Implicit in the growth of organized crafts production during the early historical period was the rise of a mercantile economy in Andhra. The groundwork for this had begun to be laid during the last two or three centuries before the beginning of the Christian era when, under the occupation of the Mauryas, this area came into closer contacts with the rest of the peninsula, and even perhaps regions across the seas, as the rise of a commercial centre (nigama) at Dharanikota would testify. But it was really in the post-Christian period that trade and commercial activities started mounting, reaching their peak in the second century A.D. This is reflected in the prosperity of merchants, who were individually responsible for the distribution of the commodities traded. Thus, numerous expensive gifts were made by vāṇīyas (merchants), their wives and families to the Buddhist monastic establishments of eastern Andhra.¹

¹ Amongst the antiquities associated with Phase II of the construction of an embankment-cum-wharf abutting navigation-channel, which dates to about the second-first century B.C., were found glass objects of varying shapes and colours indicating overseas contacts. See Indian Archaeology - A Review, 1962-63, pp. 1ff.

It is significant that the majority of them belong to the second and the first half of the third centuries A.D. simultaneously, an increase in constructional activities connected with Buddhist centres and distinguished by an efflorescent sculptural art, particularly during the second century A.D. is noticeable. To some extent, coins also corroborate this evidence. Unfortunately, most of the finds of punch-marked coins, numbering at least fourteen, remain undated, and are generally supposed to have circulated till the fourth century A.D. of the few which can be dated with certainty, two hoards found at Nastmulapur (Karimnagar district) and Kondapur (Medak district), belong to the period between the first and the second century A.D. The first one is dated at the earliest towards the latter half of first century A.D., and the second between the first and the second century A.D. Similarly the stray punch-marked coins which were found at Kondapur during excavations are held to have been deposited not later than the second century A.D. Rest of the dated occurrences belong to the pre-Christian period. A comparison of the later Sātavāhana coins spreading over second century A.D. with those of the

3. Buddhist stupas dating to about the second-third century A.D. include Sammadigoru (Krishna district), Kodavall (East Godavari district), Chantasala (Krishna district), Ramireddipalli (Krishna district), Joli (Guntur district), Ramatirtha (Visakhapatnam district) Sankaram (Visakhapatnam district) etc. see K.N. Subramanian, Buddhist Remains in Andhra... and Devala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments (Calcutta, 1971). For Amaravati see Sivaramamurti, op. cit. and N. Sarkar, 'Some Early Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum' Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. IV, parts 1-2, 1970-71, pp. 1-13.

Ikṣvākuḥ starting in the third century and continuing into the fourth century A.D. shows that the former by far outnumber the latter in quantity, although both are mainly concentrated in coastal Andhra. This also emphasizes the fact that the annexation of Andhra by the Sātavāhanas coincided with a period of commercial expansion. Similarly, the chronological distribution of Roman coins indicates a preponderance of those dated to the second century A.D. numbering ten as against five of the first century A.D. and only two of the third.

As regards the spatial concentration of trade, the picture which emerges from an analysis of the numismatic data related to this period, conforms to the economic zones outlined earlier. Hingespots of most of the coins are located in the Krishna-Guntur region and other parts of coastal Andhra.

Distribution of silver Punch-marked coins in Eastern Andhra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of sites</th>
<th>Total number of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Visakhapatnam</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>hoards: 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Godavari (Former)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>stray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Krishna</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>hoards: 213 of more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Guntur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>hoards: 3000 nearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nellore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>stray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Compiled on the basis of (1) P.L. Gupta, Punch-marked coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum; (2) P.L. Gupta, Annavatī Board of silver Punch-marked coins and (3) P.L. Gupta, A Bibliography of the hoards of Punch-marked Coins in Ancient India (Bombay, 1955).
Distribution of silver Punch-marked coins in the rest of Andhra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of sites</th>
<th>Total number of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Karimnagar</td>
<td>2 hoards: 426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Medak</td>
<td>1 stray, during excavations: 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kurnool</td>
<td>1 hoards: 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cuddapah</td>
<td>1 stray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of Sātavāhana coins (mostly lead) in Eastern Andhra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of sites</th>
<th>Total number of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Srikakulam</td>
<td>2 more than 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Visakhapatnam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. East Godavari</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Krishna</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Guntur</td>
<td>6 24 (Amaravati)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nellore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Nalgonda</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these sites, findspots of some coins are unspecified, described only as being in 'Coastal Andhra' and 'Krishna-Guntur districts'.

Distribution of Śātavāhana coins in the rest of Andhra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of sites</th>
<th>Total number of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hyderabad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Medak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4120 (pot in copper and lead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Karimnagar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>more than 24345 (lead copper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Warangal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Anantapur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Khammam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>more than 9400 (lead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cuddapah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>more than 10 (lead)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the third century A.D., other coins were also in circulation, particularly those issued by the ruling Ikṣvākus. Principal findspots of these are Nagarjunakonda, Yelleswaram, Ongole taluk, Kesarapalle etc., all in the lower Krishna valley and coastal areas.

Thus, two points emerge from the tables provided above. First, the money-economy was well-established in a substantial part of Andhra, consisting primarily of the coastal and deltaic areas, since such a large number of coins - mostly of low denomination and having apparently some local varieties - were in circulation over a wide area, and this was evidently one of the prime factors which was both the cause and the consequence of rapid commercial expansion. Secondly, the spectacularly large deposits of Śātavāhana and other coins at
sites like Peddabankur, Kondapur etc. in the districts of Karimnagar, Medak, Warangal, Khammam etc. call for some explanation. It will be shown subsequently that they were due to the existence of one or more trade routes running through these areas, which connected Andhra with the western Deccan.

