKĀ AND CĀṬASRINIKĀ | (VOGEL 1929-30:29-20,B-5,C-2) |
| DHAṆAKĀ | (VOGEL 1929-30:18,B-2) |

| VĀṢĪTIPUTA EḤUVULA CĀMṬAMŪLA II | + | KHAṀḌAVULA | KOḌABALASRI | MS. KUMĀRA ĪLI | (SIRCAR 1963-64:10) |
| (NARASMASWAMY 1952:137-139) |

| + | VĀṂABHATA [OF UJJAIN [BHAṬPHALĀṆA] | + | MAHĀRĀJA OF VANAVĀṢA | (VOGEL 1929-30:24-25,H) |
| (SIRCAR ET KRISHNAN 1961-62:20-22) |

| + | KUṆĀṆASRI | (SIRCAR ET KRISHNAN 1961-62:17-19) |
| (SIRCAR ET KRISHNAN 1961-62:17-19) |


MS. - MAHAŚEṆĀPATI
MT. - MAḤĀṬALĀVĀRA
MD. - MAḤĀḌANṆĀṆĀYAKA
described as an epoch that epitomized the highest forms of
cultural and material expression through a fusion of, what we
have termed, the internal and the external dynamic during the
Early Historic period. From the beginnings of the Early
Historic period, it took nearly 4-5 centuries for a full fledged
indigenous kingdom to evolve with a local ruling house at the
helm of the state. Such a development, however, may have
occurred much earlier, if not for the political hegemony of the
Sātavāhanas (over Macro Zone I) who were ultimately ousted from
power by a local ruling clan.

In the previous section we have discussed the existence of
an upper bureaucracy consisting of the indigenous political elite
and officials appointed by the state. It is certainly not easy to
explain how the lineage group who identified themselves as the
Ikṣvākus, rose above the Mahātalavara groups and other civil and
military bureaucrats in their bid for state power. A partial
explanation may be found in the locational and the geo-political
factors related to the Ikṣvākus and their traditional 'territory'.

Judging by the two known inscriptions of Vāsiṣṭhiputa
Cāntamūla from Kesanapalle (Khan 1969:4) and Rentala
(Sankaranarayanan 1967:31) and also the occurrence of the subsequent
Ikṣvāku inscriptions in the areas centred around Nagajunakonda, it
is possible to infer that the region covered by southern Nalgonda
and western Guntur may have been the nucleus from which the Ikṣvākus
emerged (vide Chatterjee 1976:236). Though Sirca is inclined to
believe that the Ikṣvākus were an intrusive group to this region
(1939:10 ff.), their origins may be traced to the indigenous groups
found in the lower Krishna valley.\textsuperscript{1} In an interesting study, Amita Ray attempted to demonstrate a close similarity in the physical features between the human forms depicted in the sculptural art of the Ikṣvāku period and the present day Chenchus (Ray 1965) an Austro-oid tribe residing in the lower Krishna-Godavari region (\textit{vide} Haimmendorf 1943; Thurston 1909; Sarkar 1954). It is also suggested that Ikṣvāku means 'gourd/melon', which is closely associated in the traditions of the Austro-Asiatic (Sircar 1939:12). One may recollect Rama Rao's suggestion that the name Pukiya (another powerful local family during the same period) may have had a totemistic affiliation based on a floral symbol. Both Sircar (1939:10 ff.) and Gopalachari (1976:133-34) have drawn our attention to a Dravidian or at least non Indo-Aryan substratum culture elements associated with the Ikṣvākus. Dravidian sounding personal names, metronymics and the system of cross-cousin marriage may be listed as examples. It is evident that this group may have been assimilated to the Great Tradition rather late in history, which may account for their enthusiastic effort to Aryanise, and to identify their lineage with the mythical ancestors of the Buddha (\textit{vide} Sircar 1939:10; Vogel 1929-30:6).

In view of the above i.e. indigenous origins of the Ikṣvākus and their location in the southern Malgonda - western Cuntur region, it is possible to suggest that the Sātavāhana hegemony over eastern Andhra played a decisive role in the ascendancy of this

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\textsuperscript{1} Gopalachari (1976:134 ff.) provides a critical assessment of the intrusive theory advanced by several other scholars.
group to political power in this particular region. It is quite logical to consider that the ancestors of Cāntamūla and probably he himself were indigenous chieftains who served under the Satavāhanas (Gopalachari 1976:135-56; also Chatterjee 1976:240). When Cāntamūla performed the asvamedha yāga (Vogel 1929-30: 18, No. E-2) it was clearly intended to announce his 'independent' status (Vide Sircar 1939:17, 164-65, 343-353) and a series of other sacrifices such as the agniṭoma, vājapeya, bahusuvapaka (Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:19) were probably intended to symbolize his supremacy over other contemporary and contending chieftains.

There were certain geo-political factors that may have also contributed to the rise of the Ikṣvākus to power. Thēs requires some attention to the situation of Nagarjunakonda and its environs, which was the seat of power of the Ikṣvākus.

The techno-cultural antiquity of the valleys of Nagarjunakonda and Yeleshwaram extend well up to the Palaeolithic culture and continued to house the Mesolithic and the Neolithic as well (Soundara Rajan 1958; Subrahmanyan 1975). The Neolithic group here were a relatively sedentarized community who also had a burial site at Nagarjunakonda (ibid.). What is extremely interesting is that, both Yeleshwaram and Nagarjunakonda valleys, possess Iron Age megalithic burials, but without any associated habitation vestiges (Sarkar 1969:12-26; Subrahmanyan op. cit.). The reason for this peculiar phenomenon is not known. One possible explanation may be the locational significance of these valleys where four traditional routes converge in this area. One was the obvious east-west route along the banks of the Krishna.

The other was probably a route linking the Megalithic-BRW complex in north-west Andhra and South-Central Andhra. It is not altogether impossible that these two burial complexes at Nagarjunakonda and Yeleshwaram, may have been an important ritual centre for the semi-sedentarized Iron Age people. The occurrence of different types of burial groups for instance viz. pit circles, cist circles, cairn circles, urn burials, dolmenoid cists, port-holed cists may indicate the arrival at this site of various clan or tribal groups who practiced such burial rituals. There is evidence for periodic interment and animal (horse and bull) sacrifices including 'special burials' probably associated with clan/tribal elite groups. Periodic gatherings for such rituals most obviously associates some degree of 'sanctity' to particular sites as common ritual centres and may have been one reason for the non-occurrence of habitation sites.

It is quite significant that both Nagarjunakonda (Sarkar et Misra 1972) and Yeleshwaram (Khan 1963) have the largest concentration of Early Historic shrines in the lower Krishna Valley, dedicated to indigenous deities and cult practices associated with them. Certain Buddhist and non-Buddhist ritual structures at both sites have been constructed over megalithic burials (also at Amaravati) which may reflect the continuation of a tradition through the medium of a different group of symbols (infra p. 313-4, on the

1. Sarkar believes that the pit circle burials post date the cist burials at Nagarjunakonda (Sarkar op. cit.).

2. In fact the geo-climatic region of the Nagarjunakonda valley provides an excellent ecological basis for a pastoral cum agricultural economy. There is also strong evidence to indicate that in the post Paleolithic period, the valley shows less marshy conditions, indicating a more suitable environment for permanent habitations.
epithet *Virūpākhapati-Mahāsena*). It is interesting to question the extent to which the ritual significance of this centrally located area contributed in developing incipient exchange-cum-habitation centres during the Early Historic period. One must take note of the very location of these valleys between two nuclear areas vis. the Raichur doab and lower Krishna-Godavari, which probably contributed largely to enhancing the subsequent economic and political significance of this area.

Excavations at Yeleshwaram and Nagarjunakonda indicate a cultural hiatus between the Megalithic-BRW phase and the Sātavāhana period. At Yeleshwaram, Period II (Layer 6) can be dated to the 2nd Century A.D. on the basis of Roman and Sātavāhana coins and other associated artefacts. On the opposite bank, at Nagarjunakonda, pre-Iksvāku levels yielded coins of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulamēvi and Yajña Sātakarṇi including a terracotta coin mould (used to produce portrait silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulamēvi) (Sarkar et al. 1972:13; *IAR* 1956–57:38; Sarma 1972:86; 1973). The occurrence of a coin mould may suggest the existence of a Sātavāhana minting establishment at this site which in turn indicates that Nagarjunakonda was being transformed into a significant exchange centre.

It is perhaps this growing importance that may have prompted the Sātavāhanas to convert this particular region into an āhāra (*vide* seal, from the Sātavāhana levels at Peddabankur, carrying *Vijayapura-hārakasa-rathasa - IAR* (1968–69)). The existence of an āhāra logically implies that some high official supervised the administration and the revenue collection in this area, who not only
managed the economic resources for the Sātavāhanas but was entitled to a share of it. The accumulation of resources in the hands of such an official may have supplemented his economic strength and consequently political ambitions as well.

The elevation of Vijayapurahāra to the status of a rātha (ibid) by the Sātavāhanas is a further affirmation to their growing interest in this region and the imposition of a more organized administrative structure over this area. The very occurrence of an inscription of Vijaya Sētakarnī at (the burning Ghat) in Nagarjunakonda, not only indicates the control the Sātavāhanas had over this area, but possibly the founding or at least naming of the main settlement after this king (Sarkar 1965-66:273-274; IAR 1961-62:72).

We cannot rule out the possibility that the Sātavāhans may have contemplated having twin capitals in their kingdom (one in the coastal area and one inland), which was not uncommon in Macro Zone II. One reason may have been the need for greater political control over the hinterland. The economic factor related to trade and commerce may have been a further incentive. It is also possible to suggest another element that may have necessitated such a move. There is evidence to suggest that during the Sātavāhana period, Dhānyakaṭaka began to experience destructive floods from the Kṛṣṇa river.¹ It is possible that originally Yeleshwaram may have been

¹ Excavations at Dhānyakaṭaka showed that Phase III, coinciding with Rouletted Ware, the elevation of the embankment (by a mud ramp) along the wharf (IAR 1962-63:2). In Phase IV, both sides of the channel had an addition of a brick revetment with lateritic gravel as packing material. Phase V witnessed a further reinforcement of the inner-side of the channel and also the raising of the embankment and adding more retaining walls.
chosen for an alternate inland capital. However, as that site faced the threat of floods,\(^1\) Nagarjunakonda may have been selected, as its natural location made this site less vulnerable to natural disasters associated with water.\(^2\)

The Iksvāku period can be called the most developed stage of the Early Historic state formation in Macro Zone I. The sources indicate that all elements that go to form the integral components of the state, more or less emerged during this epoch.

Cont'd ... from pg.288 to it. Phase VI or the Late Sātavāhana period, saw a massive erosion and necessitated not only repairs to the brick revetments but an additional cross brick wall for greater protection. (IAR 1964-65:3). The channel was filled up in Phase VII (post Ikṣvāku) and the embankment was converted into a defence wall. (IAR 1962-63:2).

1. Yeleshwararam had a better developed habitation site than Nagarjunakonda during the Sātavāhana period. This period which is represented by Phase II (Mayer 6) in fact revealed remains of a citadel like plan covering a rectangular area enclosed with fortification walls, completed with residential quarters and an advanced drainage system (Khan 1963:10). During the same period, however, 13 metres of the fortification wall were washed away by the river (ibid.). This destruction was repeated during the subsequent Period III which was the Ikṣvāku period (ibid. 10, 23).

2. At Nagarjunakonda, the primary habitation centres are situated between the two bends of the river Krishna. These bends act as a natural break-water reducing the speed of the flow and whatever pressure of fast flowing body of water has on the banks. The bends also help the reduced speed of the flowing body of water to deposit river sediments at the bends which in turn formed an extended protection to the river banks, causing less erosion. This may account for the survival of the sites founded in the 3rd Century A.D. along the river bank until this valley was inundated to create Nagarjunasagar during the present century. Further to this, the valley itself provided a series of natural protections in the form of hills converging on three sides with the river covering the fourth. There were also a suitable terrain to form the citadel area and other residential localities. The soil region and the natural water flor within the valley appears to have been conducive to sustain the residential community within the valley.
The kingdom had its political capital at Vijayapuri and a particular geo-political zone representing the recognisable territory over which state authority was consolidated in the most direct manner. The subjects represented the resident community, dwelling within different types of settlement units, which performed particular functions within the society and economy. While Ikšvāku coins have been unearthed from Nagarjunakonda (IAR 1956-57:38; 1959-60:9), Yeleshwaran (Khan 1963:30) and Ongole (Subrahmanyan 1962; also Chattopadhyaya 1977:8, 105, 189-190, their inscriptions have come to light at Nagarjunakonda (e.g. Vogel 1929-30), Gurzala (Sastri 1941-42), Jaggayapeta (Burgess 1882:110), Kesapanalle (Khan 1969), Uppugundur (Chhabra 1959-60), Rantalala (Sankaranarayanan 1967) and Ummidivaram (Rama Rao 1967:128). The distribution pattern of these sites may indicate that the 'core' geo-political region, which was perhaps directly under the authority of Vijayapuri, may have been the lower Krishna valley. This may be called the primary territory of the Ikšvāku state.

At a level below the 'core' area of the kingdom, but very much an integral part of it, were a series of rāstra units. These, as we indicated before, had an ethno-cultural and ecological basis during the formative period. The rāstra or rājha units formed the sub-regions of the Ikšvāku state. The evidence points to these units being under the management of the indigenous political

1. This particular hoard of 200 coins were found within a 'recirculated' Megalithic-BRW container (Khan op. cit.).
2. It is claimed that a lead coin, presumably an Ikšvāku issue, was obtained from the Early Historic complex at Kesarapalle (Sarkar 1973:52).
chieftains or the Mahātalavara, though individual
administrative officers holding the Mahāratika title were not
unknown under the Ikṣvākus (Khan 1969:4). Some of the known
ratha units were the Pukiratha, Kammakaratha and possibly
Hiranyakāstra.1 Interestingly, the ratha units known to us
during the Ikṣvāku period are generally situated south of the
Krishna river. In fact the ratha units thus situated formed a
buffer zone between two nuclear areas viz. lower Krishna and lower
Keveri.2 It is precisely the ratha units that also formed the
intermediary zone between the 'core' area and the peripheral areas
or the frontier regions that encircled the Ikṣvāku geo-political
entity. There is reason to believe that the direct rule extending
from Vijayapuri was relatively less in the sub-regions and the
peripheral areas. However, the nature of interaction linking the
core - sub-peripheral regions of the geo-political entity had
crucial socio-political and ideological implications, which will
be taken up below.

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1. Pukiratha seems to have covered the western Ongole district
while Kammakaratha probably extended from southern Guntur to
northern Vellore. On the basis of a subsequent inscription,
the Maṇepadu copper plates (A.D. 4th - 5th Centuries),
Hiranyakāstra may have covered sections of Ongole - Kurnool
and Cuddapah' (Rama Rao 1967:112). This area coincides with the
gold producing zone in southern Andhra. Though we do not hear
of the Hiranyakāstra during the Ikṣvāku period, in all
probability it may have existed as we do come across the family
called the Hiranyakas who held the titles Mahātalavara and
Mahāsenāpati (Vogel 1929-30:18-19).

2. The idea that the 'South' formed a distinct zone seems to have
been in the minds of those residing in southern Deccan. In the
Ramireddypalli inscription for instance, the person who joined
the Mahātalavara of the Nugiyas in making the donation is called
'a native/resident of the south' (i.e. dakhana pathaka (ARSTE
1927:74).
In discussing the internal structure of the Ikuvaku state, one of the crucial aspects is the mechanism of control supplementing state authority over its geo-political entity, either directly or indirectly. This naturally entails a study of the structuring of the ruling class at different levels. As we said before, the norms set out for the basis of authority in arranging the hierarchization of social groups continued from the preceding era and had greater expression in the subsequent land-grant economy. One of the final developments in the evolution of a functionally hierarchized ruling class was the emergence of a vertically arranged but horizontally graded status groups. Interaction between such social groups was becoming less frequent. Legitimization of ranks and titles was an important pre-requisite to maintain this status-quo. The legitimation of authority itself, therefore, became crucial for this purpose. The principle of hereditary right to office, titles and social status thus emerged as a permanent feature within this structure. This, on the one hand, intensified the horizontally situated social groups to maintain an increased degree of exclusiveness, which was reinforced by marriage alliance and a greater overlap between military and civil offices especially at the upper levels of the hierarchy. On the other hand even within the ruling class, there was an internal hierarchization, which apparently resulted in a proliferation of little holders in order to accommodate the total gradation of functional offices. It is, therefore, not surprising to observe a careful recording of the ritual status, family and clan names, lineage and genealogical connection, titles and personal names.
exclusively used to reflect social distinction including the display of accumulated wealth during this period in Macro Zone I.

At the helm of the state structure was the king. The Ikṣvāku rulers while continuing the title rāja, did not hesitate to take the more imposing Mahārāja 'great king' (Vogel 1929-30: 16, 18). It is interesting that the title Mahādevī or Mahiṣi (Sircar et al. 1961-1962:17-19; Sircar 1963:10) was not confined to one person. This situation may have arisen because, some Ikṣvāku kings clearly used this position of the chief queen to advance marriage alliances with contemporary royal houses in the Deccan (vide Table No. 5), in an effort to supplement social status and political legitimacy. Below this level, the rulers had their lesser queens (who were often drawn from elite families) and consisted of other harem ladies.1

The other known members of the royal household who formed the upper strata of the political hierarchy were those who held the titles Mahākumāra and kumāra (Sircar et al. 1961-1962:17-19; Sircar 1963:10; Sarkar 1974:96; IAR 1956-57:36; 1958-59:6). While Mahākumāra was probably Yuva-rāja or heir-apparent, the title kumāra was apparently assigned to other princes of royal blood.2

1. A chhāya stāmbha inscription (in memory of Vāsiṣṭhiputa Cāntamula I), lists a group of females. A few of them carry the honorific aya (ārya). With the exception of the last three individuals mentioned in it who are called abhatarika or concubine (Sircar 1963:1-4), the rest have the suffix siri (sri) attached to their personal names (Vogel 1929-30:63-64). Another inscription, during the time of Ehuvala Cāntamula, records a donation made by an antappura mahātarika or female officer of the harem (Sircar 1963:5).

### Table No: 6

**Military and Civil rank holders under the Iksakus of Vijayapuri**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank and Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭhiputa Khamdasiri</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Mahātalavara</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vogel 1929-30: 15-17, C-5.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭhiputa Mahākhamdasiri</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Mahātalavara</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ibid. 20-21, C-5.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Viṣṇusiri</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Mahātalavara</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭhiputa Khamdacalikivemānaka</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Mahātalavara</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid. 18-19, B-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ayabhuti</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Mahātalavara/Araka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sircar 1963:17, C-II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kāmāda visākhamānaka</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Mahātalavara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vogel 1929-30:18, B-2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Mahātalavara</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ABSIE 1927:74.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sivasepa</td>
<td>Mahātalavara/Mahādanāṇanāyaka/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mahāgaṇamika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Skandagopa</td>
<td>Mahātalavara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Khambāla</td>
<td>Mahātalavara</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Utara</td>
<td>Mahātalavara</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Vīrapurisadatta</td>
<td>Mahākumāra/Mahāsenāpati</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid.</td>
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</table>

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<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference Details</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>चित्र</td>
<td>Kumāra/Mahāsenāpati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>करादरू</td>
<td>Kumāra/Senāpati</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>राधुपता</td>
<td>Senāpati</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>बानका</td>
<td>Raṭhika</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>भाता</td>
<td>Raṭhika</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>अनिक्की</td>
<td>Senāpati</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>एलिसिरि</td>
<td>Talavaravara</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>सांतपुला</td>
<td>Mahāsenāpati/Hatigahaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Mahāraṭhika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Peramaḍi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>तिग्यासरमन</td>
<td>Amātyya</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>शिखा</td>
<td>Talavara</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sircar 1963:10-11.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>ibid.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sircar 1963:15.</td>
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<td>Chhabra 1959-60:147.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ibid. 197-202.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mirashi 1953:117-119.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In keeping with the general practice of the time, these groups were assigned military titles and in certain cases they were associated with administrative functions as well. For instance, as heir-apparent, Mahā-kumāra Virapirisadata held the title Mahāsenāpati (Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62: 17-19). Similarly, kumāra Eli, the step-brother of Ehuvula Čāṃtāmula II, also held the same title (Sircar 1963:10). It is quite likely that kumāra Eli may have also been a governor serving under Čāṃtāmula II. It is suggested that the Telegu word ešika i.e. ‘ruler, master, king’ derives from ēlu ‘to govern’ (Chhabra 1959-60: 148 note 3). The term ehuvulačaśānmaka associated with the name of kumāra Eli indicates that he was a subordinate officer serving Ehuvula Čāṃtāmula. The inscriptions also mention another kumāra named karāḍaru, who held the title senāpati (Sarkar 1974:96). Yet another kumāra by the name Vīra Aribha ... is known to us, though it is difficult to ascertain whether he held any additional title or not (Sircar 1963:19, No.7BIII).

In strengthening their power base, the Ikṣvakus used several operational methods. Their effort to contract matrimonial alliances with internal and external elite groups was one of the important aspects of this operational method.

It is significant that, the performing of Vedic rituals did not influence the Ikṣvakus to the extent of their giving up the

1. The name of this particular kumāra was found on a fragmentary inscription (from the Chamber of stūpa No. 9 at Nagarjunakonda) and it is difficult to determine his titles (IAR 1958-59:6). It is wrongly suggested that the term Gaṇa Sakti Kumāra mentioned in a pillar inscription at Nagarjunakonda was the founder of the temple associated with that site (IAR 1957-58:36). This is another term given to Kārtikeya. Excavations also revealed that the structure at the site is a Kārtikeya temple (IAR 1957-58:36; Chhabra 1959-60:147-49).
traditional (indigenous) cross-cousin marriage which was in any case continued for economic and political expediency. The best example comes during the reign of Nādariputa Virapurisadatās time, where he married his father's (Vāsīthiputa Cāntamūla) sisters* (Cāntasiri and Hammasirinikā) daughters (Vogel 1929-30: 19-20, B-5, C-2). These marriage alliances may have been carried out with a view to minimize possible contenders to the throne through lineage connections. The cross-cousin marriage is a convenient method of successfully discouraging the intrusion of strangers who may undermine the hegemony of the primary lineage. 

Mother right where ... property and power were inherited from men and acquired by them but were transmitted through the mother: (Singaravelu 1966:199 note), was an integral aspect related to the cross cousin marriage. Therefore, the taking of metronymics by the Ikṣvākus was not a blind following of the Sātavāhana practice, but a continuation of a pre-existing social practice. Even the association of titles such as Mahātalavari, Mahāsenāpatini may point to the social practice of this transmission through women. It is probably this situation that may have prompted Virapurisadata I to marry his cousin (the daughter of Cāntasiri) and thereby neutralize the claims of powerful Pukiya family. In fact, Cāntasiri's son Khamdasāgaramnaka, is not associated with any title whatsoever (Vogel 1929-30:21-22, E), which may have been a deliberate effort to

1. The inheritance of property and power from and by men may be responsible for the age old practice of using the name of the grandfather during alternate generations (Pillay 1975:37; Singaravelu 1966:203-4). The Ikṣvāku rulers were Cāntamūla > Virapurisadata > Cāntamūla > Virapurisadata. What is however interesting is, whether the taking up of the dynastic name, Ikṣvāku also had some bearing on patrilineal descent. The
discourage political ambitions of the related lineages.

Perhaps this aspect on mother-right that may have encouraged, Virapurisadatta II to record the genealogical table of his mother, Kupanatariri, in view of asserting his right to the throne (Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:17-22).

The second aspect related to the internal marriage alliances is the Iksvakus-Mahatalavara connection. These marriage alliances prevailed from the inception of the dynasty. Vasithiputa

Gamtamura’s sister Gatasiri married Mahasenapati-Mahatalavara

Vasithiputa Khandasiri of the Pukiya family (Vogel 1929-30:15-17, C-3). Similarly, Gamtaulula contracted a marriage alliance for his own daughter Dava Gatasiri with Mahasenapati-Mahatalavara

Mahadanganayaka Kandasivakhamaka of the Dhanaka family (Vogel 1929-30:18, B-2). As we shall discuss subsequently, the alliances with these Mahatalavara families seems to have brought in a considerable amount of wealth, power and even territorial stability to the Iksvakus regime during the initial period. The Iksvakus rulers also took their wives from the Mahatalavara families. For instance, Virapurisadatta married the daughter of Gamtaulula, whose father was a Mahatalavara. Similarly, Kupanatariri, the wife of Bhuvula Gamtaulula and the mother of Virapurisadatta II, also came from a Mahatalavara family. The fact that the Iksvakus found the Mahatalavara families suitable enough to give to them their women is an indication that the royal family held the Mahatalavaras socially at par with themselves. The probable Mahatalavara origins of the

Cont’d... f.n. from p. 241 ancient Iksvakus of north India belonged to the Suryavamsa and followed the system of patrilineal descent.

1. It is not altogether impossible that, this marriage may have been contracted before Gamtamura ascended the throne. Then it is possible to suggest that the combined resources of the Pukiyas and the Iksvakus may have finally ousted the Satavahanas from power.
Iksākus themselves may have been responsible for this. It is interesting to note that in the genealogical table of his mother, Kupanāsiri, Walkpurisadatta II very specifically mentions his maternal grandfather Mahātālavara Skandagopa of the Puṣyakāṇḍiya family (Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:17-22), who may have been a contemporary of Cāntamula I. Both Skandagopa and his son Khambāla held the Mahātālavara title according to this genealogical table (ibid.). It is not altogether impossible that Virapurisadatta II found it necessary to announce his Mahātālavara lineage as an additional qualification for the throne as against the claim held by Rudrapurisadatta, the son of Cāntamula of Ujjain (Sircar et Krishnan 1961:20-22).

A third sphere of the Iksāku network of the matrimonial alliances was the contracts which they concluded with other contemporary royal houses in the Deccan. This connection is most apparent during the reigns of Virapurisadatta I and his son Cāntamula II. It is significant that they both took Śaka princess from Ujjain (Vogel 1929-30:19, B-5; Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:20-22). Virapurisadatta I also took a Valabhi princess as his wife (Sircar 1963:10). Interestingly, both regions viz. Ujjain-Mālwa, Valabi-Saurāstra, are located in proximity to north India and west Asia respectively, hence these were economically strategic areas important to the commercial centres of the Kishna valley. Above all,

1. The sources indicate that Rudrapurisadatta did become king at sometime or the other (Sastri 1941-42:123-25). His mother Vāmabhāṭṭa is identified as a person belonging to the Bahapala or the Bhāṭṭharāyaśana gotra (Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:20-22) and it is suggested that she may have had some linkage to Bhāṭṭharāyaśana Jayavarman who later displaced the Iksākus in the lower Kishna valley (Hultzsch 1900-01:315-319; Chatterjee 1976:256).
the Saka presence in the Nagarjunakonda valley is well established from the stone art, inscriptive and numismatic evidence (Vogel 1929-30:30-37; Ray 1965:16; Sarkar et Misra 1972:50). At Salihumandam a 1st Century B.C./A.D. inscription carries the names Saka Karasa-Samudasa pati (Subrahmanya 1964: 89 No. 61). Inscriptions also record that Virapurisadata's daughter Koṭabalisirī was given in marriage to the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa (Vogel 1929-30:24-25), a scion of the Cūru dynasty which succeeded the Sātavāhanas in this region.

In addition to commercial linkages, judging by the location of these three kingdoms, there seems to have been some strong political motivation which may have prompted the Ikṣvākus to have such a close association with kingdoms in the north west, north and south west Deccan. It is not impossible that the Ikṣvākus were attempting to encircle the Abhira kingdom and contain their political expansion emanating from western Deccan with a view to control the east coast as well.¹

¹. The Abhira threat seems to have been real and it is suggested that at least for a brief period, around 278 A.D. between the reigns of Virapurisadata I and Chaṇṭamūla I, the Abhira interregnum temporarily eclipsed the Ikṣvāku power from their very capital at Vajayespuri (Sircar 1961-62:197-204). It is possible that hoarded Ikṣvāku coins at Nagarjunakonda (JAR 1959-60:9) and at Yeleshwaram (Khan 1963:30) may have been deposited in face of an impending invasion. This invasion theory can be substantiated by the occurrence of an inscription, at Nagarjunakonda, recording the regnal year of Abhira Vāsusena (Sircar op. cit.). It gives several indications to conclude that the Abhiras did exercise a fairly strong hegemony over the Deccan. First, the mentioning of the regnal year of an alien ruler in an inscription at the Ikṣvāku capital is significant. Secondly, the inscription also records the installation of an aṣṭabhuja statue at Setagiri. Aṣṭabhujaśāmi (‘deity with eight hands’) is another name for Viṣṇu who was also the cult deity of the Abhiras. This is the only known Viṣṇu shrine in the valley and may point to the introduction of a new cult practice with a new political master to this region. The inscription does not mention any name associated with the Ikṣvāku ruling house.
These matrimonial alliances linking the royal houses of the Deccan, joined together a group of elite families in this region who had been absorbed to the socio-ritual structure of Brahminism in the post-Mauria period. It provided the Ikṣvākus with a new found exclusiveness vis-à-vis other indigenous elite groups and from that a greater legitimation sanctioning political authority.