It is interesting from the point of view of internal trade that whereas no particular variety of punch-marked coins can be attributed with certainty to Andhra specifically for the last two or three centuries B.C., many varieties of not only the same type of coins, but also of the Satavāhanas can be easily cited as having been in circulation over and probably minted in different parts of this region, in the post-Christian period. P.L. Gupta, for example, has suggested tentatively that there were three or four varieties in the punch-marked coin-hoards of Karimnagar, Gulbarga and Raichur which had sufficiently large number of coins to have been in common currency in this region. 9 Again, there are varieties of another group of punch-marked coins which, according to him, are known in large numbers from the hoards of Karimnagar, Gulbarga and Nasthulapur (Karimnagar district) and have also been found during the excavations at Kondapur (Medak district). 10 Furthermore, at the last site, coin-moulds carrying impression of the same type of coins were discovered. However, it is not certain whether they were local issues, as they are known on well-


10. Ibid.
established grounds to have been issued by the Taxila mint, far away in north-western India. One solution of this dilemma is implicit in an interesting suggestion made by P.L. Gupta, according to which the moulds in question were used officially to mint imitations of silver punch-marked coins during the Satavahana period. Thus, it seems that the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, including parts of Karimnagar and Medak districts of Andhra Pradesh and Gulbarga district of northern Karnataka, constitutes an area within which trading activities are well-attested. Certain local varieties of Satavahana coins are also held to have been in circulation over more or less the same area, an example of which consists of the Elephant-type copper coins with an elephant on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse, carrying the legends of Sri Satavahana and Kaushikiputra Satakarni. These coins were found at Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Kondapur, Aurangabad and Nevasa.

Trade between the coastal and other parts of Andhra is indicated by the occurrence of a large number of lead coins bearing a horse on one side in the Krishna-Godavari region (Gudivada, Amaravati etc.), Anantapur (Bhathapalli), Cuddapah, ...

12. Ibid., pp. 133ff.
Medak (Kondapur) and Karimnagar (Peddabankur) districts. A few varieties of lion-type coins bearing legends of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi and Gautamāputra Yajña Sātakarnī were distributed over the eastern part of Andhradesa, occurring at Ghanatasala (Krishna district), Dharanikota Amaravati, Gudivada (Krishna district), Padugupadu (Nellore), and other places in Krishna-Godavari districts. In the same region were issued the Elephant-type coins of the later Sātavāhana Kings like Gautamāputra Siri Yajña Sātakarnī, Rudra Sātakarnī and Chandra Sātakarnī.

Trade contacts between the different parts of Andhra are also attested by epigraphical references to the visits of persons from distant localities to various Buddhist centres. The presence of a merchant donor from the chief city (adhithāna) of Pūkiraṇa at Amaravati is recorded by an inscription of the late second century A.D. At the same place, during the early half of the third century A.D. a merchant's wife, apparently hailing from Vijayapura, made some donations. An inscription of about A.D. 100 refers to the benefaction of an individual

17. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., p. 298, No. 102; Burgess, Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta, p. 72; Lüders, op. cit., No. 1281.
18. Sivaramamurti, ibid., p. 300, No. 111, Burgess, ibid., p. 85; Lüders, ibid., No. 1285.
at the Mahāchaitya of Amaravati. He lived in Kaṭakakṣa, identified with Ghantasala in Krishna district. Another inscription of the second century A.D. from Amaravati, records the gift of a merchant's son who resided at Dhanagiri, a locality unidentifiable. Kudūra or modern Guduru (Gūḍurū) figures in yet another inscription from Amaravati. All these places are located in the coastal areas, particularly in the lower Krishna basin. It is thus apparent that Dhāṇyakaṭaka was an important market-town which was visited by traders and merchants coming mainly from other parts of eastern Andhra. Active trade in this region is also proved by the donative inscriptions from Rentala and Kesapally, two Buddhist sites in the Palnad taluk of Guntur district, of which the former contains a reference to a merchant from Gaṃjikūṭa.

19. Sivaramamurti, ibid., p. 280, No. 37. The word is wrongly read as Kaṭakakolā by Burgess, ibid., p. 106 and Lüders, ibid., No. 1303 Kaṭakakṣa (Kankakasala) is also mentioned in a third century A.D. Nagarjunakonda inscription (Vogel, Prākrit Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda', Epigraphia Indica, XX, p. 22) as the place where a lay follower from Nagarjunakonda donated a mandapa to the Mahāchaitya.

20. Sivaramamurti, ibid., p. 301, No. 114; Chanda, loc. cit., p. 273, No. 52. Sivaramamurti has suggested that Dhanagiri was probably Dhāṇyakaṭaka itself. But there does not seem to be enough ground for this identification.


23. Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, A Monograph on an Early Buddhist Stūpa at Kesapally.
identified with Chinnaganjam or Peddaganjam near the coast in Ongole district, and the latter mentions the gift of a group of visiting merchants, evidently passing that way. A similar inference may be drawn from a third century A.D. inscription from the stūpa at Jaggayapeta²⁴ (Krishna district) which records the benefactions of an artisan (āvesani) from Kāmā-karaṭha, which appears to have constituted the southern parts of Ongole district.

Coins have already demonstrated in general the existence of comparatively long-distance trade and commercial contacts between the markets of eastern and north-western parts of Andhra. The importance of these contacts is borne out by an interesting seal found at Peddabankur²⁵ bearing an inscription in the early Brāhmī characters of the second-third century A.D. which reads "Vijayapurāḥārakasa rathasa", meaning "Of the district of Vijayapurāhāra". Commercial links between the lower Krishna valley and Karimnagar and its adjoining territories till the third century A.D. is thus confirmed.

On the basis of the extant remains of crafts practised at this time, some of the items of trade can be specified. For instance, Kondapur appears to have been a prominent centre of the iron-industry, and nearby at Peddabankur a profusion of

²⁶. See Chapter II, pp. 7ff.
iron tools\textsuperscript{27} characterises the early historical settlement. Kondapur may have also supplied iron implements to the markets of eastern Andhra as well as the western Deccan. Again, archaeological and epigraphical evidence points to the presence of goldsmiths at Nagarjunakonda and Dharanikota.\textsuperscript{28} From these centres were probably derived many of the gold objects found at the various Buddhist monasteries of coastal Andhra, viz. Bhattiprolu,\textsuperscript{29} Ramireddipalli,\textsuperscript{30} Sankaran,\textsuperscript{31} Salihundam\textsuperscript{32} etc. Even the gold ornaments of Kondapur\textsuperscript{33} may have been worked at these places. Nagarjunakonda also had a flourishing shellcutter's industry.\textsuperscript{34} The shell ornaments found at Kondapur\textsuperscript{35} must have been manufactured either at the former place or some other centre in the neighbouring coastal districts. On the other hand, Kondapur probably produced a part of the semi-precious beads found at Peddabankur, Nagarjunakonda, Yelleswaram,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27}Indian Archaeology - A Review, 1968-69, pp. 1-2 and \textit{ibid.}, 1970-71, pp. 3-4.
\item \textsuperscript{28}See Chapter II, pp. 79ff.
\item \textsuperscript{29}A. Rea, \textit{South Indian Buddhist Antiquities}, pp. 5-16.
\item \textsuperscript{30}K.R. Subramaniam, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 22.
\item \textsuperscript{31}Madras Archaeological Report (Southern Circle), 1908-09, pp. 1-10.
\item \textsuperscript{32}R. Subrahmanyam, Salihundam, \textit{A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh}, p. 114ff.
\item \textsuperscript{33}G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur', \textit{loc. cit.}, pp. 183ff.
\item \textsuperscript{34}Sarkar and Misra, \textit{Nagarjunakonda}, p. 22.
\item \textsuperscript{35}G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur', \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 183f.
\end{itemize}
Salihundam etc. The Rouletted ware, which has a very wide
distribution over Andhra, seems to have been a local imitation
of the imported Roman ware and one of its centres of produc-
tion was probably at Paritala (Krishna district). 36 It has
been found at a number of places in eastern Andhra such as
Amaravati-Dharanikota, 37 Kesarapalli, 38 Chebrolu, 39 Vaikunta-
puram, 40 and so on. It is also fairly well represented in the
Kurnool - Anantapur region. 41 Its northern - most limit within
Andhra is Kondapur. 42

II

Simultaneously with the growth of internal trade, Andhra's
overland trade with other parts of the peninsula, especially
the western Deccan, also expanded considerably. This can be
inferred from the contemporary inscriptionsal references to
distant places from where people came to Andhra and donated
to its monasteries, and vice-versa. Thus, some time in the
second century A.D. Badhā (Bhadṛā) the wife of a plough-man
(hālikā) donated to both Amaravati and Bhaja caves. 43 In an

36. See Chapter II, p.78.
40. Ibid.
42. R.E.M. Wheeler, 'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli', Ancient
43. Chanda, loc. cit., No. 56.
inscription dated to the reign of Yajña Satakarni a lay worshipper (upāsaka) from Ujjaini records his gift to the stūpa of Amaravati. A Nasik inscription dated to the reign of king Pulumāvi, mentions Seṭagiri, identified with a well-known range of hills in Andhra, of which the Siddhaladhari hill near Nagarjunakonda formed a part. Seṭagiri is actually mentioned in a third century A.D. Nagarjunakonda inscription. The same inscription testifies to the presence of an Ābhira King Vasuśeṇa at Nagarjunakonda during the late third century A.D., together with royal and aristocratic personages from Saṇjaya-pura (Sanjan, Thana district., Maharashtra), Avanti (Ujjain or the surrounding country constituting western Malwa) and Vana-vāsa (Banavasi in North Kanara). Two early Brāhmī inscriptions from Sanchi refer to individuals hailing from a place called Pōdāna which has been identified with Bodhan in Nizamabad district. It is interesting that the development of Andhra's close contacts with western and central India as revealed above coincided with the incorporation of this region in the Satavahana Kingdom during the second century A.D. It shows that this political move was motivated partially by a desire to establish

44. H. Sarkar, 'Some Early Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum', loc.cit., No. 60.


46. Ibid.

47. Lüders, op.cit., Nos. 278 and 616.
control over and foster centres of trade in the entire territory stretching from sea to sea. Later, the matrimonial alliances of the Ikṣvākus who emerged in the lower Krishna valley following the decline of the Sātavāhanas, with the rulers of Ujjaini and Vanavāsa\textsuperscript{48} were formed against the background of strong commercial ties with these areas.