In addition to matrimonial alliances, the standing army formed an essential component of the state that supplemented the power base of the Ikṣvākus. The standing army not only waged war and carried out conquests to achieve political stability as well as territorial hegemony, it also proved to be a useful avenue through which other elite groups were made subordinate partners in the political hierarchy. It is quite apparent that the concept of maintaining a standing army, in the Ikṣvāku state, was borrowed from the Sātavāhanas. The latter had organized a series of military establishments viz. skandhāvāra, kaṇaka, galma, a military hierarchy, the use of military officers in civil administration and the absorption of the Mahātalavara chieftains to the state structure.

It is evident that a war situation may have preceded the founding of the Ikṣvāku state, where battles had to be fought to subjugate other contending chieftains for the purpose of territorial
acquisition as well. Hence, the performance of the *asvamedha ȳaga* by Cañtamula I, was not without military significance.

Inscriptions and archaeological evidence do indicate that military activity related to warfare prevailed during the reign of Cañtamula. Certain *Cṛhāya stūbha* inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda, which mention commanders and soldiers who fell at war, on palaeographical grounds, can be dated to the period of Cañtamula I (*vide* Sirca 1961-62:207-209, I-II). In another instance, an inscription during the time of Bhuvula Cañtamula II mentions that *talavāraṇa Ṣlisiri* was the grandson of *senāpati* Anıkkī who performed at battles with great valour (Chhabra 1959-60: 147-149). Anıkkī appears to have been a contemporary of Cañtamula I and probably fought battles for the latter in his quest for state power. Apparently the armed forces played a significant role in the Ikṣvāku polity during the Abhira interregnum and even during the subsequent period. The existence of a fortified valley that had a fortified citadel and the location of military barracks and even stables within the citadel (*IAR* 1958-59:8; Sarkar et Misra 1972:19) points to a military preparedness by the Ikṣvākus. The Ikṣvāku inscriptions indicate that a relatively well organized infra-structure supplemented the functioning of this standing army (*vide* Appendix - IV).

One of the major supports supplementing the mechanism of control was the organization of the bureaucratic hierarchy and the prevalence of an overlap between the upper echelons of the military-civil administrative hierarchy and the upper classes in society. This group formed the second rung of the political elite, at a level below the royalty. It is, therefore, not strange that
genealogical tables, lineage connections and ritual purity became increasingly important factors reinforcing elitism with greater intensity.

The Mahātalavara title holders went to form the most powerful social, economic and political group during this period. Apparently the Mahātalavara group consisted of those who held this title by descent and those who held it by appointment.

One may infer that the individuals who specifically mention their kula or gōtra name such Pugiya, Pugiy, Dhanaka, Hiramāka, Kulahaka, Pōribideha, PugyaPDF, etc. may have belonged to those who held the Mahātalavara title by descent. If this assumption is valid, they may have been considered as the 'old mobility', which may have given a strong reason for the Ikṣvāku's to seek matrimonial alliances with this particular group. The marriage between princess Cātasiri and Khamdasiri of the Pukiya family, princess Adivi Cātasiri and Khamdavisākhāmaka of the Dhanaka family and also the marriage of Ehuvula Cātamula II to Kupasiri of the PugyaPDF family were such instances (Vogel 1929-30:15-17, C-3; 18, B-2; Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:17-19). The second group were those who carried this title, by appointment. For instance, one inscription from Nagarjunakonda narrates a particular lineage as:

senāpati Anikki > Gāndi > talavaraṇa Ālisiri (Chahabra 1959-60: 147-48). Anikki is not associated with the title Mahātalavara.

In any case, no Mahātalavara is known to have held the title senāpati. His son Gāndi is not associated with any title whatsoever.

1. It is possible that the personal name Gāndi, may have derived from kandi > gandar 'a warrior' (supra. p. 216).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Personal Name(s)*</th>
<th>Family/clan name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kañdasiri (Ms/Mt)</td>
<td>Pukiya</td>
<td>Vogel 1929-30:16-18, 20-22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kañdavisākhāmaka (MS/Mt/MD)</td>
<td>Dhanaka</td>
<td>ibid. 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Khañdacalikivemānaka (MS/Mt)</td>
<td>HiraṃNaka</td>
<td>ibid. 18-19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cūla Cātasirinīkā (MSI)</td>
<td>Kulahaka</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* MD - Mahādanānāya; MG - Mahāgrāmika; MS - Mahāsenāpati;
MSI - Mahāsenāpatini; MT - Mahātalavara.
Agniikki's grandson Elisiri may have been a governor (supra. p. 296 from śiśiśika). This may have in turn afforded him the title talavaraṇa, which was obviously not received by descent, but by appointment.

The continuation of the Mahātalavara title by descent, also implies that the principle of hereditary claim was in operation. There is at least one example to establish, in the case of Mahākandasiri of the Pukiyas, that the titles Mahāsenāpati - Mahātalavara were taken up by his son Viṣṇusiri (Vogel 1929-30: 20-21, C-5). We are of the opinion that the transmission of titles i.e. power and property rights to the children may have occurred through the mother. This may account for Cāntasiri holding the title Mahātalavari or Cūla Cātasiriṇīkā of the Kulahaka family holding the title Mahasenapatini (Vogel 1929-30: 15-17, C-3; 18-19, B-4). The Mahātalavara chieftains took up metronymics e.g. Khamdasiri of the Pukiyas and Khamdakalikivemhaṇaka of the Hirāmānakas, had the metronym Vāsiṭhiputa (Vogel 1929-30:15-17, C-3; 18-19, B-4). This may indicate their bias towards certain principles of social and property relations associated with mother-right. In view of the above, it may be hypothesized that some degree of internal differentiation may have prevailed within the Mahātalavara group. The occurrence of three related terms Mahātalavara, talavaraṇa, talavara, may indicate such a gradation. The criteria for such a situation may have been access to this title by descent, the possession of social wealth, matrimonial connections to royalty, and the number of additional titles held by these chieftains.
There are other attributes that went to assign a very exclusive place to the Mahātalavaras within the ruling class. Interestingly, in every case, where a Mahātalavara held an additional title, it happened to be the highest in that particular field. The occurrence of the prefix maha against such titles, therefore, was natural. We come across titles such as Mahāsenāpati, Mahādandanāyaka, Mahāgāmika associated with the Mahātalavaras. With the exception of the title Mahāsenāpati which was held by a Mahākumāra and kumāra, the rest were exclusively held by Mahātalavara chieftains. We have discussed (vide Appendix - IV) the title holders of Mahāsenāpati in detail and we now pass on to review the other titles.

The title Mahādandanāyaka, according to the known inscriptions, was held by two individuals. One was Mahāsenāpati-Mahātalavara Mahādavisākhaṇmaka of the Dhanaka family, the son-in-law of Vasiṣṭhiputa Cāntamūla I (Vogel 1929-30:18, B-2). The second was Mahātalavara-Mahāgāmika Sivasepā of the Pāribideha family belonging to the Kausīka gōtra (Sircar 1961-62:197-202). Dandanāyaka is an office generally associated with the army (Sircar 1966:80-81). However, as Kundavisākhaṇmaka also held the title Mahāsenāpati, it may be assumed that this title was actually associated with danda i.e. the administration of justice. The very fact that a Mahāsenāpati

1. The title of Mahāsenāpati was also held by hatigahaka Cāntapula of the Kulahaka family (Sarkar 1974:96). It is possible to infer that because Čula Čātasisirinika of the Kulahaka family married a Mahātalavara from the Hirṣānakas family (Vogel 1929-30:18-19, B-4), Cāntapula, too, belonged to the Mahātalavara group.

2. During the subsequent period too, the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman Bhūtaphalāyana records that a Mahātalavara held the title Mahādandanāyaka (Hultzsch 1900-01:315-319).
title holder was also assigned with the functions of justice indicates a gradual concentration of military-civil-judicial functions in the hands of one individual, at least at the regional level of the rātra/ratha, which in turn set the pattern for the so-called 'feudal' period. This title may have been an important one, as it was, in one case held by the son-in-law of the ruler in power, and in the other, it was held by an important local vassal of the invading Abhira king.

Mahātalavara—Mahādandanāyaka Śivasēpa, held an additional title, Mahāgāmika. Mahāgrāma, as it is found in the inscriptions, is explained as a small territorial unit which is equated to a grāma-āhāra composed of a group of villages (Sircar 1961-62:198; 1966:176-77). It is possible that Śivasēpa administered and enjoyed the produce in this territorial unit and may have also been in charge of the judicial activity therein. In any case, the appointment of such individuals to administer larger or smaller territorial units was not unknown during this period. We have already drawn attention to the personal names Eli and Elisiri, two individuals who held the titles kumāra—Mahāsenapati and talavara-vāra respectively. They may have been governors of territorial units.

Other elite groups in the Ikṣvāku kingdom, who did not belong to the Mahātalavara group, associated themselves with the civil and the military hierarchy in different categories of offices.

I. Sircar also draws our attention to the fact that Mahāgrāmikas are known to have issued their coins (1961-62:198 note). It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that, just as much as the Mahātalavara, talavara, Mahāraṭhika, the Mahāgrāmika also had an important functional role in the socio-political structure of that time.
It is quite apparent that some of them were appointed to particular ranks. The senāpati title held by Anikki is a case in point. We come across another high functionary having the title amātya (Sircar 1961-62:197-202). In one case the inscription clearly specified his ritual status as a person who belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra (ibid.), indicating that this individual was a Brāhmin by birth.¹ A donative record from Kesanaapalle introduces a Mahāraṇhika, an official during the reign of Cāntamula I (Khan 1969:4), who was probably in charge of the area covered by Kesanaapalle. Such officers were probably appointed from a stratum of elite families who either had lineage status or economic strength.

In this context, the occurrence of the term kulaputra in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions is extremely significant. Kulaputra is one who is from a good family, noble birth (Rhys Davids et Stede 1959:222). In one case, an inscription records a son of a kulaputra who was a member of the contingent commanded by a peramāṇi (Sircar 1961-62:207-10). In another instance, a donative record from Nagarjunakonda mentions a 'Sāmana kulaputa' (IAR 1954-55:23). In the first case, it is also recorded that the kulaputra belonged to the Rājamisṛi kula of the Marāba (Sircar op.cit.). Rājamisṛi literally means 'admixture with royalty', though the connection is not clear in this case. It is also interesting to note that, in the north Indian context, according to Buddhist texts the son of setṭhi gahapati has been called a kulaputta (Ṛv. I.i.7).

¹. Titysārman, who composed this inscription, according to Sircar was an officer of the Abhira king (1961-62:201).
If the same equation can be projected to the 2nd/3rd Century A.D. period in Andhra, we may be able to locate other elements within the local elite families that filled certain military and civil positions of the Ikṣvāku state. The late Satavahana and the Ikṣvāku inscriptions mention a series of satthi and gahapati individuals who indicate their kula or gotra affiliation. We have also highlighted the possibility of an amātya, of Vasisthiputra Pulamāvi, having kujumbika origins (Sastri 1937-38, 259). Interaction between the mercantile and other upper elite groups seems to have been on the decline during the Ikṣvāku period. There is hardly any evidence to show that the Mahātalaśāra group had such interactions with other elite groups graded at a level below them.

Thus we have a vertically arranged and horizontally graded ruling class that had taken shape during the Ikṣvāku period in Macro Zone I. The exclusiveness perpetuating this elitism to distinguish these groups from the classes below them was enforced through several avenues.

The extensive use of titles and epithets was one such method. The concept of the 'hero' and 'heroism' were re-emphasised as a mark of distinction giving status. The prefix khamda, which derives from skanda, has been used by several individuals in their personal names e.g. Khamdasiri, Khamdacalivenāhiṇaka, Khamdavisākhaṁṇaka, Khamdasāgarāśaka, Khamdavula, Khamāśila, Skandagopa, etc. Skanda or Kārtikesa, who super-imposed himself on the pre-existing Vel or Murukan, carried the same attributes as the latter viz. the god of war, valour and youth i.e. Chanda Sakti
Kumāra \((\text{IAR} \ 1957-58; 36)\). The repeated occurrence of Kartikeya images and shrines along the river bank parallel to the citadel at Nagarjunakonda, may not be a coincidence after all \((\text{IAR} \ 1956-57; 37)\). In addition, there were other personal names as the following viz. Virapurisadatta (brave-man), Ehuvala (strength of steel), Gāndi ('a hero'), Sīha/Sīmha ('lion'), which clearly indicate efforts at perpetuating the cult of the hero and warrior. Interestingly, a majority of the chhāya stambha have been raised in memory of fallen heroes, which in turn confirms the esteemed position held by such individuals belonging to elite families. Another significant feature is, the general location of sites holding memorial pillars at Nagarjunakonda (site Nos. 9, 36, 61, 114) situated on or in close proximity to the Proto Historic Megalithic complex in the valley.

There were several other epithets taken up the elite groups. Sri from Śrī ('eminent, supreme'); aya from ārya (Sanskrit) or ayyan/aiyar (Dravidian ai 'leader') where these terms carry the meaning, noble and chief/greatman/elder respectively; sāmi from swāmī ('lord') which was probably a practice borrowed from the Sakas. A few inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda carry the term araka in association with particular individuals. First, we have the case of Mahāsenāpati - Mahātalavara - araka Mahākōduvaka Ayabhuti (Sircar 1963a:17, C-11). A second inscription mentions an individual named Kojaraka araka-bhagarakka (ibid. 13). Yet another inscription mentions an antakpura - mahattarakka, during the reign of Ehuvala Gāmamula (Sircar 1963:4-5). It is suggested that the term araka derives from āryaka (Sarkar et Misra
1972:43; Chatterjee 1976: 232, 250, Note 141), thus assigning this term the status of an honorific title. 1

Ideological measures, therefore, were useful channels to enforce exclusiveness within this stratified society in Macro Zone I. The Ikṣvāku ruling house as well as their nobility, primarily the Mahātalavara group, make a clear effort on the one hand to specify their kula or gotra handed down by lineage and by descent. On the other hand they also display this ritual name, which was conferred upon them as a consequence of undergoing the ritual birth into the varṇa-dharma order operative within the principles of the brahmanic social hierarchy. This ritual birth, therefore, was extremely important to the ruling class. It is suggested the Ikṣvākus (and their successors) performed the hiranyageraha ceremony, which signalled their initiation to the brahmanic social order (vide Sircar 1939; Chatterjee 1976:241). It is this ritual birth that required the taking up of brahmanic family or lineage identities such as Vāsiṇīpita, Maḍariputa, Bṛhatphalāyana, Hāratiputa by royalty as well as certain Mahātalavara chieftains. This is very clear as these chieftains mention their ritual name as well as their lineage identity as the Pukiyas or the Hirāṃmakas (vide Table. No. 7 ). In another instance, Mahātalavara-Mahādanāyaka-Mahāgramika Sivadēpa records lineage identity as Pērībiqeha and simultaneously identifies himself

1. It is not altogether impossible that araka may have derived from (Sanskrit) ārakṣaka (Prākrit) ārakṣīya > araka, which means protector. In the first case, the personal name of the Mahātalavara already has ērva (Ārva) prefixed to Bhuti, which does not have a necessity for āravaka > araka to be associated with himself. Ārakṣika or ārakṣādhikā, was known to be a police officer, a magistrate, chief of the king's bodyguards (Sircar 1966:26). It may be suggested that Ayabhuti may have been the
as a Kausika (Sircar 1961-62:197-202). Similarly, amatyasamya Tisyadarman who composed Sivadepa's inscription, calls himself a Bharadvaja (ibid.). This dual affiliation, therefore, provided the upper classes with a descent principle and a ritual basis lending necessary ideological legitimation to their class hegemony over groups at a level below them in the social hierarchy.

The most effective cognitive expression/legitimation was the observance of ceremonies and rituals associated with the Vedic Brahmanical order. The performance of sacrifices such as the ásvamedha, agnistoma, vajapeya, bahusuvarpaka (Sircar et Krishnan 1961-62:19), by the Ikshvaku rulers is a case in point. Interestingly, the founding of several brahmanical shrines (along the river bank in close proximity to the citadel) during the reign of Ehiuvula Gautamula may be noted in this context. The depiction of a probable sati scene from a sculpture found at the Burning Ghat (site No.126) at Nagarjunakonda, shows the extent to which this ritual symbolism associated with brahmanism was idealized by the}

Cont’d... f.n. from p. 311 Arakaka/arakaka of Mahakoduvaka area. At Salinahundam, two potsherd inscriptions datable to the 2nd-3rd Century A.D. clearly mention the term ariya sages and ariya parivena (Subrahmanyam 1964:85 No. 22, 86 No. 29). This clearly shows that ariya was used for ariya. In the second instance, araka-bhañagaraka assigned to the individual named Koñāraka has been read as Arñaka-bhañjaraṇaka (Sircar 1963:13). There is possibility that bhañagaraka may have derived from (Sanskrit) bhañāgārīka > bhañāraka > bhañāraka (vide Sircar 1966:50). Bhañāgārīka is 'treasurer' and araka-bhañagaraka may convey the meaning 'protector of the treasury'. It is significant that a samepana is mentioned in association with Koñāraka in the same inscription. We may speculate that Koñāraka was probably in charge of the treasury of a religious establishment. A Nagarjunakonda inscription from the time of Ehuvla Gautamula records the endowment of a bara-sala or store-house to a religious establishment (Sircar 1963:9). Excavations at the monastic unit (site vi) associated with the Mahācetiya revealed store rooms containing jars, images, bowls, etc. (IAR 1954-55:22). In the third instance too, the term araka is associated with a female officer of the antāpūra i.e. harem.
upper classes. All this indicates the significance of the ideological and ritual channels as a means to enforce and legitimize political authority and exclusiveness.

It is also interesting how the Ikṣvākus used such rituals and their symbolism, to score a psychological advantage over their subjects, and thereby assure political hegemony. This was especially true in the case of the subjects in the intermediary and peripheral zones. In addition, more often the mobility also patronized and followed the same pattern thus symbolically expressing their allegiance to the ruler. For instance, Yāsīthiputa Cāṁṭamūla is known as 'Virūphakapati-Navāsena (parigahitasa)' (Vogel 1929-30:16, 17 No. C-3). Virūphakapati means the 'lord of Virūpakas' (ibid.). It is pointed out that in the early Buddhist texts, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, Virūpaka is associated with snakes, rākṣasa and other spirits (ibid. note; Sircar 1939:18). Hence, when Navāsena or Skanda is called Virūphakapati, it may indicate an effort to depict the subordination of other 'lower beings' to this deity. Interestingly, this situation also reflects another aspect related to acculturation. First, there is an amalgamation or the equation between the indigenous deity i.e. Murukan (the heroic god of the Megalithic folk) and the intrusive deity i.e. Skanda. Secondly, there is the subordinate role assigned to nāgas, yaksas and other indigenous spirits vis a vis the Virūphakapati. Thus when Cāṁṭamūla took this epithet, it not only associated him with a deity of the Indo-Aryan pantheon, but conclusively established a differentiation between the cult practice he adhered to and a series of other cult practices associated with
'lower spirits' followed by the subjects.

An additional factor that conclusively distinguished the ruling classes from the less privileged groups was the economic affluence due to a concentration of the surplus production in their hands. Inscriptions of this period indicate that the concentration of wealth and its redistribution was done by royalty, the nobility, officials of the state, merchants and householders at an unprecedented scale never before reached in Macro Zone I.

The various Vedic and Brahmanic ceremonies and sacrifices performed by the Ikṣvākus rulers (viz. 'āśāmedha yājisa aneka hiraṃpakoti ...') most obviously reflects the accumulated resources in their hands. Similarly, the large scale patronage they extended to Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious sects, ranging from pillars to monasteries, indicates the high concentration of wealth with the ruling classes. It is, therefore, with good reason that Gāṃtasiri, the sister of Gāṃtamūla I, is called mahādānanapatini (Vogel 1929-30:17).

The economic base of the Ikṣvākus had an additional source in the Mahātalavaras, who channelled resources in the form of tribute/revenues from the provinces to the centre and also brought in wealth through matrimonial alliances with the royal house. For instance, we may take up the case of Mahēsenāpati-Mahātalavara-Mahēdandanaśyaka (Kaṇḍavīśakaḥpaka of the Dhanaka family, and the son-in-law of Gāṃtamūla I (Vogel 1929-30:18, B-2). Dhanaka probably derives from dhana 'riches' (Monier-Williams 1872:447). This Mahātalavara probably brought in much wealth to the royal family, which accounts for the extra generosity of Adavi Gātasiri,
his wife, to the Buddhist sects (ibid.). It is obvious that the Mahātalavaras had to have a lucrative economic base in their own territorial or administrative units. From the pre-
Śātavāhana period such accumulation is apparent judging by the issue of coins by Mahātalavara chieftains (IAR 1975-76:5) and the donation of land to religious establishments (Gopalachari 1976: 93-95). We have already indicated that the geo-political units of the Mahātalavara such as the Puki rāha or the Khammāka rāha held economic advantages to the ruling lineage group. The marriage of Mahāsenāpati-Mahātalavara Vasiṣṭhiputa Khamdasi r of the Pukiya to the sister of Cātamūla I was no coincidence and it certainly underlines economic and political considerations by the Ikavākus. In another case, we come across Mahāsenāpati-
Mahātalavara Vasiṣṭhiputa Khamdacalikivemmanaka of the Hiramāka (Hiranyaka) family (Vogel 1929-30:18-19, B-4), who probably controlled (the area known to the later inscriptions as) Hiranyarāṣṭra, which was the primary gold producing region of Macro Zone I covering sections of Ongole-Kurnool-Cudapah districts. His marriage to Mahāsenāpatini (CūlaCātasirinīkā of the Kulahaka family (ibid.) may have witnessed the integration of the power and the wealth of two affluent families. The existence of a Kulahaka vihāra at Nagarjunakonda (ibid. 22-23, F) and the existence of a Mahāsenāpati-hatigahaka of the Kulahaka family most certainly reflects their political and economic affluence during the said period. The chapter following this one, will establish with greater clarity the nature of resources controlled by socio-economic groups mainly belonging to the agrarian and the commercial elite.
It is not an exaggeration to state that the hierarchized socio-economic formation of the Ikṣvāku society had its reflection on the primary habitation complex situated at Vijayapuri (vide IAR 1954-55; 1955-56; 1957-58; 1958-59; 1959-60).

The highly protected valley, clearly represented a demarcation in the city viz. the upper (citadel) and the lower city. The citadel is a trapezoidal area (3000 ft × 2000 ft) and well protected. It contained auxiliary defence arrangements, barracks, stables, a residential quarter, drainage systems, ritual and recreational centres. Excavation revealed a cremation ground which was exclusively used for royalty.

The lower city consisted of a well laid out commercial cum industrial and residential complex, having a main street, smaller roads and by-lanes. Investigations revealed residential quarters of the more affluent (three-roomed houses with a common verandah, storage jars, ornamental objects etc.) and those of the less affluent represented by rubble-built cottages. Inscriptions indicate that this valley housed different settlements for particular social groups. The existence of a śetṭhivara at Vijayapura is a case in point (Sircar 1963:647-8). It appears that certain craft specialists lived along with more affluent groups. This was confirmed by the discovery of a goldsmith's workshop along with the affluent houses (IAR 1959-60:9). In this connection we may note that at Nagarjunakonda a chuṭāya-stambha was raised in the name of Mūlabhūta, the āvesanika from Pavayata (Sarkar 1974:93). The inscription reads ‘... āvesanikasa tamaniyakarasa Mūlabhūtasa...' (Sircar 1963:16 No. C-1). If tamaniyakara means coppersmith (from
Nūlabhūta may have been the foreman of artisans dealing in copper. The Jaggayapetta pillar inscription, during the time of Vīrapurisadatta, records the association of an āvesanika with other affluent persons in making a donation (vide Burgess 1882:110).

Thus, the pre-state semi-tribal society in Macro Zone I transformed into a stratified class society along with the political institutions related to state formation, a process that took over 4-5 centuries in time to evolve its own specific character, personality and identity.

III - i

The above study i.e. section I-iii in this Chapter, may well establish the material and societal basis that provided elements of early social differentiation and elite formation during the Proto Historic period in Macro Zone II. In a further study, the Vēlir group can give us further clues related to the spatial distributions of a particular elite group. This may also indicate the geo-physical and the material context related to the infrastructure basis of the 'territory'.

As a starting point we may use the study made by Champakalakshmi, where an interesting association has been established between particular Megalithic-BW sites or zones and the Sangam sites mentioned along with the Vēlir (1975-76:121). In listing these sites we have re-classified the original list and also added some more sites.  

1 Due to an error on the publisher's part, the Table of Sites did not appear in Puratattva No. 8 (1975-76). I am grateful to Dr. R. Champakalakshmi for making available the original script containing the Table of Sites.
THE LOCATION OF VÊLIR GROUPS IN MACRO ZONE II
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Sangam Site</th>
<th>Chieftain/Clan</th>
<th>Types of Megaliths</th>
<th>Modern Location</th>
<th>Approximate Site</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 1</td>
<td>Tagadür</td>
<td>Adigamān (?), Vēlir</td>
<td>Urns/Other types</td>
<td>Dharmapuri Taluk</td>
<td>Dharmapuri</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 2</td>
<td>Kunurūr</td>
<td>Vēlir</td>
<td>Urns/Other types</td>
<td>Coccnoor</td>
<td>Nilgiris</td>
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<td>A 3</td>
<td>Koṭai</td>
<td>Porunān</td>
<td>Vēlir Urns</td>
<td>Kodaikanal</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
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<tr>
<td>A 4</td>
<td>Podiyil (Avinānkuḍi)</td>
<td>Aviyar</td>
<td>Stone circles/Dolmens</td>
<td>Palani</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 5*</td>
<td>Alumbil</td>
<td>Mānavirāl-Vēl</td>
<td>Urns</td>
<td>Kamban valley (?)</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 6</td>
<td>Vēnādu/Nañjilnadu</td>
<td>Āy Andiran</td>
<td>Vēlir Urns/Cairn circles</td>
<td>Venad</td>
<td>(Kerala/Tamilnadu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 7*</td>
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<td>Nannan</td>
<td>Vēlir Cairn circles</td>
<td>Payyiampalli (?)</td>
<td>North Arcot</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 8</td>
<td>Vēlur</td>
<td>Oviyar</td>
<td>Vēlir Urns/Stone circles</td>
<td>Vellore</td>
<td>North Arcot</td>
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<td>B 9</td>
<td>Oymanādu</td>
<td>Oviyar</td>
<td>Vēlir Dolmens</td>
<td>Tindivanam</td>
<td>South Arcot</td>
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<tr>
<td>B 10</td>
<td>Vērai</td>
<td>Oviyar</td>
<td>Vēlir Urns/habitation</td>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
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<td>B 11</td>
<td>Tirukkoṭoilūr</td>
<td>Vēlir</td>
<td>Dolmens</td>
<td>Tirukkoṭoilūr, Kollur, Demanur</td>
<td>South Arcot</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 12</td>
<td>Uraiyyūr and Pidavūr</td>
<td>Vēlir (later), Coḷas</td>
<td>Urns/Cists/habitation</td>
<td>Uraiyyūr, Perur, Allur</td>
<td>Tiruchappalli</td>
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<td>B 13</td>
<td>Alundūr</td>
<td>Vēlir</td>
<td>Urns/habitation</td>
<td>Teralundur</td>
<td>Thanjavur</td>
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<td>B 14</td>
<td>Kodumbai/Kodumbalur</td>
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<td>Urns/other types</td>
<td>Pudukkottai area</td>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Sangam Site</td>
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<td>Modern Location</td>
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<td>B 15*</td>
<td>Parambunāḍu</td>
<td>Pāri - Vēlir</td>
<td>Urns</td>
<td>Madurai-Nelur Taluks Madurai</td>
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<tr>
<td>C 16</td>
<td>Puhār</td>
<td>Cōla</td>
<td>Urns/habitation</td>
<td>Kaveripattinam Tanjore</td>
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<td>Kuḍandai</td>
<td>Cōla</td>
<td>Urns/habitation</td>
<td>Nandannēdu Kumbakonam (Solamakigai) Tanjore</td>
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<td>Vallam</td>
<td>Cōla</td>
<td>habitation (?)</td>
<td>Vallam Tanjore</td>
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<tr>
<td>C 19</td>
<td>Tenūr</td>
<td>Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>Urns</td>
<td>Teni/Tenur Madurai</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 20</td>
<td>Ayirai</td>
<td>Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>Urns</td>
<td>Kalugumalai Tirunelveli</td>
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<tr>
<td>C 21</td>
<td>Korkai-Kāyal</td>
<td>Pāṇḍya</td>
<td>Urns/habitation</td>
<td>Korkai-Kāyal Tirunelveli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Our additions to the Table of sites.