Andhra's contacts with the countries of the far south also improved during this period. A person called Damilakanha (Tamil Krṣṇa) together with his brother and sister made some donations to Amaravati in about A.D. 100.\textsuperscript{49} Presumably they were inhabitants of the Tamil country. Andhra's connection with Ceylon resulted in the visit of Ceylonese monks to Vijayapuri where a monastery was constructed for them during the reign of the Ikṣvāku King Mādharīputra Vīrapurusadatta.\textsuperscript{50} Communications with north India also appear to have been more developed than before. To this may be attributed the reference to different localities converted by the Ceylonese monks mentioned earlier, viz., Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, Cīhina, Chilāta, Tosali

\textsuperscript{48} Vogel, \textit{loc.cit.}, Nos. B5 and H; also D.C. Sircar and K.C. Krishnan, 'Two Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda,' \textit{Epigraphia Indica}, XXXIV, pp. 17-22, No. 2. Both Mātharīputra Vīrapurisadatta and his son Ehavala Chāntamūla married Saka princesses, while a daughter of the latter was married to the king of Vanavāsa. In this connection the occurrence of a hoard of 235 Western Kṣatrapa coins at Petluripalem (Guntur district) dated to the third century A.D. is interesting; see H.V. Trivedi, \textit{Western Kṣatrapa Coins in Andhra Pradesh Government Museum} (Hyderabad, 1964).

\textsuperscript{49} Sivaramamurti, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 281, No. 41; Burgess, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 20; Lüders, \textit{op.cit.}, No. 1243.

\textsuperscript{50} Vogel, \textit{loc.cit.}, f.
Aparāṇta, Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Damila, Palūra and the island of Tamraparṇi. This statement is partly corroborated by a Jātaka story in which the Bodhisattva is said to have travelled from Takṣaśilā to the Andhra country and from there to Vāraṇaśī.

That Andhra's contacts with the various parts of India during the early historical period were based primarily on trade, can be established by analysing the objects found at the important excavated sites in this region. The antiquities from Kondapur and Peddabankur disclose to some extent the volume and variety merchandise that passed directly between north-western Andhra and western Deccan. Thus copper objects—mainly ornaments—occur frequently amongst the deposits of the early historical period at both the sites. As these places are located in the north-western part of Andhra, the copper items may have come from Rajasthan via the western Deccan. Furthermore, at least some of the Cambay beads would have found a market in Andhra; the semiprecious beads excavated at Kondapur, Peddabankur, Nagarjunakonda probably included them. There is no doubt about the origin of the lapis lazuli beads found at Kondapur. Lapis lazuli used to be

51. Vogel, loc.cit.,

52. Jātakas, II, 213.


54. An inscribed lapis lazuli seal was found at Amaravati by Rea; see K.R. Subramaniam, op.cit., pp. 22.
imported into India from the Kokcha valley in north Afghanistan and may have been worked into beads by the craftsman of Cambay. Uncertain, however, is the identity of the locality which produced the silver beads, bangle pieces and spools used as ear-ornaments, which were found at Peddabankur. India appears to have had very limited sources of silver even at that time. Besides these articles, coins from Kondapur also indicate trade with the regions to its west. Some examples of Punch-marked and Sātavāhana coins have been marked out already as having been in circulation in this area as well as the territories adjoining it, including Gulbarga, Aurangabad and Nevasa. To these may be added a few more coins apparently of the early Sātavāhanas such as the copper and lead 'Bull' type coins carrying the legend of Śrī Sātākarnī which were found at Nevasa, Paithan, Hyderabad, Kondapur, and Kamrej (Gujerat).

55. Somē eighteenth century A.D. accounts speak of silver in the Kharagpur hills in Mongyr district, and traces of silver occur in the same neighbourhood comprising parts of Hazaribag, Palaman, Ranchi and Singhbhum districts in Bihar; Cf. R.S. Sharma, 'Coins and Problems of Early Indian Economic History', The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, XXXI, 1969, part I, pp. 1-8. Another known source of silver is the Mysore Kollar mines. But it is possible that the silver objects in question may have been imported from elsewhere through the markets of the western Deccan, as even during the preceding megalithic stage gold and silver objects were to be found in the western part of Andhra.

In view of the evidence cited above, it seems that an overland trade route - probably the main highway of the Sata-vahana Kingdom - cutting across the Deccan, ran through north-western Andhra. A part of the route seems to have existed as early as the fifth century B.C., as is suggested by an interesting story in the Sūktanipāta. Bāvari, a Brāhmaṇa ascetic, sent his students to the Buddha along the Dakṣiṇā-patha, the great southern highway. They began their journey from Alaka (probably Āśmaka) and went first to Patitṭhāna (Pratiṣṭhāna). Thereafter they proceeded towards Mahissati (Māhiṣmati), reaching Kosāmbi via Ujjainī, Gonaddha, Vidiśā and the forests. From Kosāmbi they went to other towns of northern India. If Alaka is Āśmaka, the route from the south-west to north-eastern India would have begun from the area now represented by the district of Nizamabad at the head of the Andhra part of the Godavari valley. It is possible that this was the road taken by the pilgrim from Pāḍāna or Bodhan (Nizamabad district) who visited Sanchi during the early historical period. That this route continued to be used by travellers from Andhra who wished to reach the western ports, particularly Bharukaccha, during the early historical period is proved by a statement of the Periplus, according to which Pacthana was

57. Quoted in Moti Chandra, Sārthavāha (Patna, 1953), pp. 23 ff; also D. Das, op. cit., p. 218. The latter, however, accepts the reading 'Mulaka' instead of Alaka where from Patitṭhāna Bāvari's followers began their journey.

58. The Periplus, Sec. 51.
about twenty days' journey south from Barygaza and beyond Paethana Tagara, a very great city, was about ten days' journey east. Further, "there are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Tagara .... and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea coast (i.e. east coast)." 59 It is thus seen that the main Deccanese highway ran from Barygaza or Bharukaçcha (Broach) to the eastern Andhra coast via Paethana or Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) and Tagara (Ter) all along the Godavari valley to enter Andhra through perhaps the district of Nizamabad. Thereafter it went southwards, feeding the Medak-Hyderabad region where Kondapur is located and going via Akkenpalle (Malgonda district), where a very large hoard of first century A.D. Roman coins has been found, 60 to catch up with the Krishna valley at Nagarjunakonda. Beyond that place the route would have branched off in different directions to reach the sea-coast. But, the main road seems to have followed the course of the river Krishna itself, thus connecting the large towns, villages and Buddhist settlements such as Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Rentala, Gurzala, Dachepalli, Kesanapalli, Vaikuntapuram, Amaravati, Dharanikota etc., all on the southern bank. In all likelihood it was this ancient road system of which traces were discovered by Fleet while studying old Indian

59. The Periplus, Sec. 51.
60. P.L. Gupta, Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh, p. 44f.
maps published in the middle of the nineteenth century. According to him there were two starting points on the east coast Machhlipatnam and Vinukonda from where two roads proceeded through the Krishna valley to join each other near Hyderabad; thereafter the highway ran towards the west coast via Ter, Paithan etc. His suggestions regarding Machhlipatnam and Vinukonda deserve consideration, since the entire area was well-populated during the early historical period. The neighbourhood of Machhlipatnam was important enough to have received

61. Fleet, 'Tagara; Ter', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, pp. 537-52. He states, "A study of the maps has shown to me the former existence of an early trading route, of which well-marked traces still remain from the east coast through Golconda or Hyderabad, Ter and Paithan to Broach .... There were two starting points. One was Masulipatnam .... The other starting point was probably Vinukonda. The road from these two places joined each other at a point about twenty-six miles towards the east-by-south from Haiderabad, or perhaps at a point about twenty three miles in the same direction. And from that point the single road ran in the most natural manner ... via Haiderabad Kalyani, Ter, Paithan and Daulatabad to Chandore and Markinda in the west of Nasik district."

62. Motichandra (op.cit., p. 25) has also worked out a nearly identical, ancient route which followed the Godavari into Andhra. This route went more or less along the railway-line from Manmad (near Nasik) to Machhlipatnam. According to the author, therefore, after crossing the hills of the Ajinat and Balaghat via Daulatabad, Aurangabad and Satna it touched the Godavari at Nanded. Following the river for some way the road crossed it from the left bank. Thereafter, while the railwayline turns towards the south to reach Hyderabad the highway in ancient times ran north of Hyderabad till Warangal from where it turned towards Vijayawada in order to reach the Bay of Bengal. Moti Chandra has identified this route with the one along which the students of Bavari travelled while proceeding towards the north. There seems to be little difference between the highways described by Moti Chandra and Fleet, except that the former went past Hyderabad to its south, while the latter either touched it or passed by leaving
attention in both the _Periplus_ as well as the geography of Ptolemy; it would have, therefore, been adequately linked with the interior. This area was the seaboard of a country stretching far inland with a large number of settlements including Ghantasala, Gudivada, Kesarapalli, Paritala etc. Through these would have run the ancillary route that later met the highway going to the north-west in the vicinity of Hyderabad. On its way it must have touched Jaggayyapeta, known even in the nineteenth century as a stoppage on the trade-route from the erstwhile 'Northern Circers' to the Hyderabad State, before entering the neighbouring district of Khammam. Here again remains of early historical settlements have been discovered at two sites - Khammamett and Nellakondapalli primarily in the shape of numerous Sātavāhana coins. From the former was recovered a hoard of more than 9400 lead coins of the Sātavāhanas, and from the latter besides coins of the same dynasty, also the Russet-coasted painted ware. The location

Cont'd...  f.n. 62. it to the north. That this trade-route was used during the early historical period is indicated by the remains of early historical settlements almost all along it, as has been pointed out above in the text.

Much later during the seventeenth century A.D. Tavernier also refers to a road from Surat on the west-coast to Golconda which passed through Daulatabad etc. According to him, from Golconda Masulipatnam was about hundred miles, but because of the route had to pass through diamond mines, the distance came to about hundred and twelve miles. See Moti Chandra, _op.cit._, p. 26.

63. _Imperial Gazetteer of India, Madras_ (1), pp. 322f.


65. Kartikeya Sarma, 'Regional Distribution, Sequence, Chronology and Historical Significance of the Sātavāhana Coinage', _loc.cit._, pp. 82, 85.
of Nellakondapalli is such that the trade route would have had
to pass it almost certainly before proceeding to meet the main
highway going to the western Deccan near Hyderabad. Again the
possibility of a road beginning from the Ongole coast and
ending in the Krishna valley via Vinukonda is not difficult
to affirm. An inscription referring to the presence of a
merchant from Gañjikūṭa (modern Chīnna-ganjam or Peddganjam in
Ongole district) at Rentala in the Palnad taluk of Guntur
district has already been pointed out. This road would have
begun from some point in the vicinity of the early historical
settlements at Chīnna-ganjam, Peddaganjam, Uppugunduru etc. all
very close to each other - and passed through Vinukonda, where
Roman coins of the first quarter of the third century A.D.
have been picked up,67 to join the principal Krishna valley
route somewhere near Rentala.