Group A : Vēlir of the peripheral highlands.

Group B : Vēlir of the lowlands (riverine plains and coastal).
The distribution pattern of the Velir settlements (mentioned in the texts) indicates two distinct groups.

Group - A represents the Velir of the peripheral areas. Such areas also held a series of entry-points leading to Macro Zone II. Chronologically, these entry-points may have housed the earliest intrusive Iron-Age culture groups in this region. In fact, the Velir of Kunnur (Coonoor-Hilgiri) are called 'ancient Velir people', (Kuran 164.3), probably because they had a relatively higher antiquity in areas of settlement than the others. The communities in these peripheral areas thrived within a broad-spectrum subsistence economy where hunting-gathering, pastoral nomadism and swidden cultivation existed side by side.

Group - B represents the second group or the Velir of the lowland, primarily situated in the riverine plains and coastal areas. These areas mainly fall within zones categorized as nuclear areas and in all probability carry a post 8th/7th century B.C. chronology. A striking feature about the distribution pattern of Group - B is their clear coincidence with the spread of particular types of burials i.e. urns, cairn/stone circles. In an interesting passage, the texts refer to the urn-burial of a Velir chieftain entombed by a heap of stones i.e. cairn (Puram 238.1-5). Several factors among which political strife, natural calamities may have been significant reasons triggering-off community movement from one area to another. For instance, the death of Ay created political instability resulting in the starvation of his subjects and it consequently compelled them to migrate to other
regions for survival (Puram 240.2-14).\textsuperscript{1}

Further to this, it is obvious that a larger section of the Vēlir were concentrated in the geo-political area presently covered by Tamilnadu. The distribution of Group - B Vēlir settlements in the lowland plains and in the coastal areas was not without economic significance. The availability of larger tracts of land having fertile alluvial soil suitable for relatively extensive wet cultivation and coastal areas giving access to resources of the marine-littoral eco-zone including the coastal exchange route, may have been important considerations for Vēlirs to move mainly to the eastern region. However, one is compelled to question the non-occurrence of Vēlirs of Group - B, south of the Vaigai river. This region which is mainly covered by the districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli, has a profuse occurrence of urn, cairn/stone circles and the Megalithic-ERW culture.

It is evident that in addition to the Vēlir, several other resident communities occupied different ecological zones and existed side by side with the former. The continued occupation of these areas even during the Early Historic period is well documented in the Sangam texts (for a study vide Dorai Rangaswamy 1968). There is, however, one source that gives a precise chronological context to some of these communities. This source

\textsuperscript{1}. It is suggested that originally, the Tiraiyan, a non-Vēlir group, held sway over the Vēṅkaṭam area and subsequently extended towards the plains and the coast covered by Tondaimandalam (vide PPTI 435-36, 468-69).
is found in the Asokan edicts. The Major Rock Edict II of Asoka records his southern neighbours as Gōda, Pāda, Ketaleputa and Satiyaputa (see Chart No. 6). It is relatively easy to identify the first three with Gōda, Pāda and the Cēra. However, the Satiyaputa was not identified in definite terms, until the recent discovery of an early Tamil Brahmi inscription (2nd century B.C.) from Jambai (District South Arcot) clearly established that they were the Adiyamān mentioned in the Sangam texts. The inscription reads ‘satiyaputo atiya netumān ańci itta pālin’. The Adiyamān who held sway over the northern fringes of Macro Zone II are suggested to be a Vēlir group (Champakalakshmi 1975–76:121) and their ancestors are credited with having introduced sugar cane (agriculture?) to Tamilham (Puram 99:2). The Sangam texts clearly mention one Adiyamān ańci of Tagadūr (Puram 97:2). This place has been located in the present Dharmapuri Taluk of the same District. Interestingly, the Sangam texts also feature another community by the name Kōsar, in association with the northern fringes of Tamilham, who probably campaigned against the Satiyaputa/Adigamān in support of establishing Maurya hegemony over this region (Aham 251). Narayanan is probably correct in identifying the Kōsar as a group of the vadukar (lit. ‘northerner’) mentioned in the texts (1977:92, note 26). The Sangam texts are rather clear in stating that the vadukar resided north of the territories of chieftains Nannan, Kaṭṭi and Pulli and also that they spoke an alien tongue (Aham 349; Kurun II.6-7; Aham 295).

1. There had already been suggestions that Satiyaputa and Atiyaman were one viz. atiya (=satiya) + aśakam man (=puta) (vide Sastri 1957:500; Narayanan 1977:87 note 9).
Though the Cōla, Pāndya, and Cēra are mentioned in the Adokan edicts i.e. 3rd century B.C., it is not certain whether their historical antiquity is as ancient as the Vēḷir in Macro Zone II. In her study, Champakalakshmi indicates the occurrence of Megalithic-ERW (burial/habitation) sites in geo-physical zones that are traditionally associated with the Cōla and the Pāndya. A cursory examination of the Megalithic-ERW sites in Kerala also indicates a similar situation in relation to the Cēra. Interestingly, the dominant burial type found in these particular zones happen to be the urns, cairn/stone circles.

This raises several issues related to the problem of ethno-cultural identity of these three groups. The first is, whether these three groups had their origins in the Vēḷir. There is little documented evidence to show that the Pāndyas practiced the megalithic burial sites. However, Sirinivasan draws our attention to a reference in Purāṇārdu (228.1-15) which describes the interment of the dead body of Cōla Vēḷi Vālēvan in an urn burial (1946:13). The Cōlas did have matrimonial alliances with the Vēḷir of the lower Kaveri valley and may have acquired this burial practice from the latter. It is also possible to infer that the Pāndyas may have undermined the power of the Vēḷir at a relatively early date. In any case, the fact that the Sangam texts call the Vēḷir 'ancient' (mudū) and the Cēra, Pāndya and Cōla 'new, upstart' (vampa) clearly indicates a time factor separating the two groups.

1. The Indica (McCrindle 1901) and the Arthasastra (II.II.2) associates the Pāndyas with the pearl yielding Tirunelveli coast and even a later text such as the Mahāvamsa (vii.48-54) assigns them a relatively higher chronology. It is also suggested that the dynastic title term Pāndyar, may have derived from pandu 'ancient' (PPTI 547).
It is interesting to note that during the 3rd/2nd Century B.C. Macro Zone II did not house politically unified or territorially integrated groups. One scholar points out that "... while Asoka recounts his contemporary Greek rulers by their names, he only mentions the peoples who were his southern neighbours" (Ghosh 1973:12) and records the name of each community in the plural form. Hultsch also correctly concluded that the suffix puta/putra (i.e. Ketala puta, Satiyaputo) at the end of compounds implied 'belonging to a tribe' (1922/1969:3 note 7). It is evident that puta in Asokan edicts was used in place of makan > mēn i.e. son, descendant — a situation associated with lineage groups.¹

The Jambai inscription states this equation very clearly as 'satiyaputo atiyan nētumān ...' The Sangam texts do indicate that the Adiyāman/Satiyaputa had several clan/lineage groups. We have already mentioned Añci of Tagadūr and his ancestors. Most probably, the Kośār may have confronted another group of the Adiyāman/Satiyaputa at Mōkūr (Aham 251). Mōkūr is identified as a place near the Attur Pass in South Arcot (Sastrī 1975:21), which is less than 50 miles (south east) of Dharmapuri taluk and about 100 miles south of Jambai.² The Kośār themselves were formed into different groups. For instance they were known as Mūdu Kośār (ancient Kośār) and Ilam Kośār (New Kośār) (Aham. 262, 216).

¹. Other examples are Malaiyāman, Tondaimān, etc.
². The reference to Palaiyyan as the chieftain of Mōkūr (Maduraik 508), may be a later one. Narayanan believes that Palaiyyan was a hereditary title or a popular name in the ruling family of Mōkūr (1977:86).
The former were concentrated in the Tutu country, north of the Cērāland (Aham. 15.5). It appears that the Kōsār were in turn divided into resident kin groups (Kurum 15.1). Similarly, the Ketalaputa of the Aṣokan edicts can be found in the Sangam texts as Cēramēn, the latter being used by different chieftains to indicate their descent from the Chēra lineage (vide PPIT 392-395). For instance, Udiyan was the name of a branch of the Cēra family. Thus, we find the name Cēramēn Perum Corru Udiyan Cēral Ādol (PPIT 132). The Sangam texts mention several generations as well as contemporary chieftains belonging to the lineage of Udiyan Cēral and Sastri suggests that a kulasaṅgha system of rule prevailed in the Cēra country (1966:120). It is also suggested that the term Palkuttuvan mentioned in the Sangam texts (e.g. Maduraiēk 105) means 'several members of the kutṭuvan family' (of the Cēra) who simultaneously held power in Kuttanādu (PPIT 281). It is interesting to note that the etymology of the term Cērā/Cēr is 'altogether, wholly, along with, in company with' (WBD 2312).

Interestingly, the Aṣokan edicts do not carry the suffix putu for the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas and neither do the Sangam texts attribute the makan/mān suffix to them. However, the Sangam texts do indicate that several Cōla groupings resided in the lower Kāveri valley simultaneously. It is not impossible that they were organized under individual clan chieftains (vide Sastri 1975: Chap. II). It is recorded that Cengutuvan defeated nine members of the Cōla kudi i.e. Cōla family, to consolidate power (PPIT 400). ¹

¹ Sastri is of the opinion that Cōla may have derived from kōl. The latter means 'to whirl', 'to hover', thus giving the meaning 'hoverer' to the Cōlas (1975:25 Note 7).
Though Sastri believes that a similar system prevailed among the Pāndya (1966:120), there is little evidence to confirm this view.

The basis for the evolution of the 'territory', therefore, depended upon the economy and the structural formation of the society during the late Proto Historic and the Early Historic period. In other words, it was the eco-zone and the resident community that provided the infra-structural basis for the early evolution of the 'territory' during the formative period.

Two dominant features of the material base during the formative period were community movement (e.g. the case of the Vēlir) and the functioning of the multi-resource broad-spectrum subsistence economy. Community movement involved either (spatially) close-range short-term seasonal movements or long-range migrations cutting across different environmental zones. Both processes largely operated within a multi-resource broad-spectrum subsistence economy. Whether nomadic or semi-sedentary, these communities had to devise temporary gathering or periodic meeting places, which were crucial for socio-economic and ritual interactions of the pre-urban clan/tribal groups. This linkage between 'movement' and 'interaction' proved to be extremely vital in the course of initiating further structural transformations within the Proto Historic society and economy in Macro Zone II, leading to the process of 'settling-down' and total sedentarization as a prelude to the emergence of the state and civilization. Significantly, the parallel process of political formation also received an impetus due to this interaction by this move towards total sedentarization.
It is useful, therefore, to take up certain Dravidian
terms (available from the Sangam texts) which clearly had their
roots in a society essentially represented by nomadic and semi-
sedentarized communities in the remote past, but conveyed
qualitatively different meanings when applied by sedentarized
communities within a different techno-cultural context. In our
study, such terms are associated primarily with movement —
interaction — movement — place location; interaction — place
location. We have also observed that with the exception of four
terms, the rest have direct pastoral and ritual connotations
associated with their meaning (vide Table No. 9; Appendix — VI).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Interaction</th>
<th>Place Location</th>
<th>Pastoral</th>
<th>Ritual/Religious</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</table>
Perhaps the clearest expression about the original process of coming together — settling down and evolving a residential zone, subsequently identifiable with the territory, can be found mainly in the terms *kudi* and *nādu*.

It is significant that *kudi* may have its root in *kud* 'to be together', 'to take in, receive' > *kud* 'to come together' (Caldwell 1976:571, 581). In Chapter 2 we have discussed at length this process of coming together related to the household group (i.e. basic production — consumption unit) and the formation of the clan and tribe occupying a particular environmental zone (PPTI 285-86; BEB 1379; supra Chap. II).

The attribution of the term *kudi* to a larger geographical area beyond the limits of the clan locality, is still more significant. The territory of *Āy Antirān* was known as *Āy kudi* (Puram 132.8), which literally means the cowherd colony. *Āy kudi* of *Āy Antirān* was, however, not a mere colony of cowherds. It was his 'territory' and covered a large tract consisting of the Palani hills (ibid. 147:7). He is also credited as a great agriculturist (ibid.129.5), which implies, that even the primary occupation of his subjects was not necessarily based purely on a pastoral economy.

In the above context what is significant is the establishment of relatively larger geo-political units based on pre-existing nuclear units. The survival of *kudi* as family, clan, implies that a group of extended *kudis*, as a collective, also came to be known

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1. A poet in the Kuruntokai (63) is called Uhaikkudikilār. The *kudi* in this case was named after the tree *uhāi*, which is identified as *salvadora pasica* (Pillai et Ludden 1976:459).
Kudi

kud - 'to be together'; 'to take in, receive' (Caldwell 1976:571, 581)

kūd - 'to come together' (Caldwell 1976:571)

kutu/kuti - 'to come together', join, meet, assemble, combine, become, to be stored up, associate, cohabit, arrive at' (DED 1562).

kūttar - 'companions, members of the same clan or tribe' (ibid.).

kuḍi - 'family, gotra, kula (clan), subjects of a ūśing, dynasty'

- 'house, abode, home, family, lineage, town, tenants' (DED 1379)

kuḍil - 'a hut thatched with hay'

kuḍil/kuḍisei - 'a hut' (Caldwell 1976:571)

kuḍihar - 'a small temple' (gudi in Kannada is temple). (PPTI 286).

kwagam (Toda) - 'herd'; 'the buffaloes/herd of the clan' (Emeneau et Burrow 1962: No.110; Emeneau 1974:25)

kwīs (Toda) - 'shed for small calves' (DED 1379).
kug (Toda) - 'a room (in dairy or house)'

kuğ(q)i (Brahui) - 'hut, small house'

kudavvar - 'cowherds/shepherds'; 'westerners'

chēr
- 'to join'
- 'to become united, incorporated, joined together, become mixed, blended, be in close friendship or union, be in contact with, belong to'

chēra
- 'altogether, wholly, along with, in company with'

chēri
- 'suburb; lit. a cluster of houses'

chērppu
- 'place, residence, abode, sea shore'.

(ibid.)

(Caldwell 1976:550)

(DED 2312).

(DED 2312).

(PPTI 396).

(PPTI 284).
as the kūdi, the larger geo-political unit. Implicit in this development is the break-down of the internal autonomy of the smaller (socio-economic) unit of the clan and their integration to a larger political and economic unit, that of the territory, which also coincided with the new subsistence pattern i.e. the agrarian economy that began to evolve by the Early Historic period. This geo-political unit with its productive capacity of the natural and human resources, was the economic base of the ruling elite and political authority.

Interestingly, the coming together of several families in the process of sedentarization is reflected in another term found in the Sangam text. This term is cōri, which means 'a village' or literally 'a cluster of houses' (PPTI 396). It is suggested that the term cōri may have derived from cēr/cēra 'to join' (Caldwell 1976:550), 'altogether, wholly, along with, in company with' (DED 2312), a process that can be associated with household units and the clan.

In this context, the term nādu/nātu may prove to be a useful study indicating movement, settling down and the evolution of the 'territory'. In the Sangam context, the evolved meaning of nādu specifically implied country, territory and kingdom (PPTI 488-89). The etymology of nādu, however, indicates at least three groups of meanings. The first carries meanings such as 'district, province, country, kingdom, state'. The second group conveys 'rural tract, agricultural tract, cultivated, planted, opposite of nādu i.e.

1. The term ur generally conveys the meaning 'town and city' and also a pre-existing situation associated with the meaning 'village' and 'residential place' (PPTI 152-53; DED 643; TL I-ii 1924:496).
jungle tract’. The third has a group of meanings such as ‘situation, earth, land, world, open place’ (DED 3012). In fact a fourth can be suggested on the basis of the Toda term (nɔ-r (from the Dravidian nādu) which means the ‘sacred place, dairy complex’ (DED 3012), probably indicating a very authentic situation in antiquity associated with the pastoral nomadic household economy and ritual complex.

It may be suggested that nādu may have been derived from the root nadj/nada ‘to walk, go, pass, proceed, happen’ (DED 2957 or nādu ‘to walk, to enter’ or ‘probably to plant (the foot)’ (Caldwell 1976:587; DED 2957). These root words are extremely important in the light of community movement — in the process of settling down consequently leading to the evolution of the territory. In fact the very association of the adjectives perunkal and malai with the hill chieftain i.e. nātan and also the association of Proto Historic sites in peripheral hilly entry-points may give credence to the above assumption. The process of settling down represented by the meaning ‘to plant the foot’ i.e. nādu has an interesting parallelism in the Indo-Aryan jana+pada ‘foothold of the folk/clan’. The very fact that there are nādu units mentioned in the Sangam texts in association with the physiography, the resident community and economy i.e. the ecological context, gives further weight to our argument about the origins of nādu before the emergence of a full fledged agrarian economy in Macro Zone II. For instance, we come across regions

such as Erumainādu i.e. the land of buffaloes, which had a dominantly pastoral economy. We also hear of the physiographic representation in pūli nādu (land of sands), kuddam nādu (land of lakes), karkā nādu (land of rocks), malai nādu (hill-country), punal nādu (land of waters), etc. There are instances when a particular region is identified after the resident community. For instance Vēnādu (land of Vēli), Gyna nādu, Koṅkar nādu.

It appears that the nādu developed as a larger habitation zone when greater sedentarization and an agrarian economy gradually developed in the nuclear areas. The literary evidence may help to understand the structure of the nādu which evolved during the Early Historic period.

The geo-political area known as Parambunādu, which was the 'territory' of Vēl Pāri, is described as a region having fertile agricultural tracts, reservoirs, hill tracts and forest products (Puram 105, 117-118). Thus, the 'territory' of Pāri is called a nādu and it covered different physiographic zones i.e. fertile plains and hilly forest tracts. The reference to irrigated agriculture and forest products (i.e. 'those not produced by the ploughman' vide Puram 109.3-8) indicates the co-existence of different production techniques within the nādu. A second example may be quoted in relation to the former Travancore area. The Sangam texts mention a particular region named Naḻilnādu, which was under the control of a section of the Vēli known as the Ay (Puram 137-140). Earlier on, we had indicated the strong pastoral tradition associated with the Ay groups in a pre-existing situation. Naḻilnādu, literally means 'plough-land' and notices on the
accumulation of surplus rice in the hands of Ay chieftains (Aham 152.20), clearly shows that in addition to pastoral wealth, these 'territories' possessed agricultural production and thus the existence of different production techniques. In another sense this co-existence also implies, the integration under the leadership of a chieftain, various resident groups specializing in different production processes within a particular territorial entity.

Another important aspect emerging from the above is the integration of smaller settlement zones of various residential groups, more specifically of the clan, within its geo-physical region. For instance a 2nd Century B.C. Tamil Brahmi inscription from Cittanavasal (District Pudukottai) mentions 'erumainatu kumulur piranta kavutti iten...' (Mahadevan 1966; No. 27). This means Kavuṭi Iten from/born at Kumulur in Erumainadu. In the same manner, the texts refer to three hundred villages that comprised Parambunadu of Pāri (Puram 109-110). This clearly means that the chieftains were capable of integrating resident groups housed within the kudi, ur and ēri and the geo-physical area along with its natural resources. It is such a geo-physical area capable of constantly sustaining the resident community and providing its chieftain with resources that came to be called a 'worthy' nādu (vide Singaravelu 1966:171-173).

Thus, by the beginning of the Early Historic period, the nādu came to represent the chieftaincies that had a wider meaning than the clan or physiographic or economic unit. It had by this period evolved into a physically larger area that had integrated different physiographic regions — economic — settlement units. It is
precisely this basis provided by the nadu chieftaincies that rendered the territorial infra-structure for the greater political entities represented by the mandalam or the state to evolve. The nadu thus became an integral component of the state denoting a specific meaning as a populated-agricultural region juxtaposed to the peripheral hilly (malai) and jungle (kāgu) tracts. For instance, the Čēraland is described as a geo-political area covering the malai, kāgu and nadu (Puram 17). On another occasion, the texts specifically mention that Karikāla Cōla cleared jungle tracts to create nadu units (Puram 283). It is interesting to note that the nadu in this contexts stands parallel to the janapada. Thus by the Early Historic period the nadu had its final evolution establishing its character as an agrarian eco-zone (vide Subbarayalu 1973:32).

Nādu

nad/nada
- 'to walk' (Caldwell 1976:587)
- 'to walk, go, pass, proceed, happen' (DED 2957)

nādu
- 'to enter, to walk, probably to plant the foot' (Caldwell 1976:587)
- 'to plant' (ibid.)

nāgu
- 'the cultivated country' (ibid.)
- 'cultivated, planted (opposite of kāgu), rural tract, agricultural tract, cultivated, planted; district, province, country, kingdom, state; situation, earth, land, world, open place (DED 3012)
- 'country, territory, kingdom' (PPTI 488-89)

no-X (Toda) 'sacred place, dairy, which is a god' (DED) 3012

nētān
- inhabitant, countryman, ruler, lord of a country (DED) 3012
- 'country gentleman' (PPTI 488).

1. Traditions in the Cuddappa and Kurnool Districts (ancient Rēnēdu) have it that Karikāla Cōla invaded this region and had the forests in the southern slopes of Karigiri cleared to establish a main village called Pettāpi. Subsequently he established other
The discussion so far indicates the internal dynamic giving impetus to relatively more advanced political formation leading to the emergence of the state in Macro Zone II, which seems to be a phenomenon of the post 2nd/1st Century B.C. period. It is also interesting to identify the possible influence wielded by the external dynamic upon the process of state formation through the metropolitan state and long-distance trade.

In a recent study, Narayanan (1977:83-98) has been able to establish that the political impact of the Magadha state (of the Nandas and the Mauryas) over the far south is far greater than hitherto known. In many ways Narayanan substantiates our suggestion regarding the 'chain of command' established by the metropolitan state in view of securing territorial hegemony extending in a horizontal direction. In his study Narayanan discusses the same in relation to the Nandas, the Mauryas, chieftain Nannan and the Kočar/Kōsār.

In view of Narayanan's argument, Chieftain Nannan described so vividly in the Sangam texts, was probably an ally of the Nandas (he, in fact, sees an interesting similarity between the names Nanda and Nannan) who was apparently forced to move further south in the wake of the Maurya invasion of the southern Deccan when they ousted the Nandas from power. The Sangam texts clearly record the

Cont'd ... f.n. from p.316 villages around Pottāpi and called this conglomeration Pottāpinādu (Srinivas Iyengar 1929:347).

2. For instance see Chapter 3, recording the occurrence of malai or perukkal as a prefix to nātan. This indicates the original association of this term with communities dwelling in the peripheral hills.
territory of Nannan within the limits of Tamilaham, he is curiously called Konkāna Nannan (Nax 391). This may well indicate his place of origin as the Konkāna region, which approximately covers the south-west sector of the Deccan. The texts also mention that the Koṣar tribe were allies of the Maurya and they carried out territorial annexation for the latter in the far south.

The Sangam texts do indicate that Nannan and the chief of Nokur posed a strong line of defence against the Koṣar-Vampe Maurya advance, perhaps south of Mahiṣamaṇḍala/Erurmaināḍu (There were however instances when the Koṣar did break through this and strike with destructive force (Kurun. 73). In fact Narayanan points out that Elimalai of Nannan (identifiable with Talaiparėmba in Kerala) is on the same longitude as Nokur and are separated by about one hundred miles (1977:90).

According to Narayanan, the Koṣar-Maurya intrusions were made under Bindusāra. Though Asoka mentions his southern neighbours in friendly terms and speaks of dhamma-vijaya, we are unaware of his foreign policy in the far south before the Kalinga war (which is considered as a turning point) at least in terms of political expansion. The attitude of Asoka towards his rivals during the pre-Kalinga war may not have changed dramatically in the post-Kalinga war period. It is significant that Asoka does not record in his edicts the existence of the Vēlīr as a group of

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2. It is not known whether the Koṣar acquired their name through the Indo-Aryan terms go-cara(na), which has a strong nomadic-pastoral connotation, not new to the Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Erurmaināḍu) region. It is recorded that on one occasion, they punished Chieftain Anni for sending his cattle into Koṣar pastures (Ahav 196:12).

3. The texts describe the territory of Nannan which has high mountains (Ahav 173) and also mention his control over gold (Kurun 292)

1. It is mentioned that beyond Elimalai of Nannan, the people of the north (Vadukar) spoke an alien tongue (Ahav 349).
of any individual Vēḷ chieftains. One is not completely sure of the suggestion that the Adigamān/Satiyaputa may be of Vēḷir origin. On the contrary, there is more positive evidence to establish the Vēḷir origins of Nannan. Interestingly, Venmā attributed to Nannan in the Sangam texts (Aham 97.13), is another term used to identify the Vēḷir. In another context, the texts describe how ton mudir Vēḷir (ancient Vēḷir) hoarded their gold at Pāli (Aham 372.3). Pāli is known to be a part of mount Ellimalai (Aham 152.13) and this quite clearly confirms that this range was held by the Vēḷir for a length of time. It appears that a descendant of Nannan continued to hold sway over Pāli as we come across a Vēḷ Nannan Udiyan (Aham 258.1).¹ The Vēḷir may have forged an alliance on the basis of lineage connections in support of Nannan against the Kōśār-Maurya alliance.² In addition to Nannan, another Vēḷir chieftain named Tittiyan of the Pediylil hill (the one located in northern Tamilaham) also attacked the Kōśār in one instance (Aham 196.11; 262.10). In view of the above, Asoka may have had good reason to forge links with non-Vēḷir groups in the far south, which may account for the omission of the name(s) of powerful Vēḷir from the inscriptions.

It is interesting to note that at least three of the southern communities viz. Satiyaputa, Cēra, Pāndya, mentioned in the Asokan edicts had direct or indirect political, cultural or economic ties

¹ The term Udiyan was a clan name of one of the Cēra groups. It is not altogether impossible that this particular individual may represent a descendant from a Vēḷir-Udiyan matrimonial alliance, though the Cēras in general were hostile to Nannan and his descendants.

² For instance, on one occasion, five Vēḷir chieftains formed an alliance against Neqūnjeliyan (PPTI 167, 417, 431). In another instance, fourteen Vēḷir chieftains banded themselves together to attack Kāmūr of Chieftain Kaluvul (Aham 135.13; 365.12).
with the Mauryas or with the Gangetic valley. Due to a lack of evidence, it is difficult to generalize on the Cōla–Maurya relations.

In order of geographical sequence we may first take up the Satiyaputa/Adiyamāṇ. In this connection the Jambai inscription of the Adiyamāṇ throws valuable light on their interaction with an alien political cultural stream. It is quite evident that, on the basis of palaeographical evidence, the Jambai inscription belongs to the pre-Christian period. The very fact that they call themselves Satiyaputa in their own inscription is clear evidence that the Adiyamāṇ took pride in maintaining their identity as known to the Asokan edicts, which is a sign of cordiality that existed between them and perhaps a hint of some degree of subordination on the part of the Adiyamāṇ. The acceptance of this term, the use of the Brahmi script and also the patronage extended to the Jain priests indicates the degree of accepting the north Indian ideologies and acculturation. It is not impossible that such a situation may have developed because the Satiyaputa/Adiyamāṇ were under the shadow of the Mauryas.

The interaction between Ketalaputa/Gēramāṇ and the Maurya was probably a natural sequel to the economic ties that linked Kerala

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1. The Jambai area and its vicinity had resident communities from the Proto Historic period. While at Jambai (Jambodai) itself there is an extensive dolmen site, two other important megalithic sites viz. Devanur and Kollur are situated in the vicinity (Sewell 1882:210).

2. It is believed that Jain monks intruded to the south via Karnataka. Considering the early occurrence of Brahmi inscriptions in the extreme south (in the Pāṇḍya country) datable to the 3rd/2nd Century B.C., it is possible to suggest that the Jain monks may have arrived in the northern fringes perhaps during the pre-Asokan period. Since such as Villupuram, Ellanamur and Tirunarukulan, which are situated near Jambai, have ancient Jain temples (Sewell 1882:209-210).
exchange centres to the north from the pre-Maurya times.

It is suggested that a fair amount of the Punch-marked coins found from Eyyal and Kottayam belong to what has been categorized as the pre-Maurya variety (Unnithan 1963:28; Gupta 1966:8). The physical presence of the Maurya state may have cemented this interaction in a more positive manner. In this connection, two titles taken up by the Cēra may shed light on this relationship.

It is suggested that the two title terms, Vānavarampan and Imayavarampan, can give two different meanings, depending on the manner of splitting the phrase (PPTI 760; Narayanan 1977:94, Note 30).

1. Vanam + varampan = vanavarāmpan 'he whose greatness has the very heavens as its limit'.

Vānavar + ampan = vanavarāmpan 'the beloved of the gods'

i.e. Devānampiya.

2. Imayam + varampan = imayavarampan 'the limit of his fame and greatness was the Imayam i.e. Himalaya.'

Imayavar + ampan = imayavarampan 'the beloved of the gods'

Narayanan favours the second interpretation, or the 'beloved of the gods' i.e. devānapriya, and for several other reasons we tend to agree with him. The title meaning, 'beloved of the gods' of devānapriya recorded in the Adokan edicts, was used in one other region in the form of devanapiya. This was taken up by one chieftain in Sri Lanka (and his successors) who is credited in the

1. It is suggested that the Adigamān also have a tradition of associating the Amarar (Devas) with them. They are supposed to have introduced the art of growing sugar cane from the land of the Amarar. On another occasion, the Amarar had camped near the capital of Adigamān and granted boons to him (PPTI 32). It is not known whether this is a reference to the 'beloved of the gods'.
chronicles with having diplomatic ties with Asoka (intra pp.406-7). Tambapanni is another region noted in Asokan edicts as a domain beyond his kingdom. It is, therefore, not surprising that Cēra chieftains who forged closer links with the Mauryas, may have taken up this epithet or title as a mark of respect and also as a symbol of differentiating themselves (from other chieftain) such as those who had the backing of the Mauryan state. It may be inferred that the Cēras also patronized the Jains as we come across an early Christian inscription from Pukalur which mentions three generations of Cēra rulers (Mahadevan 1966; Nos. 56-57). However, it is not known whether the Cēra contemporaries of Asoka did or did not actually patronize the north Indian ideologies.

The taking of the epithet ‘beloved of the gods’ by the Cēra may not have been devoid of political significance. Narayanan is perhaps not incorrect in suggesting that the Maurya-Cēra political ties were motivated by the attempt to bring pressure to bear on Nannan (and his allies). It is interesting that Nannan was ultimately defeated by Nārpuḍi Cēral (Aham 199.20; 208.14). On another occasion, at Fēi, Nannan’s ally chieftain Miśili defeated and killed Āy Eyinan (also known as Adiyam). Āy Eyinan held sway over Punnēdu, which was situated in the northern fringes


2. Arhattar, the archaeological site at Pukalur, has a cavern with rock beds. In another cave (having 2nd Century B.C. inscriptions) are remains of a Jain temple (Damilica 1970:235).
of Kerala. Ay Eynan may have been an ally of the Cēra (Aham 208.5; 396.4). It may be suggested that while on the one hand the rivalry between the Cēra and the chieftains of Elimalai continued even after Asōka, on the other hand, the alliance between the traditional rivals of Nannan i.e. the Cēra and Kōsār (which was probably forged by the Mauryas) also persisted during the post-Maurya period. In this context, it is not surprising to find that on one occasion Nannan obtained help from the Cōla, the traditional rivals of the Cēra. It is recorded that (Cōla) Ilamperum Cenni (same as Ilanjēṭ Cenni in Puram 370, 378) attacked the Kōsār at Pāli and that Nannan regained his lost possessions (Aham 375).

The third group, the Pāṇḍyas, are also mentioned in the Asōkan edicts. It is, however, apparent that they were associated with an exchange mechanism linking coastal (east) India with Sri Lanka and the Gangetic valley. It may be suggested that the Indica (through Arrian) and the Arthasāstra that the Pāṇḍyas and their resources were known to the north during the 3rd Century B.C. It is interesting to note that the earliest issues of the 'Pāṇḍya' Punch-marked coins with the 'fish' symbol carry many symbols categorized as pre-Maurya and Maurya ones found in the northern

1. By the early Christian era, the Periplus informs us that Tyndis (Tonḍi) was controlled by the Cerobothra (Schoff 1912/1974:44).

2. It is suggested that Pittan Korran, the chieftain of the Kudiramalai was a Kōsār and an ally of the Cēra (PPTI 563; Aham 77.16; 143.12; Puram 168.14). Two inscriptions from Pugalur mention two individuals called Korran and Pittan and Mahadevan mistakenly identifies them as Pittan Korran of the texts (1966: Nos. 58-59; 1970:13). The texts speak of only one individual and not two.
Punch-marked coins (infra pp. 480-3). There is reason to believe that the Maurya-Pāṇḍya connections have been more cultural and economic, rather than political. The location of the earliest group of Tamil Brahmi inscriptions around Maudrai (the traditional centre of the Pāṇḍya) and the high concentration in numbers of such inscriptions, indicates the antiquity as well as the intensity of the northern influence and the degree of acculturation found in the nuclear areas. It is not altogether impossible that Mahinda's mission to Tambapanni (described in the Mahāvamsa) may have also included the Pāṇḍya dēśa (by the Third Council). This group of missionaries may have reached Tambapanni via Pāṇḍya country.

The foregoing arguments indicate that the presence of the Metropolitan state in the Southern Deccan had some influence on the clan-based petty political entities (that occupied inchoate territories) in south India and consequently triggered-off a series of political confrontations aimed at greater political hegemony over communities and settlements, geo-physical areas, resource areas, exchange centres and strategic areas. Secondly, those groups who had some form of contact with the Metropolitan state gradually emerged as the dominant political groups at the top of the political pyramid. It was these groups that evolved their political structures beyond the confines of clan-based ones. It is interesting that, in the case of at least three groups of south

1. Intrusions made by the Kosār-Maurya forces into the south, may have for the first time introduced new military technology to this region. The Sangam texts clearly mention the use of fast moving chariots and the construction of good roads for quick mobility through the hills (Aham 251) and the elephant forces of Kosār at Pāli (Aham 375). The texts also speak of northern Āryas (vada Ariyan) as elephant tamers (Aham 276.9). It is
Indian communities mentioned in the edicts, they were located primarily in nuclear areas with the maximum potential for development. It is quite evident that the surplus production in agriculture and the rapid development of craft and commercial centres in these nuclear areas provided a strong material basis for the Gāra-Gōla-Pāṇḍya to be credited in the texts as the Muvendar i.e. three crowned kings (Puram 110; 111). Significantly, the Satiyaputa or the Adiyāmā are not included within the Muvendar. The northern fringes of Tamilaham consistently remained as peripheral-retreat-refugee areas and the political elite in such areas constantly played a secondary role in history to powers that emerged in the Kaveri valley or the southern Decwan (vide Sastri 1975:326, 393, 405-406).

A marked feature during the post 3rd Century B.C. period is a move towards integrating communities and territorial zones, which in the process evolved the necessary bureaucratic and military apparatus to extend control over labour, production and distribution. This can also be called a transitory period where the pre-existing social relationships, economic systems and political structures were being uprooted at least in the nuclear areas for the establishment of new production relations.

The structural formation of more complex and territorially larger political entities, was in reality an internal and external integration of dispersed residential communities and ecological zones. In short, the new order sought to establish relatively stable foundations to the political structure that had begun to

Cont'd ... f.n. from p.344 evident that the political elite of Tamilaham found the new military technique very useful for their constant internal warfare during the Early Historic period.
evolve beyond clan-based socio-political entities, which is reflected in the development of ḫuṇḍi and nāṭu as larger territorial units.

As for the internal integration, this represents a 'unification' of several groupings under the hegemony of one group. In other words, an integration of the political elite located within micro regions to the most powerful or largest group occupying a broader geo-physical zone. It is possible that in certain instances, the very process of 'coming-together' of several groupings may have given them a common term. The case of the Čēra may hint at such a formation.

For instance, the Irumporai branch of the Čēra, may indicate their origins in the peripheral regions. Irumporai seems to be the combination of irumpu + porai. The etymology of porai is hill/mountain (DED 3729), which may point to the original habitat of this group. Similarly we also hear of a chieftain named Poraiyan, the lord of Kolli hill (Kuran 89.4). He is also identified as a scion of the Čēramūn (PPTI 616-617), and the lord of the port town called Tondi. 1 It is quite likely that Poraiyan derives from porai 'hill/mountain'. 2 Several Čēra chieftains had the title Poraiyan (PPTI 617). In fact at one stage, Kolli was

1. It is interesting to question whether the term irumpu, which means 'iron/iron implements' (PPTI 112) had some bearing upon the metal resources controlled by the Čēra or specifically by the Irumporai group. Apparently they controlled the port town of Tondi and the fact that Sere people who dealt in iron and steel have been identified with the Čēra (Schoff 1915) may give weight to the above assumption of associating irumpu or iron, with this particular clan group.

2. It is also suggested that Poraiyan can derive from poru, 'to bear, sustain, endure' > poraiyan 'sustainer' (DED 3729).
controlled by a Chieftain Ori who was killed by Malayamāṇa
Tirumudikāri (Puran 121-126) and transferred the hill to the
Cēra (Aham 35,15). In this context the following may be noted:
Malayamāṇa implies 'hill-chieftain'; Malayamāṇa/Malaiyan was
taken up by the Cēra as a little (Srinivas Iyengar 1929:508;
PPTI 655); the gesture made by Kāri in transferring it to the
Cēra, probably indicates that Kāri's lineage group may have been
somehow connected to the Cēra. Similarly, we also come across
texts that refer to the Udiyan, which was another term used by
the Cēra (PPTI 132), though it essentially conveys a tribal name
(Dorai Rangaswami 1968:115). It is interesting that we come
across an individual by the name Vēḷ Nannan Udiyan, who was chief
of mount Fāli (Aham 258,1). It is not unlikely that some
descendant of Nannan of Eimalai (a Vēḷir) may have had
matrimonial alliance with the Udiyan group. All this evidence
may go to prove that a kula-sangha system of government, where
the affiliation of a group of clans or lineage groups for the
purpose of sharing power may have given the identity of the term
Cēra to this collective group.¹

There is also the possibility that, the lineage group having
the tiger (totem?) emblem in the lower Kaveri valley, may have
integrated other groups under the name Cēla.² An interesting

¹ Cēra 'to join', to become united, incorporated, joined together,
become mixed, blended, to be in close friendship or union, be
in contact with, belong to' (Caldwell 1976:550; DED 2312) >
Cēra 'altogether, wholly, along with, in company with' (ibid.)

² We have already indicated that the term Cēla may derive from
the root ēla (from a vowel alteration) 'to whirl/to hover'
Cēla 'hoverer' (Sastri 1975: 25 Note 7).
question is whether names such as Killi, Valavan, Campiyam indicated names of groups in the remote past. Though it is suggested that Campiyam means Sibi, viz. the mythical ancestry of the Cōḷas (Sastry 1975:19-20), Campiyam may have derived from ceppu or cemπu/kemπu i.e. copper. As we shall see below, copper formed an important exchange commodity in the east coast trade and several groups along the coastline may have been involved in this trade. Taken in this context, the reference to Karikāla's ancestors as those who ruled the winds and waves (Puyam 66) may not be mythical after all. In any event, the Sangam texts record the intense friction amongst Cōḷa clan groups (Cōḷa kudi) which was a consequence of achieving political hegemony over the entire spectrum of primary and secondary lineage groups.

In the case of the Pāṇḍyas, there is little evidence to indicate that they were involved in a process of internal integration. Apparently, by the 2nd Century B.C. they had already evolved the concept of the single leader who was recognized as the carrier of the 'fish' (mīn) symbol, identifying leadership over the resident community occupying a particular geo-physical area. The early Tamil Brahmi inscriptions may be of some assistance to substantiate our view. Two early inscriptions from Mankulam (District Madurai)

1. It is suggested that Killi probably derives from Kil 'dig' 'digger' and Valvan from Valam 'fertility' (ibid. 19). It is not known whether these terms indicated certain groups involved in particular forms of agricultural society.

2. The identification of groups or individuals after a particular resource they controlled is known in all three Macro Zones during the period under-study e.g. Hiranyakas in Macro Zone I (hiranyak - 'gold'), Tabara Vala, Taba Tissa in Macro Zone III (taba/tamba - 'copper').
assignable to the 2nd/1st Century B.C. (Archaic, according to Mahadevan's categorization), mention Neçuțjeîyan, probably the father of the Madurãkaći hero. One of these inscriptions also mention an individual by the name Kâ'alian Valudi, who is described as a subordinate of Neçuțjeîyan (Mahadevan 1966: Nos. 1-2). It appears that the Pândya political elite (even rulers) took up Valudi as a title (PPTT 548-549, 743). Thus, Kâ'alian may have been a scion of the Pândya family serving under Neçuțjeîyan.1 This may indicate that the internal integration of the Pândyas had already been completed by the 3rd/2nd Century B.C. and a semblance of an hierarchical political order was in operation during this period. Further to this, the southern variety of the Punch-marked coins bearing the Pândyan ensign of the min symbol, (primarily found in the Vaigaî-Tambapanni valleys) carry certain other symbols that are commonly found on the Maurya and pre-Maurya variety of northern Punch-marked coins and may assign these issues with a pre-Christian date (infra p.480). This also points to some degree of political hegemony established by the Pândyas over the valleys of Vaigaî and Tambapanni by the 2nd/1st Century B.C.

In any event, external integration was an important factor related to the process of state formation and the hierarchization of the political elite in the nuclear areas. Clearly the Early Historic period was crucial in this connection because it witnessed

1. The Sangam texts mention a chief by the name Kâ'alian, who held sway over Vilângil (Aham 81.13; 53.4).
the ultimate emergence of the power groups that were to
dominante the most important geo-political entities in the
Macro Zone II, during the Centuries to come. Whatever the nature
of their connection with the metropolitan state did not imply
that by the 3rd Century B.C. political consolidation and
territorial integration has been completed by the Cōra, Cōla and
the Pāṇḍya. It took at least another two centuries or more for
those three groups to eliminate opposition and stabilize hegemonic
power over their respective geo-political zones.

Among the contending groups who challenged the expanding
hegemony of the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Cōra, were the Vēlir chieftains
or the traditional political elite who controlled certain
territorial entities with clan-based societies. In the post
4th/3rd Century B.C. period, the changes in terms of the expression
and the spatial distribution of the demographic pattern increased
land use for intensive agricultural production, and the vital
necessity to control fertile tracts and mineral rich areas gave
vent to two contradictory situations facing the Vēlir. On the one
hand, the above material transformations unleashed intense
competition for land, for its fertility and mineral resources rather
than as pastures. On the other hand, the chieftainships of the
Vēlir, which were essentially clan-based territorial-units,
functionally and structurally were inadequate to meet the new demands
of a rapidly transforming material base during the Early Historic
period. Thus, the historic task of evolving state-systems capable
of integrating communities and resources under different relations
fell upon the Cōla, Cōra and Pāṇḍyas.
The position of the Velir vis a vis the Cēra-Cōla-Pāṇḍya is reflected in terms attributed to these two groups giving an earlier antiquity to the Velir vis a vis the Cēra-Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Thus, the former are called the 'ancient ones/families' (Aham 372.3-4; Puran 106; 289.5; Nar 280.8) and the latter, vampa i.e. upstarts/newcomers/strangers/aliens (for details vide Kailasapathy 1968:251-2). However, when the Cēra-Cōla-Pāṇḍya had secured for themselves a power base in the nuclear areas, they were considered at par with the Velir. It is pointed out that on four occasions (in the Padippurattu) the Velir and the Vēntar (crowned kings) are mentioned alongside viz. Vēntarum Velirum (Dorai Rangaswamy 1968:143).

In this context we may note that the Cēra-Cōla-Pāṇḍya are called the 'three crowned kings' i.e. Mūvēntar. Vēntar is a 'crowned king'. It is worth noting that political leadership and the authority over the community-territory-resources in clan-based societies was a power vested by tradition and not one 'sanctioned' by a superior authority. One may note that, with the exception of the Satiyaputa or the Adigamēn, the three other groups identified as Vēntar, are also mentioned in the Asokan edicts. It is interesting to question, in addition to taking up titles such as Vanavarampan or Imayavarampan i.e. 'beloved of the gods', whether the Vēntar derived their status as 'crowned kings' by following a system of abhisēka in the lines of the north Indian system probably introduced to them by the Mauryas, which clearly differentiated them from the rest of the chieftains who derived authority purely by tradition. The system of taking up the title
name Devānampiya and the method of north Indian abhiṣeka from the Mauryas is clearly associated with a chieftain in northern Sri Lanka. Thus, on the one hand, despite having a lower antiquity than the Vēḷir, the Vēṇṭar came to occupy a place at par with the former e.g. Vēṇṭarum Vēḷirum (vide Borai Rangaswamy 1968:143), probably due to the 'sanction' obtained from the Mauryas. On the other hand, the mere title Vēṇṭar did not necessarily imply the establishment of an evolved state and a hierarchized political order. The 'sanction' which gave political status to the Mūvēṇṭar, was only a symbolic representation of power whereas actual political consolidation and real authority evolved only within the next two to three Centuries.

Another important need to destabilize the existing chieftaincies by the Mūvēṇṭar was to deprive the former from having control over their economic and material base in Macro Zone II. Table No.8,1 indicates that the Vēḷir in particular had control over pastoral wealth, access to areas of mineral resources, fertile agricultural tracts with high potential and even coastal exchange centres. It was, therefore, imperative, from the point of view of the Vēṇṭar that they gain control over such lucrative economic resources, which would in turn deprive the Vēḷir of their material base and consequently undermine their political base as well.

The process of subordinating the Vēḷir (and the other chieftains) took three forms. First, the Mūvēṇṭar directly subjugated the Vēḷir or acquired the territories of some of the Vēḷir, thereby annexing their land and the resident communities to an increasingly larger territorial unit of the Vēṇṭar. Perhaps
the best example reflecting such an instance is the concerted effort made by the ṍuṇṭant to eliminate Ṛé Pērī. They laid siege to the hill fortress of Pērī at Parambunādu, which finally capitulated after the death of Pērī who offered years of stubborn resistance (Puram 110, 158; Aham 77.15-24). It is useful to note that Parambunādu was strategically located in proximity to all three territories of the Ṛuṇṭantar, thereby controlling vital communication lines that traversed this region to reach the four cardinal directions.

The second method of integration applied by the Ṛuṇṭantar was the effort made to take brides from the Vēḷir families. The Vēḷir, who are identified as the 'ancient clans' (muḍu kudi) in the texts, were considered as one of the primary elite groups in the late Proto and the Early Historic society. Their traditional authority over the resident community based on lineage connections formed an important element in the pre-state political structure. Thus, the social belief that these ancient families or lineage groups had the right to authority was an important source of legitimization which the Ṛuṇṭantar wished to acquire. This acquisition was most effective by establishing kinship ties with the ancient lineage groups. It may be suggested that the system of transmitting property and power through women necessitated that the Ṛuṇṭantar take brides from the land-owning Vēḷir, if they wished to obtain social sanction and thereby derive political authority vested in the lineage chief.¹

¹ "It is significant to note that the daughters of the land-owning Vēḷir clan, were much sought after in marriage by the ruling chieftains... and also that the term ṛṭyaṃ denoting 'succession
The Sangam texts (Puram 336, 345, 349; Tol. Purat 79) suggest that more often the Velir resented the Ventar seeking brides from their stock as they considered the latter as upstarts and outsiders i.e. vampa (vide Kailasapathy 1968:252). These ancient clans who apparently practiced cross-cousin marriage, which preserved lineage purity as well as an inward transmission of wealth, naturally resented outsiders who acquired status relatively late, breaking into their lineage group. This resentment, however, proved to be disastrous to the Velir as the Ventar did not hesitate to take brides by force in face of opposition and cause total ruination to such families, as was the case of Vel Pari. Kailasapathy aptly remarks that '... the proud ones valued lineage more than life; and they paid for it with their lives' (1968:252).

In certain instances the Ventar succeeded in obtaining brides from the Velir. The commentators were perhaps recording factual events on the marriage between Mallini (the daughter of Ve"liyan Venman) and Imayavarampan Nadunjeral Adan and the marriage between Selvakkudungo and Devi, the daughter of Velavikoman Paduman (FPTI 462, 507, 529). The Cola, as much as the Cera, had matrimonial alliances with the Velir. It is suggested that Porvaikkoperunarkili was the son of Vel Tittan of Urantai (Durai Rangaswami 1968:

Cont'd ... f.n. from p. 353 right' would seem to have derived from the root, teyy (i.e. mother), thereby perhaps implying that the right of succession and inheritance, which is often said to have been inherited by the children of the chieftains through the so-called 'mother-right' in the sense that succession and inheritance went hand in hand ... (Singaravelu 1966:199 note 30). It is also possible that this term may have derived from the Sanskrit word dāyas, from the root dā 'to give' (Pers. Com. K. Meenakshi).

1. In fact Kailasapathy points out the significance of the terms tamar i.e. 'one's own people, relatives, kindred, friends, and pitar i.e. 'outsider, strangers (1968:252 Note 3; Ded 2582, 3554).
The entire name of this powerful Vēlīr chieftain was Vēra Viśiyan Vēmbān Titṭan and Champakalakshmi (1975-76:122) suggests their control over the port of Vērai (Pondicherry/Arikamedu), which indicates a relatively extensive territory controlled by them. If this conjecture is valid, the Cōla-Vēlīr connection may have given Cōla the authority over Vērai as well as Urañtai. The latter subsequently did become the inland capital of the Cōla indicating perhaps the long-term political significance of this centre (Paṭṭinap 285; Śīruṇā 83). The Cōlas also concluded marriage alliance with other rich Vēlīr families in the Kaverī valley. For instance, Karikāla is said to have taken brides from the Vēlīr families controlling Alumundīr and Mānigūr (PPTI 64, 224). In this connection it is significant that there is no direct or indirect reference indicating Pāñḍya-Vēlīr matrimonial connections.

The third method was to integrate the Vēlīr by recruiting them to serve under the Māvēnṭar. It is recorded that Alumbil Vēl served under Cēra Senguttuvan (Sīlap xxx.177). In another context, it is recorded that one Mānavirāl Vēl held sway over Alumbil (Maṭuraik 344-45). Alumbil was probably situated in the Khambam valley or the upper reaches of the Vaigai (see Table No. 8). It is likely that Mānavirāl Vēl and Alumbil Vēl were the same. The contiguity of their region or territory to Cēra and Pāñḍya lands may have prompted them to serve either of these kings who was more powerful at a given time, so as to avert political destruction.

It appears that by the Early Historic period, while the Vēlīr stood at par with the Māvēnṭar socially, they were at a level below the latter politically. Apparently, subjugating the Vēlīr was not
a simple task either. In any event, it is unlikely that all Vēlir groups in Macro Zone II were subordinated by the Mūvēntar. On several occasions, the Vēlir themselves formed alliance with one Vēntar against another. For instance, five powerful Vēlir (Tittan, Elini, Erumaiyir, Irunkōvēl and Poruman) formed an alliance with the Cōla and the Cēra against Pāṇḍya Neāñjaliyan (Aham 36.13-22). On another occasion, Irunkōvēl confronted Karikāla Cōla (Pattinap 282). It is also interesting to note that in the very regions (Vaigai-Tambapanni) where the Pāṇḍyas may have eliminated the political authority of the Vēlir at a relatively early date, early Brahmi inscriptions record the existence of Vēlir who had the economic capacity to make endowments to the monks. While the inscriptions from Karukaltalai (District Tirunelveli) mentions one Vēl (written as Vēm in the inscription) Kasipēn, the one at Tirupparankunram (District Maudrai) carries the name Ay Cayan (Mahadevan 1966: Nos. 29, 51). Another early Brahmi inscription from Mettipatti mentioned a Vēl kuvirā (ibid. No. 25). Similarly, we also hear about the port town of Vērai which was originally under the control of the Vēlir (Aham 206.13) prior to its probable subjugation by the Cōla. The Vēlir members apparently prospered at this rich port-site even in the post-Christian era. One graffiti inscribed potsherd from Arikamedu mentions an individual called Ātiraiyan, who calls himself a descendant of the lineage (gotraja) of Cētan Āvi (Mahadevan 1973: 61; Wheeler 1946: 112-13). The fact that Ātiraiyan proudly records his lineage affiliation with the Āvi or Āy (a segment of the Vēlir) clearly points to the prestigious position such groups held in society. A second inscription mentions a Yadu (Yadu >

In this study, we have pointed out to the Yadava-Velir connection, which has a remote antiquity.

It is interesting to note that some of the methods applied by the Nuventar on the Velir, on the one hand gave direction to a process by which the non-Velir chieftains, their communities and regions (in Macro Zone II) were also integrated under the hegemony of the Nuventar. On the other, it also coincided with the formation of the ruling class and its internal hierarchization.

This may be best illustrated by taking up communities and regions subjugated by the Nuventar. It is recorded that in addition to the Coila, Cera and the five Velir chieftains who were defeated at Anangavanam (Aham 36.13-22), Pandyaya Nadunjiyan confronted other Velir and non-Velir chieftains and groups and also subjugated other territories when he invaded Nattanadu situated in Ceraland (Maduraik 105). He also attacked and looted the port town of Muciri (Aham 47, 149) which was done with a view to plunder and gain access to the western seaboard. The very fact that Nadunjiyan's power prevailed over the Velir territory of Alumbil (Maduraik 344-45) indicates a natural thrust to the west into the Ceraland. After the battle of Anangavanam, Velir Yuvvi the lord of Nottur ceded the rich land of Milalai and Nattur to Nadunjiyan (Pyram 24.18-23). These were obviously coastal areas with proximity to the pearl-yielding eastern seaboard. He further strengthened his hegemony over the eastern seaboard by subjugating Muduvelilai (Maduraik 119), a port-town (Saliur?) named after its famous paddy (ibid. 87-88) and by bringing the southern Paratavar
chieftains (ten Paratavar) under his control (ibid 144). In any case, the texts mention that Korkai having pearl and chank divers was under the control of the Pāṇḍya (Maduraik 135-8; Sirupān 62).

Further to this, there is an interesting reference in the Kuruntogai (345) to a poet (composer) named Andarmakan, Kuruvaludi. We have already mentioned that Valudi happens to be a title name taken up by the Pāṇḍya political elite (supra p.349). Andarmakan clearly means 'descendant of the Andar'. Andar meant cowherd/shepherd (vide Āham 59-5; Kurun 117.3; 210). Kuruntogai (210) specifically refers to the Andar dwelling in the forests of chieftain Nallio. It appears that sections of cowherd/shepherd were subjugated by the Pāṇḍyas and probably their chieftains were absorbed into the political hierarchy of the Pāṇḍyas. As such as the Maurya epithets were taken up in the south, the subordinate groups of the Mūvēntar may have also taken up title names, epithets, etc., as a means to imitate the overlord.

It is interesting to note that to the degree that the Mauryas used subordinate tribes to subjugate other tribes, the Pāṇḍyas also resorted to the same practice. For instance, it is recorded that hill-chieftain Adihan, an ally in service of the Pāṇḍya (Āham 162) confronted the Kohkar on behalf of the Pāṇḍya (Kurun 393). It appears that the Pāṇḍyas also subjugated certain Maravar groups. Pāṇḍya Ugrapperuvaludi defeated Vengaimaraban who held the forest fortress Kānapper/Kālaiyar Koil (vide PTTI 271). The Maravar, well known for their martial background, were therefore, highly valued as warriors by the Mūvēntar and even by other rulers outside Tamilaham (vide the Marāba mentioned in an inscription from
For instance, we hear of Tennavan Maravan, better known as Koilsippuran Paṇṇi who served as the war chief of the Pāṇḍya (Aham 13.11). Similarly, Nāgan, the chief of Nālai was also called Pāṇḍyan Maravan (Puran 179.5-10). It is not unlikely that even others who commanded troops at the helm of the army were called Maravan, denoting their status as commander.