In the consideration of trade routes between coastal
Andhra and the western Deccan by way of the Hyderabad-Medak-
Nizamabad region, one area also having distinct trade contacts
with the west has been left out. The district of Karimnagar
has yielded not only large hoards of silver punch-marked and
Roman coins at two places, but also had a flourishing early
historical settlement at Peddabankur. The remains of this
settlement clearly indicate its share in the trade with the
western Deccan. For example, the Elephant-type copper coins
bearing the legends of Gautamiputra Sātakarni, Vāsiṣṭhiputra

67. P.L. Gupta, Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh, pp. 43f.
Pulumāvi, etc. have been found extensively at various sites in the northern and western Deccan including Peddabankur, Kondapur and Hyderabad in Andhra and Chanda, Tarhala, Brahmapuri, and Bidar in Maharashtra. Hence it appears that one of ancillary routes of the Godavari-valley highway served Peddabankur and its neighbourhood. It is also along this route that the seal of Vijayapurāhāra district which was found at Peddabankur travelled up from the lower Krishna valley.

This route appears to have proceeded northwards beyond Peddabankur towards Chanda, which, as already shown with the help of numismatic evidence, had links with the former. The location of Chanda immediately across the Andhra borders close to the Wainganga, a tributary of the Godavari, suggests that this was the route which, as described by Moti Chandra, provided an alternative way into the heart of northern India, to the one along which the students of Bāvari went to Śrāvastī. This road branched off from the Andhra part of the principal Godavari valley highway and following the Wainganga river proceeded till Jabalpore. Thereafter it cut through the doab between the Narmada and the Son to turn towards Prayaga. Evidently this route enjoyed the advantage of being more direct and hence much shorter than the one going via the western

68. Karthikeya Sarma, 'Regional Distribution Sequence, Chronology and Historical Significance of the Sātavāhana Coinage', loc.cit., pp. 82-83; P.L. Gupta, 'Coinage of the Sātavāhanas ....', loc.cit., pp. 46-49. Interestingly enough this type of coins bearing the legend of Gautamiputra Sātakarni is known from NiallaKondapalli and Chebrolu (Guntur district) too. Some varieties of elephant-type coins, however, circulated exclusively in the coastal districts.

Excavations at Pauni, an early Buddhist site in Vidarbha are reported to have provided evidence supporting the existence of this route.

Existence of communications between Andhra and the far south during the early historical period have been earlier proved on the basis of epigraphical references. A few items of merchandise presumably from the southern-most regions have been found in excavations at early historical sites in Andhra. Pearls constitute one of the commonest finds from Buddhist sites like Bhattiproulu and Nagarjunakonda; from the site of a Buddhist chaitya at the latter place a gold tube containing pearls is described above.

70. P.L. Gupta, Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh, p. 49 has suggested that the Roman coins found at Bilaspur (in the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh) travelled up from the Andhra Coast. In that case, the obvious route to Bilaspur would have been the one described above.

71. Cf. Chapter I, p. 45, for a discussion of the links between Pauni and the lower Krishna valley. Moti Chandra, op.cit., pp. 24-26 has pointed out two more trade routes which connected Andhra with the upper Gangetic valley, north western India. One branched off from Godavari valley highway running from Andhra to Paithan, Aurangabad etc. and went via Berar, across the Satpuras to Mahishmati and Ujjaini, from where it ran along the Chambal valley to reach the Mathura-Delhi road.

Another ancillary route connected Bharukachchha with the far north and north-western India, and through its contacts with Bharukachchha, Andhra enjoyed trade links, however distant, with these areas. This was a natural track that followed the foothills of the Aravalli range across Rajasthan till Indraprastha. From these a branch road proceeded to meet the Uttarapatha that went northwards till Takṣasila. It was an extension of this road-system which connected Baryaga with Caspapyrene (Kashmir), Paropanisene (sub-Hindukush) and Cabolitic (Kabul) countries by way of Poclaïs (Puṣkalarāvati); Cf. The Periplus, sec. 47 and 48. The monks of Siṃhala journeyed to the regions of Kāsmira and Gāndhāra. The overall importance of contacts with the western Deccan to Andhra's trade is thus explained.
ninety-seven pearls was recovered. These pearls may be attributed to the contemporary settlement at Kolkoi on the Tamil coast off the Gulf of Manaar, which, according to the Periplus was well-known for its pearl-fisheries. From the Coimbatore Palghat area, also in the Tamil country, came beryl which has been found at Bhattiprolu. The beryl mines of this locality are known to have been exploited during this period. As regards the routes which connected Andhra with these areas, Moti Chandra makes an interesting suggestion. He has pointed out a southern route from Poona to Kanchipuram which passed through western Andhra on its way. Beginning from Poona it went to Ahmadnagar and then towards the Golconda plateau. Following the Bhima river it approached the confluence of the Bhima and the Krishna from where it entered the eastern i.e. Andhra part of the Krishna - Tungabhadra doab. The route then proceeded towards the west of the Malamalai hills and finally reached the east coast by following the course of North Penner river. Thus, trade along this route from the west coast to the south-east or Coromandel had to pass through some of the Andhra districts such as Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore all of which have shown evidence of early historical settlements.

73. The Periplus, Sec. 59.
75. Moti Chandra, op.cit., p. 25.
Kakanur, Nandyal, Jambuladinnne etc. are located in the Nandyal valley which provided an easy passage from the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab into the Penner basin. Apart from this road there must have also been one along the sea-coast towards the south.

With the development of communications and trade, the means of transporting merchandise over long distances improved too. On this subject the Arthashastra throws some light. While discussing the merits and defects of trade routes leading to the south Kauṭalya states, ".... of a cart-track and a path for shoulder-loads (āmsapatha) a cart-track is better, as it affords facilities for transport on a large scale." Kosambi has suggested that ox-carts were used for flat stretches or on the plains, while caravans of pack animals transported goods over the terrains. This would be applicable in the case of

77. P.L. Gupta, Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh, pp. 44f.
79. Arthashastra, VII, 12.

A route along the east coast from the Andhra region to the north-east or the Gangetic delta is indicated by the location of early historical Buddhist sites in the Krishna, West Godavari, East Godavari, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts. See Map No. 3.