The Sangam texts also associate the Cōla with similar acts of subjugations and acquisitions. This process is well demonstrated in the case of Karikāla Cōla. It is stated that he subjugated tribes such as Oliya, the ancient Aruva, the Poduvar herdsmen including the family of Irunkōvel (Pattinap 274-282). By defeating some of the Cōla clansmen as well as the Cēra, Pāṇḍya and eleven other chieftains, Karikāla gradually established his hegemony over the nuclear area associated with the lower Kaveri valley (vide Aham 246). The Cōla hegemony was at times extended beyond this valley. For instance, Perumpūṭ Cenni, is mentioned as the lord of Alumbil (Aham 44), a region which was located further south, having close proximity to the Cēra and Pāṇḍya lands. Further to this, the Cōlas may be credited with having subdued the line of one of the most independent chieftains during the Sangam period, Malaiyamān Tirumudikkāri, the lord of Mullūr and Tirukkōvalūr, commanded much respect during this period and the Nūvēntar were keen to gain his friendship by sending emissaries (Puran 122). Kāri allied himself with anyone of the Vēntar to his advantage (Aham 209; Puram 125). The incident recording the death sentence on the son of Malaiyamān by the Cōla king, may indicate that this clan was finally subjugated by the
the Cōla (Puram 46). Subsequently he was pardoned and entered
the services of the Cōlas (Puram 174).

In addition to the direct method, the Cōlas also used allies
to establish their hegemony over other lesser chieftains. One
such ally was Pālaiyān, the chieftain of Pōr on the Kāveri, who
helped the Cōla to stem the tide of the Kōkār tribe (Mar 10) and
also to confront a confederacy of chieftains consisting of Mānna, 326.12)
Eṛra, Aṭṭi, Gāngan, Kāṭti and Pūṃpurai (vide Aham 44.11; 186.15;
326.12). Kīlīvalavān, another Cōla king is said to have defeated
another Pālaiyān Mārāṇa, the chieftain of Kūḍal (Aham 346.12).
Interestingly, Pālaiyān may derive from pālaṇa i.e. 'ancient/olā',
indicating that these chieftains were leaders of tribes
traditionally considered as ancient. This implies that the
Vēntar were successful in subjugating another ancient community.
Similarly, we also come across Mārti, the Pardavar chieftain of
Kāḷī, at the confluence of the Kāveri (Aham 226, 236). It is
interesting to note that when chieftains Elini defaulted in his
tribute of elephants to the Cōla, Mārti undertook the task of
punishing Elini for not honouring this agreement (Aham 211).

The above pattern of political consolidation was not
different in the case of the Cērā. They not only had regular
confrontations with the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya, but also campaigned
against communities residing in the frontiers of northern
Tamilaham.

The defeat of Adigamṣu Aṛci in the hands of Cēral Irumporai
(PPTI 32), may have finally sealed the fate of this once powerful
neighbour of the Māuryas, who never reached the status of Vēntar.
It is also recorded that Cenguttuvan defeated communities such as the residents of Karunādu (i.e. Karnataka) and also the Kāḍambas (Silap xxv. 156; xxvi 106; xxiii 81; xxviii 135). The confrontation with the Kāḍambas was successfully met by Nedunūṟuṟaḷāṭan who destroyed their ships (Aham 55). Another northern community defeated by the Čēra king Cenguttuvan was the Gaṅgar (Silap xxv 157). The Čēra seems to have successfully absorbed the Gaṅgar elite as we hear of an army commander by the name Gaṅgar. They politically exploited this situation like the Pēndyas and the Čōḷas. The Gaṅgar chieftain confronted and defeated the Čōḷa war chief Palaiyan, on behalf of the Čēra (Aham 44.8). It also appears that the once powerful Kosār, who were allies of the Mauryas as well as the Čēras came to play a subordinate role in relation to the letter. It is suggested that Pittan Korran, the lord of kudiraiāimalai, was a Kosār and served the Čēra as a war chief (PPTI 563; Aham 77.16; 143.10-13).

The Čēra also mobilized the support of their borderland chieftains. For instance, Naṉjil Porunav/Valluvan apparently helped the Čēra (Puram 137-140). On another occasion: Chieftain Kāri defeated Īri, an enemy of the Čēra, and ceded Īri's land i.e. the Kolli hills to the Čēra (Aham 209.12).

III - iv

Thus, it is quite clear that the post 3rd Century B.C. period is one of fierce competition and confrontation during which the traditional clan-based chieftaincies were struggling to survive while the Mūvēntar were attempting to establish their political
hegemony and through it to derive maximum economic advantage. It is not surprising that this period in the history of south India is called the 'Heroic Age' (vide Kailasapathy 1968).

It is possible to identify several structural developments that were the consequences of the above mentioned process of integration.

First, there is the conclusive establishment of the geopolitical region based on a nuclear area dominated by a ruling house. Secondly, emanating from this development was the evolution of a vertically arranged political hierarchy. By the dawn of the Christian era, the Kuvantar and their affiliated lineage groups had established themselves at the top of the political hierarchy above every other status group. It is interesting to note that the symbols of authority enumerated in the sources belonging to the post-Christian years are much more sophisticated than the totem tree and the Kōl (sceptre) held by the clan chieftains. These symbols were found in the army, banner, parasol, war-drums, elephant, chariot, flower/garland and crown (Tol. Porul 626). Conversely, this period also witnessed the prescription of codified duties and functions of the ruler (vide PPTI 49-50). The post 1st Century B.C. period also witnessed the introduction of new terms, in association with the

1. The Kural, which is a later work, obviously following the norms of the Arthashastra enumerates the six elements constituting monarchy as: army, people, wealth/property, ministers, friends/allies and protective measures (Kural Angviyal).

2. Sources that can be assigned with a post 1st Century B.C. chronology (Tol; Kural; Mani; Silap) carry the term makkal (lit. children/sons) for subjects. It is interesting to compare this with the Asokan concept '... savve munisae pajas mama' (I SRE. Dhauli), which conveys a similar sentiment of paternalism.
Royalty, such as Arasār and Arasār Kōman, the latter denoting the emperor (vide PPTI: 49-50, 57). The association of the fortified urban centres with the residence of the king also had its final development during this period. Such a situation was seen when Karikāla converted Uraiyūr as his political capital (Pattinap 280). Similarly, the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya had Karur/ Vaṇji and Madurai respectively (vide Champakalakshmi 1975-76:111; Maduraik).

Within this situation, the lineage of the Vēntar was an important legitimizing factor, giving access and right to authority (vide Kailasapathy 1968:248-252) and it is not surprising to find even royalty making an effort to record their lineage ancestry. An interesting Brahmi inscription from Pukalur (District Tiruchirapalli) which belongs to the post 1st Century A.D. period, records three generations of the Cēra dynasty in the following order:

Kō Ādan Cellirumpo̱ai

(son)

Perunkaṭunkōn

(son)

Ilankaṭunkō


The inscription specifically mentions that the endowment was made in the event of Ilankaṭunkō becoming heir-apparent (ilankō). This inscription also establishes that hereditary succession was
an accepted form by this period. Such heir-apparents probably functioned as viceroys in the second capital of each kingdom, e.g. Korkai and Kaveripattinam. The growing exclusiveness of the royal group is apparent when the Muventar began to contract marriage alliances amongst themselves. It is pointed out that Nedunchezal Anan’s wife (and Cenguttuvan’s mother) was a Coila princess (PPTI 629).

Perhaps after the initial period when social sanction legitimizing authority was obtained by taking Velir brides, the Muventar found an extremely useful and effective means of further legitimizing political authority by performing Vedic sacrifices. It is possible that Cera Perumarkillai performed Irashasuyam i.e. rejasuyam (Puram 16, 125, 367, 377) and that Pandyan Palayagasalai Mudukundum-perunvaludi installed several sacrificial halls (PPTI 349). The vassal chieftains who followed the Muventar, went on to integrate themselves to the Great Tradition by performing sacrifice themselves. For instance, Kodaiyurun Panni, an ally and a war-chief of the Pandya, is said to have performed similar Vedic sacrifices (Aham 12).

The Velir may have formed the next group in the political hierarchy. They appear to have been socially at par with the Ventar though politically they were at a level below the latter. In relative terms, it is interesting to note that sources carry more reference to non-Velir chieftains who were invariably army commanders or war chieftains of the Ventar than the Velir who occupied such positions. It is not altogether impossible that the Ventar may have deliberately prevented the Velir from occupying
strategic positions, giving them less chance to cultivate greater political ambitions. In any event what is important is that both the Velir and non-Velir chieftains, were incorporated into the civil and military ranks by the Muventar, thereby creating a vertically arranged composite ruling class in Macro Zone II. This structure not only helped the Velir to absorb elite groups from newly subjugated regions and communities and as a convenient mechanism of integrating them to the Great Tradition, but also provided an avenue of upward mobility for newly emerging affluent groups associated with craft and commercial operations at urban centres and the agrarian elite in the rural areas.

The concentration of political authority and economic power in these vertically arranged social groups clearly reflected the disparity symbolizing a class society where those who controlled the means of production had directly subordinated the primary producer. Elitism implicit in this situation is best reflected in particular terms that differentiated the privileged group from the unprivileged. For instance, the term *An* (commonly found in the early inscriptions as well as in Sangam texts) is used as an honorific denoting superior person (TL.I:224, 227; PPTI 79-80). The composers of this period adhered to concepts emphasizing the equal status in birth for the hero and the heroins i.e. pipappu (PPTI 569). Kailasapathy points out that "... it was the aristocrats and noblemen and their diverse actions that were considered fitting poetic treatment. A case in point is a rather common word kilavan or kilan, frequently denoting the male lover in love poems. It means 'owners, master, husband'. The feminine
kilāl or kilavi means 'proprietress, mistress, wife'.

Likewise, many other words used for the lovers definitely connote higher social rank; e.g. talaivan, kuricil, entai, etc. mean 'chief, lord, noble'. The idea is clinched by Tol.'s statement that slaves, servants, errand-men etc. are not entitled to be portrayed as heroes . . . " (1968:11).

It is precisely under such circumstances that social position acquired by birth i.e. lineage or by economic status played a crucial role in assigning class position in the Early Historic society. Lineage in fact played an important part from the pre-urban period and the Vēlir are a case in point. We have already stated the significance of the potsherd from Arikamedu, belonging to the post-Christian era, which reads (in its translation by Mahadevan 1973:61). 'Atiraiyan the gotraja (kōtiracaa) of Cattan Āvi', which is significant on several counts. First, the continued emphasis of the Āvi (Āy or Vēlir) connection is apparent here. Secondly, the influence of the Great Tradition is seen in the term used to indicate lineage i.e. Kotiraca (gōtraja/gōtra). Thirdly, the personal name Ātiraiyan seems to derive from the sixth asterism ātirai (Skt. ārd̐rā) indicating the Indo-Aryan practice of taking up of personal names after a particular asterism. It is also interesting to note that with the influence of Brahmanism, several individuals take after a Brāhmin gōtra such as Ātiraiya/Atirēya (Kurum 293), Kāśipan/Kāsyapa (Mar. 248), Kavunqiyan/Kaundinya (Aham 74). The necessity to reinforce elitism is very clear, at least at the theoretical level, where the texts consistently call the Brāhmins or Andañar as those belonging to the 'highest birth' (vide PPTI 34-35). For instance, after Vēl Fāri's
death, his daughters were given in marriage to Brahmans by Kapilar after Irungōvēḻ refused their hand (Puram 113-114; 200).

The commercial and the agrarian elite perhaps formed the most important social stratum next to the political elite in Macro Zone II (infra Chap. IV for details). The very association probably of the political elite in the commercial nexus may have led to a relatively close interaction between these two groups. For instance, a Tamil Brahmi inscription from Tirupparankunram, datable to the 2nd/1st Century B.C. records a joint donation of an Ay and a Kūṭumbikan from Tīlam i.e. Sri Lanka (Mahadevan 1966; No. 51). It is pointed out that while Nāiyūr Kīlar, a minister under two Čēra kings was a Vēḷāla, Kōvūr Kīlar the poet, who had much influence on Cōla Nalankilli was also a Vēḷāla (PPTI 711.344, 402). It is, therefore, useful to link this situation with the commercial and agrarian interest associated with the political elite.

The ability of the Muvēntar to secure great economic advantages from the above mentioned process of elimination, subjugation and integration is very clear. Table No. 1 clearly indicates the wide range of resources and economic activity that were associated with Vēḷir and non-Vēḷir chieftains. A few examples may indicate how the Vēntar gradually increased their influence over such economic spheres. When the Muvēntar eliminated Vēḷ Pāri and also Irūnkōvēḻ by the Cōla, two major chieftaincies located between the Pāṇḍya and Cōla countries disappeared and were obviously incorporated into these kingdoms. On another occasion, we hear that Kāri transferred the Kolli hills of Ğri, rich with jak fruits, to the Cēra. These may be considered
direct acquisition of land after having eliminated the ruling chieftains. There were also instances when the defeated chieftains themselves ceded rich centres to the Mūvēntar. For instance, after the battle of Aḷangānam, Neḻuṉjēliyān acquired control over a series of rich coastal centres (with proximity to pearl banks and those exporting paddy), which were ceded to him by the Velir.

A second important method of acquiring gains through political strength was the extraction of resources through chieftains who operated in such sectors. We have already pointed out that Elini supplied elephants to the Cōla. Similarly, Matti the chieftain of Kālār at the confluence of the Kēveri, probably had access to marine resources. It is recorded that until 1826 a lucrative chank fishing centre operated at Tirumalavasal on the confluence of the Kēveri (Hornell 1914:65). Matti was an ally of the Cōla and probably paid tribute in the form of oceanic resources. It is quite likely that when Neḻuṉjēliyān subjugated the southern Paratavar chieftains, he may have naturally gained access to certain maritime resources which they controlled in that region.

This acquisition and the gradual intrusion into economic activity by the Mūvēntar coincided with a developing commercial operations during the Early Historic period. There is strong evidence to show that the Mūvēntar actively participated in resource accumulation geared to control trade and commerce (for details infra pp. 491-92).

To substantiate the above, we may briefly outline the following evidence. In the valleys of Vaigai and Tambapanni, south Indian issue of Punch-marked coins occur with the symbol of the issuing
authority i.e. the min symbol of the Pandyas (Lovinghal 1888:4-6). The establishment of Korkai as the coastal capital of the Pandyas housing their viceroy and where they extracted maritime resources using slave labour (Maduraik 138; Sirupap 62; Silap xx 30, 66; xxvii 127; Schoff 1912/1974:46, 237), is another instance. The need for Meduñjeliyan to control the eastern coastal ports the inward movement of resources from various regions bringing gems, gold, sandal-wood, pearls, coral, etc., which made Kaveripattinam a rich entrepôt where exports were sealed with the Cōla tiger emblem (Pattinap 90-150), the fabulously rich port of Muciri that was controlled by the Cōra where they concentrated import and export commodities such as pepper, gold, gems, ivory, fish, paddy, etc. (Schoff op. cit. 56; Puram 343 1-10) points to a strong commercial tradition. Likewise, the clearance of forests and the creation of agrarian tracts by Karikāla (Pattinap 283), taken along with the commercial factor shows that, by the 1st Century B.C. and after, the Muvantar maintained control over the operational mechanism of labour, commerce, trade and agricultural production. Considering this, it is evident that the traditional as well as new elite groups had to operate within the spheres of control laid down by the Muvantar.

IV - i

The emergence of leadership and the establishment of political authority in Proto and Early Historic Sri Lanka (Macro Zone III) indicates a similar pattern of development as in the case of south east India. In Sri Lanka, the direct leap from the Mesolithic to
the Iron-Age, the intrusion of culture elements from a more developed cultural stage and an integration of autochthonous groups into the new socio-economic complex, the early inauguration of permanent settlements and paddy cultivation, the relatively rapid encroachment upon regions of mineral resources and the establishment of a network of communications linking the central hills with the settlements in the plains and finally with the coast, in turn facilitated a relatively rapid growth in the associated forms of political institutions, leadership and authority.

In this exercise, our primary sources are the Brahmi inscriptions, supplemented by archaeological evidence and literary texts belonging to a relatively later period. The terms parumaka, aya and rajha (Pāti-rāja) mentioned in the early Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka may be taken up as the basis for this study.

The parumakas are the single lay group mentioned in the pre-Christian Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka. These inscriptions occur in large numbers and spread over a wide area within the island approximately covering a period of three Centuries. This has necessarily resulted in a wide range of opinions over the functional character and the qualitative status of the parumakas within the socio-political structure of Early Historic Sri Lanka.

As early as 1892, Bell suggested that this was a group of rulers, parallel to the holders of the term perumakan in early south India (1892:69 Note 3). Bell did not draw any conclusions

1. Inscription number, indicated otherwise, is from Paranavitana 1970.
beyond this. Goldschmidt equated the **perumakas** with the **Brahmapas** (1897:2). This equation does not hold ground as there are **Brahmapas** who also bear the title **perumaka** in their inscriptions (Nos. 124, 205, 296, 838, 1075). Paranavitana contradicted Bell by stating that **perumaka** in the south Indian context is used at least two centuries after the Sri Lankan inscriptions (1970:1xxiv). Deriving the term **perumaka** from the Sanskrit term **pramukha** (to Pali) **pamukha** or **pānokkha** and the frequent association of this term with the president of guilds (**jātaka**) as well as ruling groups of north India, Paranavitana suggested that the **perumakas** of Sri Lanka may have been descendants of the heads (**jetthakas**) of **jātakas** who established village settlements in early Sri Lanka (Paranavitana 1936:447-449; 1970:1xxiv).

As for the nature and the status of this group, Perera considers it to be an **honorific title** rather than an office (Perera 1949:184). Nicholas on the other hand holds the view that this title was used by an upper class or nobility from amongst whom higher officials were recruited to the state. While some were elevated to this position, territorial jurisdiction or authority did not accompany this rank, and they also prevailed immediately below royalty (Nicholas 1950:124). Hettiarachchy largely subscribes to the above view and adds that, even if there was a form of administration by the **perumakas**, the basis of it seems to have been the extended family (1972:73, 75). While some scholars are of the view that this title was hereditary (Hettiarachchy, 1970:71-72; Perera op. cit.; Ellawala, 1969:39), there are others who doubt
the hereditary character of the parumakas (Nicholas 1950:121-22).

The summary of the views expressed on the parumakas enumerated up to this point does not provide us a proper answer to the actual character of this title holders or the conditions and the mechanisms by which political authority emerged in early Sri Lanka.

Nicholas is correct in stating that the parumakas held high rank in the state (1950:124). However, the inscriptions reveal that there were non-parumakas who also held high ranks and there were parumakas who did not hold any official rank at all. Further to this, the official ranks held by the parumakas were generally associated with a relatively developed stage of the political structure and with urbanization, a situation which is not earlier than c.150 B.C. In addition, the largest number of parumaka inscriptions mentioning high offices and other economic activities occur in north-central Sri Lanka. This area also has the highest concentration of inscriptions mentioning the rulers of the first dynasty, which in turn substantiates our view on the association of official ranks with political development. Therefore, Nicholas does not shed light on the emergence and the qualitative status of the parumakas in the early agrarian society.

Paranavitana's views also do not provide us with a solution to the problem. It is true that the parumakas involved themselves with commercial activities in Sri Lanka in the post 2nd Century B.C. However, his contention that the parumakas were the descendants of the guild leaders who came to Sri Lanka from north India and colonised the island, is questionable. First, his basic thesis
pre-supposes the introduction of civilization to Sri Lanka from north India. In Chapter II we have suggested that the introduction of the earliest Iron Age techno-cultural elements to north Sri Lanka was from south India. Secondly, if, as Paranavitana argues, guild leaders functioned in Sri Lanka as early as the 5th Century, B.C., then there had to be a well developed guild structure, a commercial vortex and material affluence in Sri Lanka by the time of the engraving of inscriptions i.e. 3rd Century B.C. Archaeological evidence indicates anything but rich material remains from pre 1st Century B.C. habitational strata. Nor do the inscriptions speak of a well institutionalized society or a developed guild system. In fact there is only a solitary inscription mentioning a parumaka (No. 990) in association with a guild. Better organized guilds seem to have emerged in Sri Lanka in the post 2nd Century B.C. period. The indigenous development of such institutions was a gradual one, rather than as introductions from north India.

To understand the role of the parumakas, one has to take cognizance of their origins along with their functional role and evolution as a socio-political group.

It is possible to suggest that the parumaka group, who perhaps represent the earliest political elite during the Early Iron Age, had their origins in the Megalithic-BRW complex emanating from south India. This was the earliest techno-cultural basis Sri Lanka had during the Early Iron Age prior to any dominant impact of the Indo-Aryan culture. It is therefore, reasonable to assume that the elements of political leadership and authority that prevailed
in the Proto-Historic context of south India had considerable influence upon the evolution of the political structure during the Early Iron Age of Sri Lanka.

There appears to be a relatively strong body of inscriptive and archaeological evidence linking the parumaka group to the Proto-Historic Megalithic-BRW context as well as the south Indian cultural context. A closer examination of the distribution pattern indicates that parumaka inscriptions have a close bearing to the Megalith-BRW sites in Sri Lanka (vide Map No. 3). Perhaps it is more convincing to compare particular post-firing graffiti symbols on the megalithic ware with the non-Brahmi symbols found on the earliest inscriptions. A total of 34 non-Brahmi symbols are found on the inscriptions and 21 are found north and west of the river Mahaweli, the region that may have witnessed the earliest Megalithic-BRW settlements. The parallel symbols are also found on the Megalithic ware of southern Deccan and south India (Seneviratne 1984:297-98).

It is not altogether impossible that some of the parumakas may have belonged to the Vēḻir group. A series of Brahmi inscriptions carry the name Vēḻa. The Brahmi  allowNull is read as Vēḻu by Paranavitana. However, the letter allowNull is read as 1 in the south Indian Tamil Brahmi inscriptions (vide Mahadevan 1966) and we read allowNull as Vēḻa (Vēḻir) and not Vēḻu. Interestingly, parumakas form the single largest individual group (12/22) having the name Vēḻa. We may also note that some of them had the parumaka title as well as another personal name e.g. parumaka Vēḻa Sumana puta parumaka -Vēḻa ••• ' (No. 647). In order to establish the Vēḻir connection
of this group we may note the following. One inscription carries the following viz. *parumaka Kutaragaya Velaha lene* (No. 250). Paranavitana explains the term *Kutaragaya* as the *holder of the vase* a functionary associated with the sacred Bö-tree (Paranavitana 1970:xciii). We have noted that the vase or the jar is popularly associated with the Velir, (Appendix - V). It is extremely significant that a *parumaka* inscription in north west Sri Lanka has the following $\text{\textcopyright} + \text{\textcopyright}$ (No. 1074). The combination of non-Brahmi symbols may be depicted as $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ which show the jar and the lance bearer, two attributes associated with the Velir (Appendix - V). Another series of inscriptions, again from north west Sri Lanka, carry the combination of symbols, as $\text{\textcopyright}$ $\text{\textcopyright}$ or $\text{\textcopyright}$ (Nos. 1051-54). Interestingly, some of these inscriptions also mention a town by the name Tavirikiya situated in this region, and Paranavitana attributes the meaning Dvărakiya to this term (*ibid.*). Dvăraka is an ancient habitation associated with the Yādava, the lineage ancestors of the Velir. These inscriptions bearing sites in north west Sri Lanka are located close to the urn burial site at Pomparippu and the megalithic ware at the burial site carry all these three symbols (*ASAWR* 1957:13 (Nos. 6-9). It is interesting to question whether some of the Velir found in northern Sri Lanka were the descendants of the Velir, who arrived with their clans (bringing with them traditions about the jar and Dvăraka) under pressure from the Pänçyas who apparently consolidated their position in the Vaigai-Tambapanni region at a relatively early date.

The personal names taken up especially by the *parumakas* north and west of the river Mahaweli, have a Dravidian and (possibly a
Munda) origin than an Indo-Aryan one, which points to a Deccan and south Indian connection. Some of these names are Pālika, Mala, Namara, Vela, Naguli, Pola, Hadaka, Nugaya, Sigara Malu, Ruvala, Raki, Patakana ṣata, Haruma, Ayimara, Poṭimasa, Palaya, Sabili, Kadali, Uba, Puda, etc. We also come across the name (of a parumaka) Śrī written as Tiri and possibly the Sanskritization and Prākritization of the Dravidian personal name Udiyan to Uittiya and Uti. Interestingly such names have a lesser frequency in south east Sri Lanka.

In view of the above evidence, the epithet/title parumaka found in the early Brahmi inscriptions may have derived from the Dravidian term perumakāṇa. The very fact that the female form of parumaka is written as parumakāḷi or parumakāḷa i.e. mākal, the Dravidian female termination, points to a Dravidian basis for these terms (also see Veluppillai 1980:10; Sitrampalam 1980:91). We have already indicated that in the south Indian context, perumakāṇa implied great man, scion, the foremost one, husband, etc. and was a title associated with lineage-based (pre-state) societies. In all three Macro Zones these clan chieftains and their communities were also associated with megalithic burials representing clan burials and the cult of ancestral worship. What is interesting therefore is whether parumaka derives from perumakāṇa or paramukha, the meaning is related to leadership.

Next, in our study, it is useful to discuss the spread and the evolution of the parumaka group. To take up their spread, it appears that it operated through two mechanisms viz. the physical movement and acculturation. Physical movement represented their
penetration to the hinterland from the marine-littoral ecological zones. The objective apparently was to reach the extensive fertile tracts and particular raw material yielding areas in the hinterland plains. The early settlement zones in the hinterland areas may have been associated with the Megalithic-BRW sites with which the *parumaka* inscriptions maintain a close physical proximity. Interestingly, these Proto-Historic sites are not only situated in the fertile RBE zone, but they have a close bearing to certain localities possessing mineral resources (*vide* map No. 3).

To elaborate our suggestion, we may indicate the following. From Ritigala and Sigiriya (located in the north-central region), inscriptions mention *parumakas* by the name Naguli (Nos. 260, 869). This term clearly derives from *längalī > nagulī* i.e. plough-bearer. In another inscription from Ritigala (No. 269) it is recorded that four *parumaka* brothers founded the Mahāgāma of Ariṭṭha. This situation can be projected to the pre-existing Proto Historic context where the *parumaka* group gave leadership in extending agriculture, and founding permanent habitations in the primary agrarian region. Unless they had already commenced producing a surplus in agriculture, it may not have been possible to sustain...

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1. It may be speculated that the term *kādēri* which is found on an inscription in the north west (No. 1074) along with non-Brahmi symbols (†† † ††† †††††††††††), may signify the association of the *parumaka* with the sea i.e. *kadal* (in Dravidian). *Kāda/Katal* in Dravidian implies sea/fisherman (*DED 939*).

2. *Parumaka* Naguli is the earliest mentioned member of the lineage group recorded in the Ritigala inscription.
a relatively large group of non-producing monks residing within the caves by the 3rd Century B.C.

The pattern may have been similar in their effort to obtain raw material from the lowland sources. It may be noted that the megalithic sites of Karambam Kulam and Nachchagama are less than 10 miles north of the massive deposit of apatite at Zppawala (vide Herath 1975:63-64; Jayawardena 1976). A large deposit of mica is situated at Kabitigollewa, which is situated between the burial sites of Hamaduwa and the middle Yan-oya valley. The Mahavansa (xxviii 13-15) describes this as a gold-bearing area and recent geological investigations proved this correct. These two megalithic zones subsequently came to house powerful parumaka families. Further east, from Kurunekallu, an inscription mentions a parumaka Tabara Veļa (No. 319). This site which is on the lower Mahaweli, is less than 15 miles south (as the crow flies) from the massive copper-magnetite deposit at Seruwila. It is possible that Tabara (from tabakara i.e. coppersmith) Veļa had some association with the copper deposit.