80. Arthashastra, VII, 12.
81. D.D. Kosambi, An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, p. 258. According to him this practice is prevalent even today amongst the Lamans of Maharashtra. He quotes Duarte Barbosa to show that this practice was followed at Chaul on the west coast in 1500 A.D.
Andhra's communications with the western coast too, since the great distance between the two areas covers both flat and rocky territories. The use of ox-carts for travelling and transportation is implied by their depiction in contemporary sculptures.

There seems to have been some difference between the carts used by merchants for carrying their wares and the ones used generally for short journeys as in towns and the countryside. The bullock cart of the merchants Trapusına and Bhalla who adored Buddha may be seen in an Amaravati sculpture kept in the British Museum. Carts of this type appear to have been heavily built. On the other hand, light vehicles used by urban dwellers have been carved on scenes from the Vessantara Jātaka depicted at Amaravati and Goli. These carts were covered by a screen and pulled by a pair of bullocks. Horse-drawn carts closely resembling war chariots were used too, as an Amaravati sculpture would indicate. But it is not known

82. Cf. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., p. 140, Epigraphical references to the use of bullock carts are also not lacking. The inscription from Alluru (Krishna district) which has been assigned to the second century A.D., refers to the gift of bullocks and carts (baliyadhasakata) among other things by a mahātalavara or governor to the local Buddhist establishment.

83. Sivaramamurti, op.cit., p. 140, gives the reference for this sculpture as Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, pl. IXVII, fig. 1. Unfortunately, it appears to be wrong as I was unable to locate any such plate in the book mentioned.

84. For Amaravati see Sivaramamurti, op.cit., p. IXIII, fig. 5c and pl. X, fig. 19. For Goli see T.N. Ramachandran, Buddhist Sculptures from a Stūpa near Goli, pl. vc and ć

if they were utilised for the purpose of transporting merchandise or not.

The overall development of transport and communications, however, succeeded only partially in lessening the hazards of long journeys. The wild forests through which these roads had to pass so often, hindered the free flow of trade and commerce. The Periplus, therefore, mentions "great tracts without roads", through which merchants brought their wares by wagons from Paithan and Tagara to Barygaza.86 There is no doubt that the entire Deccan plateau was still heavily forested, filled with wild animals. Under such conditions merchants had to travel in groups, and it seems that they accepted the leadership of an experienced caravan merchant known as sārthavāha, before proceeding to distant lands. Inscriptions recording donations made by sārthavāhas are to be found at Buddhist sites in both the parts of the Deccan. A third century A.D. inscription from Amaravati refers to the benefactions of the wife of a "rich, caravan leader" (dhanikasāthanika).87 Other measures were also taken to make travelling on these roads easier and more convenient. An Amaravati inscription records the gift of "the superintendent of the water establishment (pāniyaghara) of king Sivamaka Sāda"88 (probably Śiva Śrī Sātakarni). This shows that water-houses were constructed

86. The Periplus, Sec. 51.
along highways under the Sātavāhanas and officers appointed to superintend them. Such roadside water-houses (prapā), together with free ferey across the rivers and rest-houses at important places were known in the western Deccan at this time. Under the Sātavāhanas the same must have been true of Andhra.

III

To a large extent the existence of a sizable inland trade in early historical Andhra was dependent upon that of a flourishing maritime trade conducted from its coast. The growth of sea trade was naturally facilitated by the utilization of an extensive sea-board that stretched from Kalinga-Patnam to Pulicat for marketing the surplus of the productive hinterland. Though the sea-coast of the east is on the whole unsheltered and deficient in natural harbours, its open roadsteads afford adequate anchorages. Furthermore, the coastal parts were in direct communication with the interior through a network of roads, the principal ones among which have been discussed earlier. There were also the rivers Vamsadhara, Godavari, Krishna and North Penner, which besides offering safe anchorages for vessels were generally navigable up to a certain point. The Krishna, for example, was navigable at


90. Yazdani (ed), Early History of the Deccan, parts 1-VI, pp. 5ff.
high flood as far inland as Nagarjunakonda. Hence this river appears to have served as the highway of commerce and passenger traffic in the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku kingdoms.

There is, therefore, no doubt that the tendency for human settlements to grow up during this period not only in the Krishna-Guntur region but also generally along the coast-line could be explicable at least partially in terms of sea-borne trade. To this factor also may be attributed the noticeable concentration of findspots of early historical coins in the same region. The rise of ports which handled this trade is attested by archaeological remains, inscriptions and literary accounts such as the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the geographical work of Ptolemy. Place-names ending in patana are occasionally found in the inscriptions of the period. One such reference is contained in a third century A.D. inscription from Uppugunduru (Ongole district). 91 It seems to have been the ancient name of the findspot itself, the location of which about five miles away from the sea favours the possibility of its having once been a port. The site abounds in shells, brickbats, stone-pieces and potsherds; the occurrence of the shells may indicate that the sea used to be nearer at one time. 92 Another probable site for a port is Bhimalipatam