A striking feature related to the distribution pattern of the parumaka inscriptions is their occurrence in areas of attraction as well as in areas of relative isolation. This is related to the second mechanism of the spread of the parumakas through a process of acculturation. Judging by the occurrence of the early Brahmi inscriptions, the Early Iron Age culture had already penetrated the

1. The north west had certain types of mineral stones located in close proximity to the burial group in this region. The Kal-aru basin has chalcedony and opel, while quartz and chert is easily available in these zones. Chert and quartz flakes occur in the burial urns of Pomparippu (Begley 1981:69, 71, 75).
peripheral lower montane region, to reach the major repositories of mineral resources. It is evident that this process led to greater interaction between the Mesolithic and the Early Iron Age cultures. Interestingly, Kitulgala, Karadupona and Ravana-ella, all entry-points to the lower hills, yielded Early Historic BRW in association with Mesolithic stone tools. It is quite apparent that the Iron Age culture elements absorbed the Mesolithic people to their fold where the latter not only borrowed the technology (e.g. pottery and iron), but also certain other elements of the Iron Age institutional structure as well. Hence, it can be assumed that certain Mesolithic clan chieftains themselves took upon the term *parumaka* (which suited the clan organization of their hand-level of society) as well as the Megalithic burial practice (coinciding with their own concepts of ancestor worship. The occurrence of burial sites at Gal-atara and at Padavigampola, both situated on the upper reaches of the Maha-oya may not be a coincidence after all. In the vicinity of both sites, there are *parumaka* inscriptions (Paranavitana 1970; Preface vi; (No. 801). It may be noted that the area around Gal-atara contains relatively large resources of mica and amethyst.

The evolution of the *parumakas* as a socio-political group is a more complex one. The problem actually revolves around two inter-related aspects viz. their actual position as a status group and their sphere of authority.

1. At Ravana-ella, the overlapping layer (4A) also revealed iron smelting activity viz. ore and slag remains (Pers. Com. S. Deraniyagala 1985).

2. An urn burial was discovered in 1983, at Nalla, on the lower reaches of the Maha oya.

3. The Asmadala inscription, near Gal-atara, mentions the daughter of this *Parumaka* as *parumakalatissa* (Paranavitana 1970; Preface vi).
The meanings attributed to the term *parumaka* (and its source word *perumakap*) and the association of these individuals (or their ancestors) with the Megalithic burials, may indicate their authority over clan groups, occupying micro ecological zones — thus their control over limited geo-political zones. The general distribution pattern of the *parumaka* inscriptions in fertile pockets, areas yielding raw materials, along coastal zones and routes linking different ecological zones, may reflect the pre-existing situation during the Proto Historic period. By the 3rd Century B.C. the *parumakas* were recognized as one of the leading elite groups in society and economically they had sufficient surplus production to stand out as the chief patrons of the Sangha. This they announced by making endowments of drip-ledge cave dwellings to the latter. We may therefore assume that some degree of resource accumulation through the acquisition of the surplus was in existence. The mechanism of resource movement linking the politically powerful lineage group and the resident community composed of the clan groups, may have led to this situation.

It is possible to suggest that the method of succession followed by the early *parumakas* may reflect the authority of the lineage group over the resident clan group(s). There is evidence to show that succession to the title by the eldest son. For example, we come across the names of *parumaka* Palikada's sons as Maha Haruma and Haruma (Nos. 78, 81, 82). The inscription clearly attributes the title *parumaka* to Maha Haruma, whereas Haruma is not assigned with any title. It may be assumed that certain other
inscriptions indicating the linear succession (at times going up to 3 generations) by sons, may reflect that the principle of primogeniture was in operation.

Table No. 10

I. Surakkhita – Palikada lineage (Vessagiriya – Anuradhapura)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pa. Surakkhita</th>
<th>Chitta</th>
<th>Pa. Palikada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa. Maha Haruma</td>
<td>Haruma + Tissa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nos. 78-79, 81-82)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Mala lineage (Kandakadu)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pa. Mala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pa. Namara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa. Naga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (No. 318) |

3. Naga-Naguli lineage (Narakkal Ulpota)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa. Dipani + Pa. Reta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa. Mahareta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa. Kadali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa. Naga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (Nos. 260-266) |

1. Pa – perumaka; Pk – parumakali.
In some cases, the daughters took up this title. There is an excellent example in the case of Puṣa, (the daughter of parumakā satra Naśāta) who is known to the inscription as the holder of the title parumakā and also the carrier of the (lineage?) symbol Ṛ́ (No. 331). Similarly, we have the cases of parumakā Dipani, the daughter of parumakā Maguli (No. 260) and parumakā Tis'ā, the daughter of parumakā Puṣājha (Paranavitana 1970: Preface vi). Interestingly, the inscription of parumakā Puṣā is situated adjacent to the Kamaduwa burial complex while parumakā Tis'ā has her inscription near the Gal-atara burial site. It may have been the practice for a female to take up this title provided she happened to be the eldest or the only offspring. This is not opposed or contradictory to the norms of succession to power and property transmitted through the mother. This form of succession apparently received strength from the cross-cousin marriage followed by the parumakā group. It is significant that in the parumakā inscriptions, the sister’s son and son-in-law is known by the term baginiya (Sanskrit bhaginēya / Pāli bhaginēyya) as well as marumakana (Dravidian marumakā) (Nos. 148, 294, 1202). It may be assumed that in a dominantly clan system where the lineage group held sway over the resident community, the above form of succession to the title may have been in force.

During the second phase, the parumakā group tends to become more complex in their composition. The occurrence of a large number of parumakā inscriptions indicating only first and second generation parumakas clearly reflects a proliferation of this title holders during the post 3rd/2nd Century B.C. who may be distinguished from the descendants of the lineage chieftains of the Proto Historic
The occurrence of a larger group of first and second generation parumakas also points to a situation where individuals seeking status were now beginning to acquire this title as a prestige symbol. The new holders of this title may have emerged from clan groups recently absorbed to the Iron Age culture from the backward Mesolithic techno-cultural groups. An inscription from south east Sri Lanka records the endowment of a parumaka Milaka Pusa, the son of parumaka Naga (No. 631). Paranavitana derives milaka from (Sanskrit mlecha > Pāli Milakkha (No. 119)). Alternatively, they may have been individuals assigned with the rank status of parumaka, perhaps by a political authority. To elaborate, there are instances when the father carried the title and the son had no title (No. 11) and conversely, the son was the title holder while the father had no title at all (No. 25). The gradual transformation of the title from a lineage to an official one, in turn implied that the earlier principle of succession to the title could not be implemented with much effect. For example, an inscription datable to the 1st century B.C. records that all four sons of a Mahāmatya, named Bamadata, held the title parumaka (No. 269).

In our view, economic and political factors may be shown as the basis of the impetus to this structural complexity of the parumaka group during the second phase.

1. An interesting inscription from Stitulpavuva in south east Sri Lanka mentions a parumaka named Calu from Vanakagama (No. 650). If vana can be explained as forest (in Prākrit), then this may have been a village situated in or near a forest. Another inscription mentions one parumaka Čuda-Ayimara and his region is also called Ayibara-pavata (pabhata i.e. mount/hill), which was obviously situated in a peripheral area (No. 968). It may be speculated that parumakas having Rungari sounding personal names may have originally belonged to the Mesolithic culture.
First, we may take up the economic factor. It may not be an exaggeration to state that the post 2nd/1st Century B.C. commercial vortex clearly brought great economic benefits to the parumaka groups who were already entrenched in strategic sectors of the economy. For instance, we may quote parumaka Tabara Veḷa (No. 319) and parumaka Tabara Tiśa (No. 750), who were associated with mining, working or trading in copper. Similarly, the personal name Cuḍa/Cuḍi taken up by several parumaka chieftains (Nos. 44, 203, 266, 307, 358, 684, 856, 1015, 1042, 1088), may reflect their control over gem-bearing areas or trade associated with mineral stones. In addition to their control over resources, it is fairly clear that the parumakas controlled labour in particular areas related to craft and commercial sectors. For instance, parumaka Gopala headed the gothi koboja. Koboja were a community who had organized themselves into a corporative body i.e. gōṭhi. The Mahāvamsa (xxiii 4-6) records that senēpati Miti of the Mahāvamsa also records that Dutthagāmini in the course of his northern campaign defeated a chieftain by the name Tamba, at the village Tamba (No. xxv 14-15).

1. Parumaka Taba Tiśa is mentioned in an inscription from Mavargala. Less than 3-5 miles west of this area, at Koka-gala, Coomaraswamy observed the occurrence of slag remains having traces of copper (ARME 1907; B 8-9). The Mahāvamsa also records that Dutthagāmini in the course of his northern campaign defeated a chieftain by the name Tamba, at the village Tamba (No. xxv 14-15).

2. In the Dravidian group of languages, Cuḍakam/Cuḍa mean 'bracelet, sacred eleocarpus bead enclosed in gold hung around the neck in a gold band' (BED 2246). Sud-am in Sumerian is 'lustrous-gem' (Sathasivam 1965: 56 No. 453). A parumaka Noreyyagutha has been mentioned as the bojhika of Piyaka-Pāsaṇa (No. 171). This inscription is associated with a mineral stone yielding region adjacent to the burial complexes of the middle Yanoya and Mamadwa. Piyaka-paśaṇa may refer to a variety of mineral stone, i.e. paśaṇa (paśaṇa).
centres having full-time specialists and exchange points. Therefore, it is not surprising that administrative functions such as nagara-guttika (mayor) and pura kamata (officer-in-charge of city affairs) are associated with parumakas (Nos. 230, 1002).

In another inscription, a parumaka is called a tota-bojhaka (No. 860) i.e. ferry-crossing implying their control over means of conveyance and communication.

The parumaka group directly involved themselves in trade activity. From south east Sri Lanka an inscription mentions one parumaka Vanaïjha Tissa (No. 515). From north-west Sri Lanka we come across the powerful parumaka clan (who display the symbols ꡠゥ stamina), where a member of this group parumaka Tissa is called duta-navika (envoy-mariner) and kanyata (navigator), (Nos. 1053-55). 1

We may note that in another inscription, parumaka Utara, a member of this clan records the term kageri, which is probably associated with maritime activity. This particular region had direct access to the primary chank and pearl yielding areas in the Gulf of Mannar.

A second inscription from Maligatenna mentions another navigator (kanyata) parumaka Maha Asoka (No. 977a). A later Brahmi inscription speaks of a parumaka who undertook journeys to Bharukohoda (No. 1183), which was the primary port town in western India, linked to the long distance trade network. 2

In addition, the growth in the agrarian base in the post 3rd Century had a direct bearing upon the expansion of the parumaka group.

1. Merchants were often employed as envoys. It is recorded that Tissa included a setthi among the group of envoys he despatched to Asoka (Kv. ii.26).

2. Long distance trade with western India is confirmed by another inscription from north west Sri Lanka recording the endowment made by a navika (mariner) from Bhojakataka (No. 105).
The location of certain parumakas in fertile pockets and their ability to control resident communities during the Proto Historic period, gave their successors an additional advantage during the Early Historic period. This is especially true during the post 2nd/1st Century B.C. period, when private ownership developed in land and when the primary producer was directly subordinated by the ruling class who also controlled the surplus.

The following evidence may substantiate the above assumption. While one early Brahmi inscription mentions the place of residence of a parumaka as Anurādhagāma (No. 706), another parumaka is called the bujhika of Maṭukagāma (No. 837). It may be assumed that the four parumaka brothers who founded the village settlement Mahā Ariṭṭhagāma (No. 269), may have had the right over the produce and labour as well. Their ability to mobilize labour from such resident villages, most obviously gave the parumakas the ability to build and own reservoirs or tanks (vāpi > vavi). An inscription clearly mentions one parumaka Tisa as a vavi-hamika (vāpi-swāmi) i.e. lord or owner of reservoir (No. 1200). It is evident that with the growth of private property and with the greater elaboration of the principles of inheritance, individual ownership of parumakas over strategic resources consolidated itself to a greater extent. Apparently this situation was developing from the 1st Century B.C. as we come across the term paraveri (praveri) i.e. inherited share, in a parumaka inscription (No. 298). It is therefore not surprising that by the beginning of the early Christian era, the parumakas had become the single largest group privately owning reservoirs (Nos. 1051-52, 1200, 1130, 1132, 1198 1151, 1153, 1200, 1225, Paranavitana 1983; No. 5).
It is also reasonable to assume that the uneven development in the distribution of resources may have witnessed certain parumakas holding more than one reservoir, village or extensive tract of paddy land. The earlier mentioned parumaka duta-navika, gifted a reservoir along with a monastery to the monks (Nos. 1051-52). Another parumaka donated a reservoir to the sangha (No. 1225). In a third case, an inscription (dated to c.40 B.C.) mentions that a parumaka donated shares in a tank and also shares in a paddy field to the monks (Paranavitana 1983: No. 5), while another early parumaka inscription records the endowment of a village (No. 251).

The control over water, which was extremely crucial to paddy cultivation, may have greatly enhanced the control parumakas wielded over the primary producer. It is precisely the capital accumulated from agricultural surplus, revenue from water and control over raw material that gave them access to commercial ventures. In this connection parumaka duta-navika, is a case in point. This surplus in their control gave the parumakas the opportunity to indulge in the luxury of conspicuous consumption, expressed mainly through endowments of caves, monasteries and stūpas. The same parumaka who donated a village, is said to have spent coins numbering ten-thousand (dasa-sahasra-daraya) to construct a cave dwelling (No.251). Inscriptions of the 1st Century A.D. mention the powerful Vahiti lineage who were politically powerful and who had much surplus wealth enabling donations such as two tanks, interior fields (of one tank), 60 measures (kārīsa) of land, one reservoir, one vihāra and a cave to the monks (Paranavitana 1965:410-418; Nos. 1202, 1205, 1231). Thus, it is not incorrect
to term the *paramakas* as the earliest and the primary agrarian elite during the Early Historic period.

**Table No. 11**

**Civil and military administrative designations held by the Paramakas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senapati (Senāpati)</td>
<td>- 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahamata (Mahāmātā)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maha Amati (Mahā Amātā)</td>
<td>- 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amati (Amātā)</td>
<td>- 3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maha-dora-tans (Great Chamberlain)†</td>
<td>- 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dora-kaṇi (Chamberlain)†</td>
<td>- 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupa-vapara (Dealer in Coined Money)†</td>
<td>- 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanapeṭika (Record-Keeper)†</td>
<td>- 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadagārika (Bhāndāgārika)</td>
<td>- 4 + 1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayaka (Revenue Collector)</td>
<td>- 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duta (Nāvikā) (Envoy-mariner)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nageraguta (Mayor)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pura kamaṭa (Officer-in-Charge of city affairs)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanaka (Sthānika (Officer-in-charge of ward/city/district)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivika-adeka (Superintendent of Palanquins)</td>
<td>- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣe-adeka (Superintendent of Horses)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adakṣeṣhaka (adyakṣa) (Superintendent)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batakaraka (Superintendent of the Kitchen)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣāruga (Horneman)</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*From later Brahmi inscriptions.*

† Individuals from the same lineage group.
The emergence of the parumakas as the primary agrarian elite and their extended economic interest in commercial activity leading to greater economic affluence had interesting political implications; (vide Table No. 11). It is possible to make several observations on the above table indicating the designations held by the parumakas. First, they were the largest group who held bureaucratic positions at the upper level, through non-parumakas also held such positions. All offices, with the exception of one badagarika, were held by one family in the later Brahmi inscriptions. In this case, of this particular family, each individual often held more than one office. Thirdly, there is a larger group of parumakas in the inscriptions, who are associated with revenue collection (avaka) and storage (badagarika) of the surplus, while a significant number held high military positions (senapati) and civil administrative positions. Fourthly, the parumakas served both in the independent political units as well as in the main political centres at Anuradhapura and at Mahāgāma. A higher concentration however is with the main political centres. Finally, the administrative structure appears to be less complex, which is apparent from the limited designations associated with the Early Historic period.

In view of this, it is possible to suggest that the crystallization of the Early State in Sri Lanka (a process initiated largely from the south east by the Gamaḷi lineage), may have resulted in the expansion of the parumaka group. First, parumakas

1. It is not always easy to make out the parumakas and non-parumakas. For instance, later Brahmi inscriptions have the following: 'Badagarika parumaka Sōgha pata parumaka Utiya ...' (No. 1109), "... Badakari Sōgha pata Utiya ..." (No. 1110).
who were the descendants of the old elite families were absorbed in a subordinate position to the newly evolving state structure, for the convenience of administration and to neutralize political opposition. Secondly, this title was used as a convenient status assignment to elevate and absorb newly emerging elite groups to the state structure. The situation we have therefore is the gradual subordination of the original parumaka groups and the introduction of the new parumakas, as servants of the state.

A study of the Sata Nasata-Nadika lineage group may confirm the above assumption. In fact senāpati Mita may be identified with senāpati Nandimitra, a commander of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī mentioned in the Mahāvamsa (xxii 4-15). The inscriptions indicate that Parumaka Mita's donative records carrying the symbol ग are found in the north (at Nattukanda) and in the south east (at Situlpavuva) (Nos. 166, 620). The Mahāvamsa records that Mita was born and grew up in a village, east of Anuradhapura, called Kammantagāma, near Chittapabbata (xxiii 4-5). This may be identified with an area adjacent to Nattukanda, which is close to the Yan-oya Megalithic burial complex. The Mahāvamsa also records that Mita was named after his maternal uncle who controlled the above mentioned Kammantagāma and was also a commander in the army of the invader, Elāra (ibid. 5-6) and may indicate that this powerful parumaka family controlled the middle Yan-oya around 2nd Century B.C. Mita's father Nadika has engraved a nandipāda on his inscription, which may associate him with craft and commercial groups (vide section on Andhra in this Chapter). It is evident that the combination of these two families concentrated much wealth in the hands of this
Table No: 12.
Sata Nasata-Nadika lineage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>331</td>
<td>Pk. Pusa</td>
<td>Pa. Mita (Senapati)</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa. Nadika</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>328</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantisa</td>
<td>322</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

group. Their socio-economic and political affluence was further enhanced when Mita contracted a marriage alliance with another ancient parumaka family, which lived in the north, associated with the Namaduwa burial complex. Parumakala Pusa, a chieftainess in her own right, and her family probably controlled the vital junction connecting the Jaffna Peninsula with the north-central region. In their effort to encroach upon the northern nuclear region militarily, the Gamaṇī lineage could not overlook this family and therefore obtained Mita's services in the capacity of a senapati.

The Mahāvamsa narration very clearly records that, the rulers of Mahāgama (i.e. Gamani lineage, infra pp. 435-37) in their effort to consolidate power in the geo-physical area south of the Mahaweli, depended heavily upon the agrarian elite of south east Sri Lanka. The emergence of this agrarian economy in the south east coincided to a great extent with the chiefdoms controlled by the Gamani lineage. The Mahāvamsa (xxiv 2-3, 58) mentions that this family personally undertook the task of expanding agriculture.
On the basis of the Mahāvamsa, Sahassavatthuppakaraga and Rasavāhini, it is suggested that, while setṭhi, vessa, kutumbika/gahapati and issara in early Sri Lanka had overlapping and allied meanings, there was a simultaneous emergence of a strong and powerful agrarian elite known as Mahākula or Kulageha, who are described as 'addho mahādhana mahābhoga' i.e. holders of great wealth and possessions (Elwala 1969:48-49, 76-78; Hettiarachchy 1972:77-80). According to the Mahāvamsa (xxiii 16-19), Dutthagamani's father recruited one member from each Mahākula family to command the frontier. A cursory examination of certain pararaka inscriptions (stating titles) in south east Sri Lanka, recording second or third generation members of the lineage, indicate that the earliest or the latest members were associated with the Gamani lineage group as their subordinates in the military and civil administration.

Table No: 13

1. Pa. Sumana (Badakarika of Pita Maharajha)
   Pa. Cema
   (No. 625)

2. Pa. Velasumana
   Pa. Vela
   Pa. Pusadeva (Ayaka of Devanapiya rajha Tisa)
   (Nos. 647, 703)
3. Pa. Pusadeva (senāpati)

Naga + Agidata (senāpati of Tissa Maharajha)

(Nos. 704-725)

4. Pa. Abaya (senāpati)

Pa. Pusadeva

Pa. Abaya

(Nos. 665,654)

We may therefore conclude that certain members of the agrarian elite were drawn into serve the Gamiṇi group and assigned the rank of parumaka. In fact, an inscription from south east Sri Lanka refers to one parumaka Deva, the son of gapati (gahapati) Avirada (No. 630), clearly pointing to the socio-economic origins of Deva. The literary texts, also call Nandimitta a member of a Kulageha (Saḥassa, p. 92), while the early inscriptions call him a parumaka and a senāpati of Devanapiya rajha Abaya (No. 620).

Velusumana, another commander of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, was born in Kudumbiyānana in South east Sri Lanka and his father is called a kutumbika (Mv. xxiii 68). An inscription (again from south east Sri Lanka) of parumaka Pusādeva the ayaka (accountant) of Devanapiya rajha Tissa (identifiable with Mahācūḷī Mahātissa, the grandnephew of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī) records the name of his grandfather as parumaka Vasumana (Nos. 647, 703; Codakumbura 1965;315-317). The latter may be identified with senāpati Velusumana in the literary texts.1

1. An inscription in south east Sri Lanka records the genealogy from grandfather to grandson as parumaka Aiyamara > parumaka Cuḍi Tissa > parumaka Cuḍi Tissa (No. 684). The Mahāvamsa (xxiii 49-54) mentions another senāpati of Duṭṭhagāmini as Goṭhaimbāra. If gotha derives from gotha i.e. guild, Aiyamara may have had origins from a commercial background.
In this manner there was an integration of the old elite under the hegemony of the 'first dynasty' and the integration of the new elite into the state structure by designating rank status to them. The crystallization of the Early State did not undermine the relative economic affluence of the parumakas, but on the contrary enhanced it. In fact, almost all inscriptions recording the ownership of reservoirs by parumakas are concentrated in the districts of Anuradhapura and Kurunegala, where political authority of the 'first dynasty' was best established. The kings of the 'first dynasty' seem to have supplemented the income of the parumakas. The texts record that Duṭṭhagāmini gifted a tract of land in western Sri Lanka as a bhōgagāma to senapati Mendimitta (Sahassa p. 28). It can be suggested that the foot-hold the parumakas had in units of production (e.g. kamantagāma, pugi, bhōgagāma, nagara) and control over primary resources (e.g. reservoirs, raw material), may have prompted the rulers of the 'first dynasty' reach the primary producer and localized resources via the parumakas by obtaining their services in the capacity of ayaka (revenue collector), baḍakarika (treasurer) and even city and district administrators (vide Table No. II ). The continued dependence upon them in these areas may have encouraged the hereditary succession to such offices by the parumakas. For instance, on one occasion we hear of 'Baḍakarika parumaka Tisa puta baḍakarika parumaka Naga ...' (No. 22) from an early inscription at Mihintale. A later Brahmi inscription from the north, records a series of offices such as amātya, held for nearly three
generations by the powerful parumaka Vahi lineage group (Nos. 1202, 1205, 1231). We may assume that the parumakas placed themselves as a vital link in the downward penetration of authority and the upward movement of resources and the surplus production.

The conclusive emergence of a class society in the post 2nd Century B.C., further enhanced the strength of the parumakas who secured for themselves a position immediately below royalty. On the one hand this was achieved through lineage, now converted into a class position. The newly recruited parumakas probably used their economic strength to stabilize their class position, thus establishing themselves in the upper range of the newly emerging class hierarchy during the Early Historic period (Table No. 14).

It is extremely significant that the royalty found it fit to have kinship ties with the parumakas. The Brāhmaṇa-parumaka connection is also an interesting one. The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the early inscriptions had kinship ties only with the royalty and with the parumakas.¹ There appears to have been certain Brāhmaṇas who entered the royal services and were designated with the parumaka title. However, this assumption is tentative as the inscriptions are not too clear about the Brāhmaṇa-parumaka affiliation. We give below instances where these two terms occur in association with each other (Nos. 130, 296, 812, 838, 1045, 1136).

1. Parumaka Bama puta parumaka Tisa . . . (No. 130)

¹ According to the Bambaragala inscription, Pocanirajha Naga married the daughter of Brāhmaṇa Kośhara (814).
2. Parumaka bagihara Nita puta parumaka Banaapa
    Utiya ... (No. 296). 

3. Parumaka Suri putaha Banaapa Dataaka lene ... (No. 812)

4. Parumaka Banaapa Tisaha lene ... (No. 838).

5. Sagada Banaapa Megali puta parumaka Nadjima puta
    Dataa ... (No. 1045).

6. Parumaka Banaapa puta danukaya Gutaha ... (No. 1136 - Later
    Brahmi inscriptions)

In some cases the father is known as a Brāhmaṇa and in certain
other inscriptions the son is called thus. However, no inscription
mentions it as the jāti status of both, where as the title or
lineage affiliation parumaka is indicated in association with the
father and the son. It is interesting to question whether the
status of a Brāhmaṇa was acquired in certain cases, especially by
the parumakas who were attempting to give their class exclusiveness
a ritual status as well (vide section of Andhra). As for the rest,
with the exception of the gamikas who are again associated with the
village level administration (themselves being an exclusive group,
infra pp.50-5), the others viz. gañapati, Rata and Aṣa are associated
with the agrarian and commercial elite (infra. pp.473-74), which may
account for their connections with the parumaka.

It is not incorrect to assume that the strategic location of
parumakas in the political economy of the Early Historic period,
may have resulted in their gradual social exclusiveness by the

1. Bagihara is explained as a variation of bagakarika i.e.
treasurer.

2. According to Paranavitana's translation Suri and Data are father
and son. We prefer to consider them as two separate individuals,
making a joint donation.

3. Danukaya is translated as the maker of bows.
Table No. 14

Socio-economic groups affiliated to the parumakas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin affiliates</th>
<th>Social affiliates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mahārāja:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law (994)</td>
<td>1051-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayāi: Son-in-law (655)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abī: Daughter (305, 655)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife (994)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brahmana:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather (1045)</td>
<td>83, 812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father (130, 1045, 1136)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son (296)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bata</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>121, 126, 190, 321, 531-32,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>636, 671, 746, 755, 771, 772,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>776, 1069, 1097, 1180.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gamika:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father-in-law (578)</td>
<td>153 (3 gamikas), 323, 337, 952.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife (853)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gahapati:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father (630)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aśa</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

by the beginning of the Christian era. It is extremely significant that the later Brahmi inscriptions do not indicate parumakas in joint donations with other social groups, with the exception of a Bata in one instance (no. 1180) and (in another fragmentary inscription) the son of the ruling king, the son of a parumaka, the son of an asūya.
and the son of a merchant (vañika) who made a joint donation (Paranavitana 1981:6-7 No. 5). Precisely during this period, one can also witness the emergence of powerful parumaka families such as the Vasiti (Vasiṣṭha) lineage group, who had a near monopoly of certain vital administrative, political and financial positions for almost three generations. It is suggested that this lineage group was probably responsible for undermining the 'first dynasty' by virtue of their political and economic strength (vide Paranavitana 1965:417-418). Paranavitana also suggests that this group may have been Brahmans i.e. Vasiṣṭha (ibid.).

Another interesting feature is the relative decrease in the number of parumakas mentioned in the later Brahmi inscriptions. It is possible that, as Hettiarachchy suggests, the nobility largely represented by the parumakas may have gradually come to be known by another name (1972:75). Most probably, in a new economic context which began to evolve in the post 1st/2nd Century A.D., the term parumaka may have lost its significance or meaning. During this period we find the emergence of a new group of rural administrators at the provincial level, known as the ratiya (ratthika) or the rachiyas of Pliny (McCrindle 1901:104), all of the first generation. Another group, known as the kulīna, emerged simultaneously and they are equated with the earlier Mahākula and

1. It is interesting to note that the office title of Amātya always passed to the eldest son in this lineage group.
Table No: 15

The Vasiti lineage group

Maha Amatya Vasiti

Pa. Amatya Vahiti  Pa. Tisa

Pa. Amatya Tisa  Hamika
(Record Keeper)  (Chamberlain/Dealer in Coined Money)

Pa. Amatya Data  Gopa
(Great Chamberlain)

Endowments made to the Sangha:

1. Two categories of revenue from the tanks of Batavika and Karajavika.
2. Two interior fields of the tank at Kataka nagara.
3. 60 kārisa of land.
5. One vihāra.
6. One cave.

Kulageha (Hettiarachchy 1972:79). It is possible that in the post Christian era, the parumakas and their descendants may have occupied the position of the large land-owing group, though one is uncertain about their actual strength in the administrative structure during this period. We may assume that the parumakas (or their descendants) may have continued to hold bureaucratic positions at the upper level, while the expanding state structure probably recruited a new segment of officers for the lower administrative posts. Interestingly, even without the common use of the term parumaka denoting the nobility, the ruling kings of this time took up the title Maparumaka (Mahā parumaka), which may have some bearing on their authority over the nobility (vide Hettiarachchy 1972:56-59).

IV - ii

The early Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka carry several other honorific terms such as rajha, aya, Gamipī, Devanapīya and Maharajha. These terms have an Indo-Aryan origin and may indicate a lower antiquity than the term parumaka. Inscriptions recording these titles are also less in number than the parumaka inscriptions and have a less intense pattern of distribution (vide map. No. 3). The distribution pattern of these inscriptions also have a relatively strong ecological basis which will be taken up in this section. It may be noted that the terms rajha (rāja), aya and Gamipi (Gāmipī), in their earliest phase, indicated chieftains.

1. Buddhaddāta points out that by 450 A.D. the Kūlīna were the nobility who possessed land in lieu of services (1950:99). It is interesting to note that in addition to their strong base for the monarchy provided by the Kūlīna, Dhotusena, who captured power in c. 460 A.D. is referred to as a descendant of a Kutumbika family (Cv. xxxviii 14).
Subsequently, *raja* and *aya* carried a slightly different connotation as honorifics incorporated to the Early State while the term Gamini came to represent the 'first dynasty', though its linkage with the area of origin i.e. south east Sri Lanka, was not totally severed during the Early Historic period. Both Maharajha (*Maharaja*) and Devanapiya (*Devanampriya*) were exclusively taken up by the kings of Anuradhapura and Mahāgrama or Kacharagama. These title holders definitely indicate a post 3rd Century B.C. development and it is interesting to locate especially the *raja* and *aya* group within an ecological context to understand the probable dynamics that gave rise to such political formations. In the ensuing study, we propose taking up some cases from different ecological zones to substantiate our argument.

An early Brahmi inscription from Mihintale near Anuradhapura mentions a Diparajha (*Diparaja*) and his daughter Mahabi (*Mahambika*) (No. 37). Basing his arguments on literary texts such as the *Samāhavinōdanti* (the commentary of the *Vibhaṅga*), Paranavitana suggests that Diparajha (lit. 'King of the island') was the ruler of Nagadipa or present Jaffna Peninsula (1970:lxiii; 1959:229; Hettiarachchy 1972:52-53). Recent excavations at Anaikottai in western Jaffna Peninsula revealed a skeleton from the lowest levels of Layer III datable to 2nd/1st Century B.C. (Seneviratne 1985: 240-242). The skeleton carried a bronze signet ring with megalithic pictograms and Early Brahmi letters; the latter reading koveta. During the pre-Christian years, (ko)vėntar in Tamilaham was a 'Crowned King' and the geographical nearness of the Jaffna...
Peninsula had to Tamilaham frequently brought in elements of techno-cultural and institutional innovations. It may be speculated that vēnta and rajha were synonymous. While kōvēnta may indicate an unequal status vis a vis other such chieftains, the titles Diparajha and his daughter Mahabli, also reflect an unequal status among the resident political elite in Early Historic Jaffna Peninsula.

We may note, that this particular region had a thriving marine industry of fishing and chanks from the Proto Historic period and operated a complex network of oceanic communication linked with south India and the northern coastal belt of Sri Lanka. The peninsula has a series of BRW sites and two burial sites. Kantarodai has yielded several C-14 dates ranging from B.C. 500-450 from the Megalithic-BRW level, which is at an approximate depth of 12 feet below the surface. Thus, this time span and craft/commercial activity may have given sufficient time for a separate geo-political unit to evolve in the Jaffna Peninsula during the Pre-Christian period, where there may have been the emergence of a powerful chieftain i.e. Diparajha over the rest of the chieftains. Epigraphical evidence clearly indicates that at least from the 1st Century A.D. the Peninsula was governed by the Anuradhapura kings as a single administrative unit, known as Makadiva i.e. Magadipa.

1. Several Megalithic and BRW sites indicate smelting activity, and the raw material for Pre-Industrial iron smelting can be procured in these areas. Glass sand at Vallipuram and Ampam in the Peninsula (Herath 1975:55) was probably used for the glass bead industry. The Sihalavathupakara (7) records the existence of a village by the name Hiritālagāma in Magadipa. Haritāla is arsenic trisulphide. It is used in small proportions to give a hardening effect to bronze implements (Hodges 1965:69).
There is little reason to accept Hettiarachchy's view that the mere association of Devanampiyatissa with the port site of Jambukolapattana (when the Bō sapling was brought by Sanghamitta), indicates his authority over this region (1972:146).

In the north west, at Oocappuhali, a second Rajha inscription records 'rajha kanasa puta rajaputa kanasa ...' (No. 111). The very location of this area, on the narrow alluvial strip of the Modaragam Aru (which ultimately joins with the Gulf of Mannar) and the association of its delta region with pearl fishing is significant. While the urn burial site of Tekkam is in the vicinity, at Pookulam (the estuary of the Modaragam Aru) there are heaps of Megalithic/Early Historic BRW mixed with pearl oyster shell embedded in coastal ridges (Seneviratne 1984:245). This region was occupied by Proto Historic communities living within a marine-littoral ecology and they operated a multi-resource broad-spectrum subsistence pattern. The importance of chank and pearl may have brought prosperity to these chieftains (vide Gunawardana 1980:9) and this exchange process through the long distance trade mechanism introduced elements of the Great Tradition to the elite groups.

1. In a recent paper, Veluppillai questions Paranavitana's effort to identify Maharaţa Vahaya with Vasabha (1981:1-14).
2. For geographical details and descriptions on the cultural remains in this area, see Brohier 1935:11, 27.
3. During the early 20th Century, the British administration was strongly advised to locate its pearl fishing headquarters at Marichchukkaddi which is situated opposite Pookulam on the estuary of the Modaragam Aru (Twynam 1902:22).
4. Gunawardena draws our attention to an inscription mentioning a Bhujakatika navika, which is found in the adjacent region (ibid.; Paranavitana 1970:No.105). The occurrence of Barata/Bata inscriptions and also one mentioning an ati-ajariya (hasti-echarya) i.e. elephant trainer (elephants being a popular export item) in the neighbouring sites (Nos.112-114) points to a commercial interaction via this region.
It is likely that a powerful parumaka chieftain may have changed his title to rajha and his successor as rajaputa, in an effort to establish some degree of difference from the rest.

It is interesting to note that another early Brahmi inscription mentions one Tisa as Kanagama rajha (No. 14). Paranavitana's effort to equate this individual with Tissa of Kalyāṇi has been rejected by Hettiarachchy (1972:35 Note 13). It is not possible that rajha kana and Kanagama rajha Tisa may have been connected. It was not uncommon during this period for place names of villages, cities, tanks, etc. to be named after the founder (infra pp.410-11). It is also significant that a gama is associated with the place of residence of a rajha, indicating the undeveloped nature of the polity located within a micro ecological zone embracing clan villages.

A third local rajha group was identified (by Nicholas) in four inscriptions from Periya-Puliyanakulam (1963:86; Nos. 338-341; also Gunawardana 1980:8; Seneviratne 1984:296 map).¹

rajha Naga
   Abi Anuradi + rajha Uti

The location of this inscription in this particular area is very significant. We have already pointed out two important mineral resources located in this region and the occurrence of the Namaduwa megalithic complex near the cave sites (vide Seneviratne 1984:246-47)

¹. Originally Paranavitana subscribed to this view (1963:250) though he later attempted to identify Naga and Uti as brothers of Devānampiyatissa known to the chronicles as Mahānāga and Uttiya (1970:iii - liii).
The occurrence of over 50 early Brahmi inscriptions, some recording donations of parumaka families, points to the existence of a settlement and political nucleus at an early date in this region. Further to this, the inscriptions also indicate the existence of full-time specialists in crafts (metal-smiths, jewellers) and even merchants from south India indicating craft/commercial centres in this region, located on the primary route connecting the Jaffna Peninsula with the north-central region. Thus, we have the emergence of a rajha (perhaps from the parumaka group and the use of the title term abi (ambika) indicating social and even cultural differentiation from the rest of the elite. One may also note that Rajha Nagas son-in-law also had the title rajha. He may have been a chieftain of another local polity, indicating matrimonial alliance between two rajha groups.

The chronicles indicate that a chieftaincy (called a kingdom in the texts) existed with its centre located at Anurâdhapura, which has an unbroken techno-cultural sequence from the Mesolithic to the Early Historic. The institutional formation of the community associated with this site obviously had an early development and may correspond, even in some limited manner, to the exaggerated narrations in the Mahâvaṃsa.

In this connection we cannot totally overlook the role of Pandukâbhaya (a pre-3rd Century B.C. chieftain of Anurâdhapura) who integrated tracts of land around Anuradhapura. He also wielded authority over different techno-cultural groups such as the Yakkhas (mesolithic people) and pastoralists, and subdued his kinsmen to acquire the status of a dominant chieftain (vide Mv. x). The non-occurrence of rajha inscriptions at Anuradhapura and in its vicinity,
with the exception of a few at Mihintale which are attributable to chieftains from other regions, may indicate that by the 3rd Century B.C. the western sector of the north-central province may have formed the chieftaincy of Anuradhapura. It is evident that the fertile agrarian tract and its central location provided this site with an additional advantage.

A chieftain who held sway over this region in the 3rd Century B.C. a contemporary of Asoka, initiated gift-exchange and obtained certain sanctions from the powerful Mauryas. Studies by Paranavitana (1936), Eliawala (1969:20-27), Hettiarachchy (1972: 24-33) and Gunawardana (1980) highlight the significance of this association and the introduction of the north Indian consecration ceremony along with the title Devānapiya (Devanapiya in the inscriptions) to the house of Anuradhapura around 250 B.C. We have already indicated the impact made by the Mauryas on the indigenous politics of Andhra and south India, where it initiated elements of institutional development and the symbolism associated with political structures in pre-state societies. It is clear that following these ceremonies or taking up the title Devanapiya did not give real authority to the chieftain of Anuradhagama.

However, the Mauryan connection, symbols such as the consecration ceremony, the Devanapiya title, the acceptance of an institutionalized religious ideology as the primary spiritual symbol, provided this chieftain an element of differentiation from the rest. The coincidence of the Maharajha and Devanapiya titles in inscriptions is a case in point.
The chieftains of Anuradhapura successfully established this settlement as the political and ritual centre over every other political nucleus of the Early Historic period. It is therefore not surprising to find donative records of Dipa rājha, Kanagama rājha, and the Gamiṇī chieftains of Kacaragāma, at Mihintale, the ritual centre near Anuradhapura. The Mahāvamsa (xix 53-55) also mentions various chieftains who arrived at Anuradhapura to pay homage to the Bodi tree sent by As'oka to Devanampiyatissa. Subsequent to his victory over the north, Duṭṭhabābali took the titles Devanampiya-Mahārāja, which was a conscious effort made to perpetuate these symbolic titles of authority held by the pre-existing chiefs of Anuradhapura. Interestingly, the descendants of this dynasty were known by the title term ‘Devanampiya kula’, which fell in to disuse after their decline (vide Hettiarachchey 1972:49).

Another political unit may have existed in the middle Yan Oya area. An inscription from Mattukanda reads ‘Damarajhasa Upata 9 8 (No. 168). Another inscription above this one, reads ‘Karakapi gamika pute gamika Tissa puti Utiya lene …’ (ibid.). These may be considered as separate inscriptions though chronologically they may belong to the same period. We have already pointed out to the large megalithic complex, the high concentration of early Brahmi inscriptions and the occurrence of a variety of mineral

1. Devanampiyatissa is said to have initiated the construction of cave dwellings (68 in number) at Mihintale to the Sangha led by Mahinda vis. ‘Kantakacatiyasāthānas parito tadahe va so Kamma arabhapatva lenani atthasatthiyo …’ (Mv. rvi. 12-13).
resources in this region. The existence of two generations of gamikas points to the development of a rudimentary political and administrative hierarchy and a regulated mechanism to extract surplus production. The institution of gamika was a post-2nd Century B.C. development and therefore Uti may have belonged to the 1st Century B.C. and most probably Damarejha may have belonged to the same period.

It may be suggested that the title holder Damarejha emerged after the powerful Nadika parumaka family, who held sway over this region in the 2nd Century B.C. (supra pp. 391-92). Gnanawardana calls this individual rajha Dama (op. cit.). Damarejha or Dharma-rāja was a title taken up by contemporary local chieftain in the Deccan who were themselves absorbed to the Great Tradition and were patrons of the Buddhist faith. One is not quite certain whether Damarejha rose from the parumaka rank and wielded political authority over others and also took up a quasi-religious title as Damarejha.

Literary texts of the later period mention another local political entity by the name Sūrurattha covering the deltaic areas of the Mahaveli. The Dhātuvasa (39) records the existence of a chiefdom under Siva rāja, who is described as a contemporary of Kāvantissa of Mahāgāma (c. 2nd Century B.C.). The Mahāvasa mentions early community movement from eastern India to Gokarna, which is the ancient name for this region (viii 12-13, 24-25).1 Proto Historic investigations indicate the existence of a cist burial site at Kadiraveli, south east of this region (Paranavitana 1928-33:94).

1. The Dātuvasa (38-39) states that Kāvantissa's brother-in-law Abhaya migrated from his hill principality at Giri-nuvara to Sūrurattha.
There are several early Brahmi inscription bearing sites in the surrounding area pointing to settled communities during the Early Historic period. This region is best known for its vast mineral resources, mainly found in the massive copper-magnetite deposit at Seruwila (which also carries silver and arsenic). In addition garnet and pumice stone also occur in the deltaic area.  

A second group of rajha inscriptions can be found in an ecological context different from the northern Dry Zone. This group of inscriptions is located at entry points to the northern lower hills and along river routes connecting these hills.  

An independent polity was situated in the strategically important upper reaches of the Kelani and Maha Oya rivers in western Sri Lanka. Inscriptions from Lenagala and Yatahalena give us the following lineage group:

1. The potential of this area as a mineral rich zone was known to the Early Historic communities who exploited it from an early date. The Mahāvamsa describes this area as Taṁbapiṭṭha (xxviii. 16-17), while there is an inscription close to this region recording an endowment by a parumaka Tabara Veļa (No.319).
Endowments in the form of shares donated from:

1. Upali (792)  
2. Ka... gama (792)  
3. Dusaratara gama (793) (for rainy season)  
4. Patala gama (793) (for rainy season)  
5. Nilaya nagara (794)  
6. Salivaya (794)  
7. Siva nagara (796a)  
8. Gama gama (795)

On the basis of the Mahāvamsa narration (xxii.7), Hettiarachchy identifies Devanapiyya of No. 792 with Devānampiyatissa of Anuradhapura and goes on to call this group a sub-section of the main line at Anuradhapura (1972:37; also Gunawardana 1980:9-10).

Whether this is tenable or not, there are certain salient features associated with this lineage group. First, there is a strict adherence to a practice found in the Dravidian kinship structure, known as payaran, where the grandson takes up the name of his grandfather. This was often followed by the parumakas. Secondly, a consort of Aya Siva bore the name Veṣa, which is a personal name as well as a group name i.e. Veṣir. Thirdly, in the following section we take up the problem of aya and Gamani and attempt to question as to why the descendants of Dusārata did not continue the title rajha. Fourthly, Gamani Siva obviously took great care to record his genealogy, probably as a charter to justify his claim to authority, lineage purity and exclusiveness. Gamani Siva may be placed around the 1st Century B.C. (Gunawardana 1980:10) and the Maharaja inscription at Koratota, on the lower Kelani valley may belong to the same period (No. 1103). This may point to the extension of authority over this region by the royal house at Anuradhapura and a sense of insecurity experienced by Gamani Siva.
who stakes his claim to this region as a descendant of the ruling clan of Anuradhapura.

In any event, the location of the Dusatara lineage group in this region has important economic significance. We have already pointed out to the existence of Megalithic-BRW sites in the middle and the upper Maha Oya and the occurrence of the same in the lower Kelani valley. The latter region also has a strong tradition associating it with the Nagas, gems and maritime trade. It is extremely significant that the early inscriptions from the upper Maha Oya, actually mention the arrival of the manikara of the lapidary, who obviously came in search of precious stones. The best example comes from Mampita Vihara (almost adjoining Yatalalena) where an early inscription records the donation of coins by a manikara (No. 791). A second inscription from the upper reaches of the Maha Oya, at Vegiriya, records a combined donation by a group of craftsmen which includes two manikara (No. 807).

It is also possible that this lineage group may have been responsible for the extension of habitation sites in this region. The occurrence of*gama* and *nagara* named after certain members of this lineage group may indicate that these individuals were probably the founders of such settlements which bore their names viz. Dusatara *gama*, Diva *nagara* etc. The endowment of shares (*patake*) from such settlements to the monks clearly shown that they had direct control over these settlement units. In addition, the location of craftsmen in this area again points to the control they wielded over resources, labour, production and distribution.

On the middle Deduru river valley, at Patahamullia-vihara a cave inscription mentions a *Rata Naka rajha* (No. 935). In a
The latter can be identified with the Paratavar of south India, who were a part of the merchant community. It is not impossible that a Parata/Bata may have derived political power through economic activity and quite logically acquired the title rajha. The economic significance of this area will be discussed in a subsequent section in relation to the ayas. In any event, one may note that the Patahamulla Vihara site also carries inscriptions of a kumbala (potter), a samika and a parumaka named Naga (Nos. 934, 936, 937). These indicate the existence of craft groups, rudimentary village level administrators, probably under the authority of Bata rajha Naga.1

Another important group of inscriptions from the upper Mahaweli region lists the genealogical table of a local ruling group which held sway over the north-central region of the hill country. In a recent study Gunawardana corrected the original readings made by Peranalavitana and arranged the genealogical table available from the inscriptions at Emberegala and Gonavatta (Nos. 614, 613) in the following manner (1980:12):

(A)  
Pocunikarajha  
|  
rajha Abaya  
|  
rajha Naga  
|  
(Poconirajha Naga)  
|  
rajha Abaya  
|  
Ganini Tissa  
|  
Bamana Kojharu  
|  
Datta  

It is significant that the Sanskrit word Naga means rock/mountain as well as precious stone and jewel. It is also suggested that this was borrowed by the Dravidian languages (Emeneau et Barrow 1962:42 No. 221).
In yet another group of inscriptions found at Ambulambe, the following table can be obtained (Nos. 811-33). It is quite likely that Group B may have been affiliated to Group A. While

(B)

```
        Pacina rajha
         |      |
         Tisa aya + Raki
         |
  rajha Abaya
         |
  Tisa aya
```

Abhaya and Tisa occur in both inscriptions, only Gamani and aya interchange. If this is acceptable we get the following genealogical table:

(C)

```
        Pocunika rajha
         |      |
         Bama rajhara
         |
  rajha Abaya
         |
  rajha Naga
   | (Pocani/Pacina rajha Naga) |
   |      |
  rajha Abaya
         |
  Gamini Tisa
```

These inscriptions have several interesting features associated with this group. Depending upon the variation associated with the name, Peranavitana suggests both 'eastern' and 'ancient' as the meanings for Pocani and Pacina (1970:lxiii). Interestingly, this term is always used to denote the lineage ancestor i.e. the first person of the lineage group, hence the ancient one/person is more
tenable (vide section on the Veñīr). Gamani Tissa probably had a strong reason for recording his genealogy and may point to a relatively insecure position, similar to the situation faced by Gamani Siva of the Duṣātara lineage. Most probably the Anuradhapura ruler was expanding his authority over this region by the 1st Century B.C. It is possible that this group may have represented an independent polity (Hettiarachchy 1972:35; also Gunawardana 1980:12-13), which is contrary to Paranavithana's assumption that they were descendants of the Anuradhapura ruling house (1970:lxiii). In any event, the occurrence of a series of inscriptions giving the name Devanapiya Mahārāja Gamani Tissa and the symbols at Dambulla which is not far from Ambulambe (No. 835), establishes the presence of political authority wielded by the Anuradhapura rulers over this region.

Again an interesting feature is the practice of (peyarāna) taking up of the grandfather's name. The only exception to this rule was Gamani/aya Tissa, who apparently took his uncle's name. In any event, at some point of time, this lineage group had established their socio-political hegemony over the middle Mahaveli and the lower plains extending up to the Dambulla-Sigiriya area. It is precisely this exclusiveness as the ruling elite of this region that enabled one of the members to marry a Brāhmin's daughter.

The economic factor related to this group is more important for our discussion. The location of early inscriptions from Dambulla to Kandy and along the river valley to the east, clearly points to a route moving from the northern Dry Zone via Dambulla-Nalanda-Matale-Kandy-Mahiyangana leading to the eastern plains.
Ambulambe, which carries the Pacina rajha inscription is located south of Dambulla. This particular region has large quantities of mica, precious stone and limestone formations. An early inscription from Demada oya, south of Ambulambe, very clearly mentions the arrival of lapidaries (marikara) to this area to obtain blocks of stone (No. 830). It is extremely significant that near Bambaragala (which has the inscription of Pocanizajha Naga), near the 14½ mile post on the Kandy-Teldeniya road, is the village named Henagehumala (lit. 'the pit where lightning struck'). This area has a strong red formation in the soil and also yielded copper in the form of azurite. It is therefore not surprising to find another inscription, mentioning Pocumika rajha in the genealogical list given by Gaman Tissa, at Gonawatta which is situated at the 5½ mile post on the Kandy-Teldeniya road. This lineage group therefore controlled a mineral rich area with its routes and habitation centres for nearly five generations. The inscription at Bambaragala mentions a Koligama, Kalata and one Cittanagara (No. 815) which were settlement and production units located in this region.

The control over this route extending east and regional resources concentrated in such regions is further seen by taking up for study two important inscriptions found at Olagamgala (about 10 miles south of Mahiyangana) which is strategically located at the entry point to the hills (No. 756-57). The inscriptions list the following genealogy, where the practice of peyesan was not followed, but the name Siva continued during all three generations.

It is also significant that, the Siva lineage also associates the

1. The terms (naga) naka > nakan in Dravidian means black lead, zinc and prepared arsenic, which are used in the mineral processes related to the copper/bronze industry. The Tamil Lexicon (iv.2195) describes naka-v-uppu as white vitriol, naka-chuvikar as red arsenic and naka-karpura as red lead.
title rajha only with its first member as in the case of Dus̄atara lineage. The second and third generations took up the little aya. This region has been featured in the literary texts in association with Yakkas and the Mahāvamsa also records that a nephew of Devānampiyatissā, named Uddhacāṭabhaya, held sway over this region (vide Nicholas 1983:49; Hettiarachchyi 1972:147).

We have already mentioned the occurrence of copper (bearing minerals/ slag) at the Koka-gala (on the Maha oya) which is situated close to this site in a north east direction. It is possible that this group controlled this junction connecting routes arriving from the north along the Mahaweli; from the east along the Maha oya and from the south along the Badulu oya, probably for three generations.

The above case studies from the central hills indicate that the location of rajha inscriptions had a particular ecological basis and the importance of such material considerations in the formation or in the evolution of independent polities. It is precisely due to this reason that before taking up the rajha group of south east Sri Lanka in our study, it may be useful to discuss the aya group mentioned in the early inscriptions from a locational and political point of view.
IV - iii

Aya has been explained as a title taken up by the royalty, more specifically by the junior members, following the Maurya practice of addressing the princes of royal blood as ayya/aya puta (ārya putra) in the Asokan edicts. Hence, Paranavitana equates this term with kumāra (1970:lxvi). It is believed that as aya derives from (Sanskrit) ārya or (Pāli) āyya, which means honourable, respectable, noble, lord, master etc. (Hettiarachchy 1972:65). Hettiarachchy does not attribute this term exclusively to the main royal house, and suggests that it was taken up by petty local rulers as well (ibid. 66-68). It is also suggested that aya may have derived from the Dravidian term āyya and ai, which denoted superior status (Gunawardana 1980:7).

The distribution pattern of the Aya inscriptions is an interesting one. The highest concentration is in the eastern sector of the island. The inscriptions in this area are again situated in two main eco-zones i.e. entry points to the hill country and the lower plains in proximity to the coastal areas. The main group representing the latter can be found in the area watered by the Mahaweli and the Maha oya. Judging by the locational character and the content of these inscriptions, it is quite apparent that the ayaśas had their own chiefdoms and controlled strategic resources.

The inscriptions in this region may give us certain information on these aspects. An inscription from Kaludupotana on the lower Maha oya mentions a cave founded during the reign (i.e. rajāyaśa) of the son of Aya Abaya (No. 396). A second inscription from Kolladeniya, which is on the upper reaches of the Gal-oya, in the
lower hills, also mentions a cave founded during the reign (rajhiyad) of one Aya Naga (ibid. 736). According to Hettiarachchy Abaya and Naga were local rulers having connections with Anuradhapura (1972:66-67), Gunawardana quite correctly points out that they held sway over independent polities (1980:10, 22).

There are also other inscriptions which refer to their economic control. An inscription from Kandakadu mentions one Aya Tisa, and his son Maha Aya. The latter had his own ayaka (revenue officer), a gamika named Mahatisa (No. 289).\(^1\) A second inscription from Balahurukanda, on the upper reaches of Kirindi-oya, also mentions an abi Upala who had a parumaka Sumana as her ayaka (No. 761).

The Kaludupotana inscription is situated in the fertile lower valley near the coast and had a route traversing this region. The Kolladeniya inscription is situated in an entry-point area as well as a rich mineral yielding zone, which is close to Okkampitiya, an important source of mineral stones. The Balahurukanda inscription and yet another one at Kirimakulgolla mentioning an Aya Kera and his son Aya Mahasiva (No. 768)\(^2\), are located on the upper reaches of the Kirindi and Walawe rivers respectively. Balahurukanda is on the vital route connecting the south-east coast via the Rawanella area cutting across the range to the Badulu oya which joins up with the Mahaweli river south of Mahiyangana. Recent excavations at the

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1. Evidence is insufficient to establish Gunawardana's suggestion (1980:19) that Aya Tisa of Kandakadu, may be the same as Gamani Tisa mentioned in other inscriptions found in this region (viz. Henannegala, Kusalakanda, Rajagala, vide Paranavitana 1970:Nos. 406,389). It is also difficult to associate the two symbols with the ayaka group at Kandakadu and it is more accurate to associate it with the gamika. Interestingly, this inscription also mentions one Gamika Tisa who is called the marumakana (nephew/son-in-law) of ayaka gamika Maha Tisa.

2. It is difficult to accept Paranavitana's suggestion that this
Rawanella caves yielded Early Historic BRW, iron slag and ore from the upper Mesolithic levels. Similarly, there are several cave inscription and early Buddhist sites on the upper Walawe (Collins 1932; Nos. 765-776; Adithiya 1971:151-165) and it is now clear that the Early Historic culture was encroaching upon the Mesolithic habitat in the upper Walawe (Deraniyagala et Kennedy 1972:18-47). The above mentioned areas have direct access to the mineral yielding zones, the chief supplier to the habitations in the lower regions and to the coast, probably for export purposes. Parker obtained large pieces of uncut amethyst, chalcedony and quartz, crysoberyl, tourmaline from the Early Historic levels at Tissamaharama (1884:47, 60). He also observed the occurrence of a large amount of raw material in the form of iron nodules from the same levels (ibid. 27, 60) which can be found with ease in the limonitic deposits of the upper Walawe (Herath, 1975:26).

The fact that the ayas had their own ayaka or revenue officers indicate two things. First, the ayas had sufficient authority to extract the surplus from the primary producer. Secondly, they had a rudimentary network of administration to extract this surplus. For this purpose, the ayas utilized local elite groups. In one case the ayaka was a gamika while in another case it was a perumaka. This also reflects the elements of hierarchization that had emerged during this period where the ayas held a relatively higher position.

Cont’d ... f.n. from p. 419 inscription refers to Mutasisiva’s son Kira mentioned in the Dipavamsa or with Kerala, a region, or its people (1970:lxv; 106).

1. Early Historic BRW was found from the estuaries of Kirindi oya at Bundala and Walawe at Ambalantota (S. Deraniyagala 1981:150-51; Seneviratne 1984:263).
than the gamikas and the parumakas. An inscription from Situlpauva mentions a parumaka's daughter who married an aya, (No. 655). Interestingly, she acquired the title abi after her marriage, indicating an elevation of status.

Three other inscriptions mentioning ayas are located in western Sri Lanka at Nuwarakanda, Hipavuwa and Rangirimada, on the middle Deduru oya valley (Nos. 919, 960, 958). These inscriptions are not too distantly located from the cist burial site at Pin wewa. A fourth inscription is found at Sonağıru, on the upper reaches of the river Kelani, and it mentions one aya Majhima (TSS 1979:1:1:14). More important to note is the strategic location of this region in association with a route leading from the plains to the minerally rich hills. The occurrence of an early inscription mentioning a vamike (merchant) at Vilba Vihara (No. 897) may point to resource movement. The Mahāvamsa also records the occurrence of silver further up river at Ambatthakola and specifically mentions that a caravan merchant dealing in ginger, plying between the city and the hills, discovered this mineral (xxviii, 20-35). There are other inscriptions in this region which mention householders, farmers (naguli), craftsmen (blacksmiths, potters) and even corporate bodies i.e. pugi (infra Chap. 4). All this points to the existence of agrarian-craft-commercial groups and urban as well as village centres in this valley. Inscriptions from Rangirimada mention a settlement known

1. While the Nuwarakanda inscription mentions one aya Dubita, Hipavuwa and Rangirimada mention an aya Utiya. Interestingly, the Mahāvamsa (xxii. 13-14) mentions an ayya Utiya who fled in order to escape the wrath of his brother Raja Tissa of Kalyāṇi. Ayya Utiya is known as Utiya Kumara in the Extended Mahāvamsa. Utiya is said to have founded a janapada in his name. The Extd. Mv. records that Utiya janapada was situated close to the western coast (xxii. 44).
as Aba Nagara (Nos. 959, 962). It is therefore not surprising that these chieftains were careful enough to extract the surplus production. In this case too, the aya obtained the service of certain other elite groups. The ayaka of aya Utiya is known as parumaka Naga. Similarly, the inscription at Sonagiri records the ayaka of aya Majhima as a samika (TSS op. cit.), indicating a similar hierarchicalization in this region too.

Finally, we may take up the aya inscriptions north of the valleys of Mahaweli and Deduru. From widely distributed areas we have four inscriptions mentioning the ayas of this region, and the title seems to have been acquired.¹


\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{rajha} \\
\text{Daraka Aya} \\
\text{Utiya}
\end{array}
\]

(B) Nihintale (No. 75)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Maha Aya} \\
\text{(puta)}
\end{array}
\]

(C) Piduragala (No. 873)²

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Siva (of Kolagama)} \\
\text{Majhima Aya} \\
\text{Tisa devi}
\end{array}
\]

1. It is possible that a parumaka's daughter, who is associated with the honorific abi, mentioned in an inscription from Rutugalla, may have acquired it, perhaps by marriage (No. 305).

2. Piduragala is located near Sigiriya. Geographically though this inscription falls within the area covered by the Mahaweli basin, regionally it is situated in the eco-zone associated with the north-central province.
There appears to be a regional variations related to the aya group. In the eastern quarter the general tendency is for the aya to occur independently and in certain cases their reign is mentioned. Outside this zone, only in three cases do we come across this situation. On certain occasions, in western Sri Lanka and in the northern hills, the title aya normally follows the rajha title. A similar situation is also found in the south east quarter of the island. In the north, the aya title holder follows another person or title holder and also carries a prefix of the status of an office attached to the personal name or individual viz. Daraka aya, Maha aya, amati. This regional variation has an underlying association with the evolution of political institutions.

The occurrence of independent aya groups in the fringe areas of the eastern hills and in the eastern plains and also in two isolated cases in the western fringes of the hills may indicate that in peripheral areas and in areas of relative isolation, certain individuals who possessed political and economic power differentiated themselves from the rest of the elite by taking up this title. This upward mobility is clearly seen in the case of Mahima aya from Piduragala, where his father is not associated with any title, where as his own daughter carries the suffix devi (No. 873). Gunawardana sums this up saying '... it reflects a situation where the son of a leader of a settlement (gana) had become powerful enough to set up himself as the ruler of a larger grouping' (1980:14). Conversely they also employed other elite groups such as the parumakas and the
gamikas, especially where the ayas held sway over independent polities.

It is also interesting to question whether the aya group had a gradation i.e. in terms of the qualitative and the quantitative level of authority they wielded over the community and region. One may observe that such a gradation can be noticed in the following viz. aya > majhima > aya > maha aya > daraka aya.

It is suggested that daraka derives from deraka i.e. child, and therefore daraka-aya means heir-apparent (Paranavitana 1970: lxvi). However, in the Indian context daraka in inscriptions is described as 'the son of a king, whose mother's rank does not assure him an official title' (Sircar 1966:84). In any event, the Nachchiarmalai inscription clearly indicates a gradual decline in the title holdings from the grandfather to the grandson viz. rajha > daraka aya > Utiya (No. 378). Hettiarchochy holds the view that the Maha aya title found at Mihintale (No. 75) and at Kandegamakanda (No. 289), means heir-apparent (1972:102). In this instance too, there is some contradiction about the actual status of the title holder. For instance, the Maha aya title holder at Kandegamakanda seems to have wielded greater political and economic strength than his father, who held only the title aya. This Maha aya also had his own ayaka for revenue collection, representing greater authority. However, it is possible that with the political consolidation of Anuradhapura over a greater part of the island, this title may have been used as an honorific for members of the royal house wielding authority as provincial or regional governors. From a series of inscriptions at Rajagala (eastern Sri Lanka) each son of Gamani Tissa carried the titles rajha, Maha aya, aya (vide
Similarly, eleven early Brahmi inscriptions from Gallena Vihara (middle Kala oya) mentions one Aya Tisa, the son of Devanapiya Maharajha Gamani Abaya (Nos. 1018–1028).

The title may have originated in the east and perhaps derived from an Indo-Aryan context aryà/âyà. It was taken up in the east and in the hills as an honorific to denote scions of elite families, so as to identify the successor in certain cases and in other cases to identify junior members (vide rajha Dusátara and Pochina rajha lineages). Interestingly, in certain cases, later members of the lineage group discontinued the aya title and took up the gamani title (vide rajha Dusátara lineage). Perhaps with the ascendancy of the Gamiṇi lineage to the helm, the aya title holders may have been absorbed to the newly evolving political and administrative structure. In fact from north west Sri Lanka, at Pichandiyaya, an early inscription mentions one aya Mahāsēna, the samātya of an upa-rajha (No. 1064). It is also significant that this honorific does not occur in the later Brahmi inscriptions, indicating perhaps the consolidation of the ruling class in a more organized manner.

**Table No. 16**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devanapiya Maharajha</th>
<th>Gamani Tisa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajha Lajhaka</td>
<td>Maha Aya</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yahaśini</td>
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<td>Aya Tisa</td>
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<td>Abijhata</td>
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(Nos. 422–428)
A discussion of the rajha group located in east and south east Sri Lanka, is essentially a study of the Gamaṇi lineage, which gives further insight to the process of political formation and also the spread of the Indo-Aryan culture element during this epoch.

There has been considerable discussion of the term gamaṇi occurring in Indian Literature (Nacdonnel et Keith 1912:1247; Law 1921:87-88; Majumdar 1969:124, 144) and also its occurrence in the lithic records and the Pāli works of Sri Lanka (Paranavitana 1936; 1960-61; Perera 1949:1.45; Ellawala 1969:51-54; Hettiarachchya 1972: 9-12; Perera 1978:169-171). Paranavitana concluded that, "... when the Pāli canon was being redacted, which was about the same time as when Āryan immigrants from North India were colonizing Ceylon, the word Gamaṇi ... was applicable not only to the headman of a village, but also the leader ... whether political, military, mercantile or otherwise ... In none of the references has the word Gamaṇi been used for a king" (1960-61:6), with the exception of the Mahābhārata which speaks of "the mighty Grāmāṇeyas on the banks of the Sindh as rulers" (1970:lxv). The necessity for a government in early Sri Lanka resulted in the election of leaders from among the parumakas, where as the former continued to use the titles such as Gamaṇi, Mahāraja and Devānampriya (1936:459-500).

Perera has suggested that, since the grāmaṇi (in India) was associated with the headmanship of the village, this aspect may throw light on the origin of kingship in Sri Lanka from the village system (1949:1.45). Ellawala and Hettiarachchya have declined to accept
this position as the village headman in early Sri Lanka has been specifically referred to in the inscriptions as 'gamaka' (1969:54; 1972:9-10).

It has been argued that the early settlements of Sri Lanka, which were the gāmas, established by the pioneer colonists, indicated a large settlement of people rather than a village in any ordinary sense. According to Hettiarachchy, the gāma and janapada were qualitatively the same, and were large settlements possibly housing clans (1972:16). Therefore, Hettiarachchy holds the view that the Gāmapī was perhaps the leader of these large settlements and not a village headman (ibid. 12, 16). He further states that Gāmapī was a title (and not a personal name), '... used in early Ceylon in the sense of a warlike leader' (ibid. 21). Even the term 'Abhaya' (fearless) is often used in association with Gāmapī. Hettiarachchy argues that the leadership in war may have been conditioned by threats faced by the early settlers encountering the aborigines and by later arrivals (ibid.). It is also believed that this title was used more or less by the 'first dynasty' at Anuradhapura, though local rulers also used it from c. 3rd - 1st Century B.C. (ibid. 7-9).

According to Geiger (1933:313-321), the term Gāmapī was used earliest among the princes of Rōhapa (in the East and south-east Sri Lanka). This idea has been contested mainly by Paranavitana, who holds the view that, the Gāmapīs of ancient Sri Lanka may have

1. This equation made by Hettiarachchy between gāma and janapada does not hold ground as these two settlement units had specific characteristics denoting their nature.
been the first leaders from the early settlements. Paranavitana has further argued that if Duṭṭhagānapati was thus named to indicate the lordship of Mahagama according to the Mahāvamsa, then the same title was applicable to the overlord of Anuradhapura in the earliest period (Mv. xxii. 71; 1936:144).

Those who argue for a western Indian origin of the pioneer colonizers of Sri Lanka, consider the term Gāmapi as an indication of this connection (ibid. 459; Basham 1952:169). According to the Pali sources, the initial occupation of the earliest colonizers occurred in north-west Sri Lanka. However, none of the early texts contain the term Gāmapi in association with this group of 'colonizers'.

The Dipavamsa introduces for the first time a Gāmapi, who was a brother of Bhaddakaccāna (x.6).1 Significantly, according to the sources, this group arrived from eastern India and reached eastern Sri Lanka. The brothers of Bhaddakaccāna are supposed to have inaugurated the earliest settlements in eastern Sri Lanka. The earliest notice of a Gāmapi in the Mahāvamsa is again in the narration on Pānduvasudeva and Pāndukābhaya (ix. 13-15). Dīghagānapati, according the Mahāvamsa, was the son of Dīghāyu2 and the father of Pāndukābhaya (ix. 13-27). Dīghagānapati joined the court of Pānduvāsudeva

1. The Ext. Mv. (ix, 9) and the Mv. T (275.29) maintain that Gāmapi was left behind while the other brothers came to Sri Lanka.
2. Dīghāyu, according to the chronicles (Mv. x. 6; Mv. ix. 10-11) was another brother of Bhaddakaccāna who married Pānduvāsudeva. Dīghāyu has been credited in the sources with the founding of a new settlement called Dīghavāpi (Mv. ix. 10-11) which developed into a flourishing rice producing area nearly a century and a half later, known as Dīghavāpi-mandala (Mv. xxiv, 2-3, 58; xxxii, 2). An early Brahmi inscription from this area mentioning 'dīghavāpi', locates the site precisely within the area at present known by the same name in the eastern coast (No. 480; Nicholas 1963:24-27).
at Anurâdhapura and married the latter's daughter. If the Mahâyânsa (ix. 14, 18-20) story is to be credited, we have here an instance of a Gâmâpi moving north and also a notice on a cross-cousin marriage (supra, Chart No. 5). Following this event, we hear of this term being used on a tank completed by Pândukâbhaya as Gâmanî-vâpi (MV. x. 95-96; 101). This happens to be the first instance (in the chronicles) where the term Gâmanî is mentioned in connection with the north or north-west Sri Lanka. The literary sources do not indicate whether Pândukâbhaya used this title or not, it was however a common practice in ancient Sri Lanka to name a village, a tank, towns or even religious establishments after the founder. Therefore, we may infer that Pândukâbhaya may have taken the title Gâmanî after his father.

The literary sources mention yet another Gâmanî and that too from the east. The Mahâyânsa (xxx. 13) narration of Duttha-gâmanî's campaign towards the north mentions one Gâmanî of Gâmana-gâma who was defeated by the former, north of Mahiyangana, somewhere along the lower Mahaweli river. It is quite apparent that even after the Gâmanî lineage established its hegemony in the north, this title continued to be used in the south. For instance, the Sandagiri Pillar inscription at Tissamaharama mentions that Bhâtika Abhaya's (B.C. 19-09 A.D.) son, governing the south, was called Rohipika Gâmanî (vide Paranavitana 1983:44-45 No.32). All this evidence establishes that Gâmanî was originally associated

1. A cave inscription from Veheregoda (at Pimburettawa in the Polonnaruwa District) mentions the construction of a tank at Gâmanî-gâma and its donation to the sangha by one Mahârajha, the son of Devanâpiya Tissa Mahârajha (BM 1983:8 No. 5). This Mahârajha may be identified with Vaṭṭagâmanî Abaya (89-77 B.C.), a nephew of Duttha-gâmanî.
closely with the region south and east of the Mahaweli river.

The evidence from literary texts pointing to an east Indian connection and east Sri Lanka occurrence of Gāmāṇi, can be substantiated through inscriptive evidence.

The geo-physical region south of the Mahaweli river, carries a series of inscriptions mentioning the term Gāmāṇi and also carry a group of symbols peculiar to these inscriptions. With the exception of one, the rest are associated with a lineage that exercised political authority over east and south east Sri Lanka. The solitary inscription comes from Navalarkulam, in the south east (No. 494). It mentions a Padumaguta, the son of an ati acariya (hasti ācārya) gāmāṇi and carries the following symbols. 

According to Hettiarachchy, either this individual belonged to a royal family or this represents the vestiges of a term which was still used for troop leaders and that it was not restricted to the royalty (1972:58).

From north west Sri Lanka at Tantirimale another early inscription records an ati-ājariya named Bati (No. 112). While this person is not assigned with any other designation, the Navalarkulam inscription carries the designation gāmāṇi in addition to ati acariya which gives his professional status. It is possible

1. This inscription greatly aided Paranavitana to substantiate his theory about the original functions of the Gāmāṇi. "The Ati-ācariya gāmāṇi could be compared with hattha-soho gāmāṇi in the Samyutta Nikaya and Buddhaghosha’s interpretation of gāmāṇi as hattācārīya. The person mentioned above must have been the head of a company of warriors who fought on elephant-back or possibly a band of elephant trainers" (1936:446).

2. In this inscription, ācārya is written as ājariya, while the south east inscription gives the correct version as acariya.
that leaders associated with certain specialized/professional
groups were influenced by its usage in particular areas in the
sub-continent. One of the best examples for its occurrence in
this context comes from south east India at Bhattiprolu. The
hirapakara gāmapi mentioned in a casket inscription (Buhler 1894:
328 No. v) is a clear case of leadership associated with a
specialized craft group of goldsmiths. These inscriptions are
dated to the 1st Century B.C. and contemporary inscriptions from
western India do not refer to this term.

We may infer that the gāmapi group mentioned in a series of
other inscriptions in the east and south east Sri Lanka may have
been influenced culturally from eastern India. These inscriptions
are primarily located in south east and east Sri Lanka, with only
three inscriptions belonging to the same group being located at
Mihintale in the north central province (Nos. 13, 34, 56, 389, 406,
487, 549-569). The inscriptions point to a lineage ancestor by the
name Gāmapi and associate a series of titles and epithets such as
Maharajha, rajha, upa rajha, Dasa rajha, Mahīma rajha, Maha(pa)
sadhika, avē, abhi, and gāmapi with male and female descendants of
this lineage group. Interestingly, these individuals are associated
with a series of non-Brahmi symbols which have their parallels more
specifically in the north Indian Punch-marked and other Early
Historic coins, subsequently found on the Sātavāhana coins as well
(vide Allan 1936/1975; Rapson 1908). We hold the view that this
lineage ancestor; Gāmapi may have been a powerful commercial magnate

1. Buhler also makes the mistake of translating gāmapi as village-
headman (op. cit.). It is significant that the Bhattiprolu
inscription records the Prākrit term gāmapi.
involved in long distance trade who arrived from eastern Andhra or some such aryani zed zone in eastern India, to eastern Sri Lanka and established hegemony over the resident community. Alternatively, a powerful local chieftain who may have interaction with agents of long distance trade from eastern India probably borrowed these terms and symbols from such agents. In any event, the revolving swastika on a railing \[\text{symbol}\] or \[\text{symbol}\] which is exclusively associated with this group is also found on Early Historic Black and Red Ware from the lowest levels of the habitation layer at Akurugoda (Tissamaharama), which yields Early Historic Black and Red Ware engraved with Brahmi letters as well (vide Parker 1884:57). The parallel ceramic typology of this layer is found in str. 4A at Anuradhapura which is dated to B.C. 300/250. Interestingly, the lowest Early Historic BRW layers of Akurugoda also yielded this particular symbol on the so-called 'Laxmi plaque' copper coins (Parker 1884:47-48), which points to a strong commercial connection and also their association with the cult emblem of prosperity i.e. goddess Laksmi, sacred to commercial groups.

Several scholars have attempted to establish the identity of the Gamani lineage and locate them within a historical context. Though Parker attempted to solve some problems related to the identity of certain individuals in this group (1909:443-44), it was Paranavitana who established the historical identity of the Gamani

1. In India the closest symbol to this is found in a Brahmi cave inscription from Orissa (Kalinga). The inscription begins with the symbol \[\text{symbol}\] and ends with the plain swastika \[\text{symbol}\] (vide Banerji 1915-16:163).
lineage (dasa batika or ten brothers) with the Kacharagama Ksatriyas mentioned in the literary texts (1959:144-148; Ev. xxix. 54; Dhy. p. 31). Paranavitana also tried to establish a linkage between the houses of Anuradhapura and Kacharagama. Both, Ellawala (1969:49-50) and Hettiarchchy (1972:36-37) have largely subscribed to this view, though some of these identifications have been questioned by Gunawardana (1980:16-20). 1

It is significant that in the post 3rd Century B.C. the Gamani lineage group was consolidating the infra-structural basis of the early state in Sri Lanka. Each segment formed by the sons of Gâmiṇi apparently had established their hegemony over the geophysical area south of the Mahaweli river. Thus a semblance of territorial identity with a particular lineage group (later what was to be a dynastic identity) came to be established. The necessity to perpetuate lineage purity and lineage hegemony, may have prompted the segments to inter-marry among themselves. Perhaps the best example is the marriage between Abi Såvera and Aya Tisa

1. The major problem perhaps is the difficulty in linking up the scions of the Anuradhapura ruling house (viz. Mahânâga and his descendants) to the genealogical table of the Gâmiṇi lineage. Paranavitana identifies Abi Såvera and Aya Tisa as Vihâramahâdëvi and Kâvantissa respectively or Duṭthagâmanî’s parents (1970: lviii). The genealogical table available from the inscriptions are very clear and do not indicate any connection with the descendants of Mahânâga. It is interesting to question to what extent the textual narrations are ‘adjusted’ to assign the ‘epic hero’ Duṭṭhagâmanî with the origins linking him to the Anuradhapura house. The only possible linkage may have been a matrimonial alliance between Anuradhapura and Kacharagâma during the time of Tissa and Gâmani. An inscription from Mihintale records a donation by Abi Tisa, the daughter of one Maharâjha Uti (No. 34). She shares the merit with her dead parents and also displays the symbols द्व� and द्व, which are clearly associated with the Gâmani group of the south. If this Maharâjha Uti can be identified with Utiya, the brother of Devānampiyatissa, it may indicate an alliance between these two powerful political centres. In any case, the Mahâvamsa mentions that the Kacharagâma Ksatriyas arrived at Anurâdhapura to pay their respects to the Bâdhi tree (Ev. xix. 53-55).
This marriage apparently brought a great deal of political power to the group residing at Mahagama.

The Gamini lineage also concluded marriages for their females from other elite groups. The earlier mentioned marriage between Abi Tisa's mother and Maharajha Uti is a case in point. A second instance may have been when Gamani Tisa's mother married rajha Maha(pa)sadhiha Abaya (No. 487). In fact Gamani calls himself the marunakana i.e. nephew and son-in-law of Uparajha Naga, the youngest of the ten brother (sons) of Gamini (ibid.). It may be inferred that Gamani Tisa probably married his cross-cousin. The Dhatuvamsa (p. 37) records that Kavantissa's sister was married to Abaya kumara of Girinagara, the nephew (bhagineyya) of Siva Maharaja of Kalyani. Girinagara was probably located in the hills. The narration in the Dhatuvamsa hints at the extensions of authority over the hills by the ruling house at Mahagama. At Budugala (upper Mawata), a rock carving among Buddhist ruins carry the following symbols $\begin{pmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{I} \end{pmatrix}$ (Adithiya 1971:164-165). The swastika and fish symbols are clearly identifiable with the Gamini lineage and thus indicates the extension of their authority to this mineral-rich zone at some time.² The Dhatuvamsa also records that Kavantissa's sister and her husband retreated from Girinagara to Soruratetha in the north east, south of Trincomalee. The

1. On the basis of the symbols acquired by Abi Savaera, it may be assumed that Abi Anuradi was her mother, which also means that two grand children of the eldest of the ten brothers and rajha Uti respectively, married each other. Similarly, by relationship, Aya Tisa is an uncle of Abi Savaera.

2. A symbol similar to $\begin{pmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{I} \end{pmatrix}$ occurs at Kiripokunheela (Eastern Province) as $\begin{pmatrix} \text{I} \\ \text{I} \end{pmatrix}$ (No. 526). The latter occurs as a Punch-mark symbol incised on the Roman coins found in Adhra Pradesh (Gupta 1965:70 No, 58).
narration points to the use of religious symbolism by Kāvantissa to establish his hegemony over this minerally rich coastal region.

The chronicles also record that a system of mobilization was introduced by the Mahāgama ruling house in the formation of a standing army (Mv. xxiii). In this venture, the elite families co-operated with the rajha of Mahāgama. It is also mentioned that war camps or forts were established at strategic points. This ruling house also launched upon a programme to expand agriculture (which was under the supervision of a prince) in order to sustain the large non-producing groups linked to this infra-structural development of the polity (vide Mv. xxiv. 58).

We may note that the south had its own political hierarchy, at least at the upper level. The Gamiṇi lineage had a gradation as rajha, upa rajha, aya/abi. At a level below them were the parumakas and gamikas. While the former held military as well as civil administrative positions, the gamikas were primarily associated with civil administrative tasks reaching the primary producer (infra. pp.501-505).

The chronicles indicate that territorial annexation on a large scale was a novel feature introduced by the Gamiṇi lineage group. In fact Duṭṭhagāmini's march to the north shows a vital necessity they had to encroach upon the primary nuclear area which had agricultural and labour potential, centres of trade and production, pearl banks off the north west coast with its proximity to south India, which was the main export market. The Mahāvamsa (xxviii) records the miraculous occurrence of gold, silver, pearls, copper, gem stones during the time of Duṭṭhagāmini in the north, which may
point to the acquisition of these resource areas. In order to link up the two nuclear zones, a secure and assured line of communication had to be established. The northward movement of Dutthagamani accomplished this task by eliminating a series of village-based clan chieftains and some chieftains who lived in fortified habitation centres (MV. xxv. 1-15).

The unification of the two nuclear areas is fairly apparent if one is to take up a cursory examination of the distribution pattern of Devanapiya-Maharajha inscriptions. They are primarily concentrated in the land watered by the Deduru oya and the Malwatu oya. The peripheral northern hills were however brought under control after Dutthagamani's period. The necessity to have larger quantities and an assured supply of raw material with the intensification of commercial activity in the post 1st Century B.C. period, required greater control over these resource areas. The Anuradhapura rulers also had to contend with powerful local chieftains such as the Dumatara or Pocunika lineage groups. The occurrence of Devanapiya-Maharajha inscriptions along routes leading to the hills indicates this gradual encroachment. For instance, during the early phase of the Gamani dynasty at Anuradhapura, the area between Ritigala and Dambulla may have formed a frontier region. At Ritigala an inscription mentions a parumaka donation made in the time of a MahSenapati during the reign of Maharajha Tissa (No.251). We have cited examples from other Macro Zones indicating the existence of army commanders as administrative heads of frontier
regions (supra pp. 275-6). From a slightly later context, we come across the inscriptions at Dambulla belonging to Maharajha Gamani Tisa with the symbol एए (No. 836). This may be Saddhātissa (Dutthagamani’s brother) or his son Lajjitissa (1st Century B.C.). South of these sites, on the lower hills, at Demeda oya, an inscription of rajha Macuqi mentions the arrival of his lapidaries (manikara) in this region to obtain blocks of stone (No. 830). We have suggested that cudi conveys the meaning gem, and the association of lapidaries with this rajha indicates his interest in the acquisition of mineral stones. It is possible to identify Macuqi with Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, a descendant of the Gamaṇi dynasty who reigned at Anuradhapura (c. 76-62 B.C.). However, one cannot totally rule out Macuqi being a local chieftain.3

The occurrence of a Maharajha inscription at Koratota on the lower Kelani valley (No. 1103) again points to this control exercised by the Anuradhapura rulers over vital communication routes linking resource areas. When the last members of the Dusatara and Pocunika

1. Sasserura, which is in a similar location, also has an inscription mentioning a senāpati (No. 1013).

2. A series of inscriptions from Galna Vihara mention aya Tisa the son of Devanapiya Maharajha Gamaṇi Abaya (Nos. 1015-1027; also No. 1028). This site is situated on the lower Kala oya not too far from the urn burial site of Karamban kulum. Pomparippu is close to the estuary of this same river (Senaviratne 1984:247). Paramasivana identifies these two as Dhātika Tissa and Kutakannā Abaya (1970:Ixii); Hettiarachchi 1972:65, 66, Note 10). These inscriptions carry the symbols एए एए. While the former is the dynastic symbol of the Gamaṇi lineage, the latter is frequently found on tribal coins of the Yadheyas (vide Allan 1936/1975:267-8) and also on other cast copper coins of north India (Thapliyal 1972; pls.III-V). This may point to some connection with commercial groups.

3. The Mahāvansa and its commentary associates king Mahācūḷi Mahātissa with the Dambulla-Nalanda area. The Mahāvansa records that he worked in a sugar-cane mill at Suvarṇa-giri (xxxiv. 4).
lineages, took up the title Gamiṇi (supra pp.410-411), it may have been one way of accepting the overlordship of the Gamāṇi dynasty of Anuradhapura.

It is also clear that at some point of time, the Gamaṇi dynasty took control of the north west coastal region too. The Mahāvamsa states that the inhabitants of Uruvela pattaṇa brought pearls to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (xxviii. 36) which is identified with the estuary of the Kala oya (vide Geiger 1950: Note 2; Nicholas 1963: 89), near the urn burial site at Pomparippu (Seneviratne 1984: 278). This area was originally controlled by a powerful parumaka family (-topic 8). However, the Tonigala inscriptions which mentions this parumaka group (along with their symbols) specifically mention that Devanapiya Maharajha Gamaṇi Abaya donated shares from Acchanagara and Tavirikiya nagara (Nos. 1051-52). As this parumaka group was involved in maritime commercial activity, the king had important political and economic ties with them and probably used one member of this clan as an envoy (supra pp.386-7). In a subsequent period, King Subha (c. 50 A.D.) the last in the Gamaṇi dynasty, built the Vali Vihāra at Uruvela (nv. xxxv. 58).

In any event, the distribution pattern of the Devanapiya-Maharajha Gamaṇi inscriptions indicates only a limited spread (vide Hettiarachchy 1972:145) and do not cover all primary habitation and ecological zones in the island. A more effective control over far flung regions such as the northern peninsula was established only by the reign of King Vasabha (59-109 A.D.) who founded a new dynasty at Anurādhapura. The qualitative changes in the political structure
began more apparent in the reign of his successors when the mature state evolved the elements of feudalism (including slavery), monastic landlordism and technological innovation mainly related to efficient hydraulic management (Gunawardana 1978; 1979; 1982).