92. Ibid. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that there is a lake called Rumperu nearby which is connected with the sea.
(Bhimunipatnam) (Visakhapatnam district). Its location on the coast-line and the name-ending *patan* (a survival of ancient *pattana*) suggests a port, while the find of 172 silver punch-marked coins places it in the early centuries A.D. This district has yielded hoards of silver punch-marked and Roman coins from different spots, thereby indicating its active role in trade, inland as well as maritime. Knowledge of ports and towns of this period is considerably enriched by the *Periplus* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy, particularly the latter. The coastal areas between the Krishna and the Godavari especially around modern Machhliipatnam was known as 'Masalia' and 'Maisolia' to the two texts respectively, and appears to have been dotted with numerous settlements at the time of Ptolemy. To the coast of this country he assigns Kontakassyla, Koddoura and Allosygne, of which the first and third are specifically described as marts. The importance of this area to maritime trade was enhanced by the fact that Machhliipatnam is reputed to have had a good harbour. From Ghantasala near Machhli-


94. Silver punch-marked coins have been found at Rothulapalem (Taluk Bhimunipatnam), Venne (Taluk Srngavarapukota) and another unknown spot in the same district, see *ibid.*, pp.18f. Roman coins were found at Kotpad and Gummada, both in Jaypore taluk of Visakhapatnam district.


96. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, ed. S.N. Hajumdar Shastri, p. 66, Sec. 15.

97. Many centuries later Tavernier found it "the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal and the only place from which
patnam - identified with Kontakassayla - comes an inscription of the second century A.D. recording donations made by the wife of a mahānāvika, or master mariner Śivaka. 98 The epithet mahānāvika applied to this person suggests that he had the experience of many sea-voyages. South of the Krishna, Ptolemy describes a number of localities situated on the Ongole-Nellore coast, 99 such as Melange, Kottis and Manarpha or Manaliarpha, and here again the first is called an emporium and the last a mart. Melange has been variously identified with Krishnapatam, a little to the south of the North Penner river, and Bandar Malanka in the Godavari. 100 Kottis remains unidentified. But Manarpha or Manaliarpha has been placed at the south of the river Manara. 101 In general the very fact that the Periplus and Ptolemy's work together represent increasing Roman knowledge of not only the ports and other coastal localities but also of various inland towns and market centres over the first-second centuries A.D., argues strongly in support of the rise of a mercantile economy in parts of Andhra, based on both land and sea trade, in which commercial relations with Rome obviously

Cont'd... f.n. 97. vessels sail for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin-China, Mecca, a Hormus, as also for the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra and the Manillas"; quoted in W.H. Schoff (ed), The Periplus..., p. 252, Sec. 62.


100. Ibid., p. 67.

101. Ibid.
played a significant role. Evidently sea trade largely contributed to the rapid commercial expansion achieved during the second century A.D. It was, therefore, given due recognition by the later Sātavāhana Kings like Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Yajña Sri Sātakarni who issued lead and pot in. coins bearing a ship on the obverse for a specific area stretching from coastal Andhra to the Coromandel coast in the south. 102 The distribution of these coins, thus, delineates the districts which felt the impact of maritime trade most. Some of the findspots in Andhra are Amaravati, Chebrolu, Gudivada, Buddham and Vidyadharapuram - all in the Krishna Guntur region. 103 This conforms to the pattern that has been shown to emerge from the distribution of coins and other objects indicating trade as well as of the settlements mentioned by the Periplus and Ptolemy.

Growth of overseas trade can also be attributed to the general development of shipping at this time. The Periplus speaks of Indian ships going along the coast and sailing across the seas. Amongst these was one type known as sangara, described as a very large vessel which was constructed with single logs bound together. Schoff has suggested that two


104. The Periplus, sec. 60.
canoes made of hollowed logs with plank sides and outriggers, were joined together by a deck-platform with space for a deck-house to form the *sangara* ship, similar to the ones used even in modern times in south India. According to the *Periplus* the *sangara* was a coastal vessel plying between the ports of the Coromandel coast and those of the Malabar. The text also mentions another variety of very large craft called *Colandia* which visited the Ganges (delta) and Chryse (Malaya peninsula) from the Coromandel coast. These ships would thus have to coast along Andhra on their way. A more specific description of Andhra ships used during the second and early third century A.D. is available from the ship-type Sātavāhana coins mentioned earlier. The ship is invariably depicted as having two masts, apparently of considerable tonnage and sometimes decorated with ropes and garlands. According to Schoff, the shipping of the Andhra and also Pallava coins survives in the modern *masula* boats of Madras. They are flat-bottomed barges constructed of planks sewn together with rope of coconut fibre, caulked with oakum, and are able to withstand better than far more solidly built craft the shock of being landed on the sandy beach from the crest of a seething breaker." It seems that the ship represented in the Sātavāhana coins was a sea-going


106. *Ibid.* L. Gopal, 'Indian Shipping in Early Medieval Period', in L. Chandra (ed), *India's contribution to World thought and culture* (Madras, 1970), pp. 108-22, has also pointed out the general practice of stitching the wooden planks of a ship instead of using iron nails was prevalent down to the early medieval period, and even now survives in the boats of some coastal areas.
vessel and not ordinary coastal boat as it appears to be a prototype of the Indian ship sculptured in a frieze from Borobudur in Jawa, dated to about the sixth century A.D.\textsuperscript{107} One reason why these ships were used for overseas trade may have been that they had fore-and-aft rigging, a major innovation in the art of navigation at this time which allowed them to sail "close to the wind."\textsuperscript{108} In the representation of some of the ship-type coins the rigging can be distinctly seen crossed between the masts. A detailed description of Indian ships built on the basis of this technique is given in a Chinese text of the late third century A.D., called "Nan Chou I Wue Chi" i.e. 'Record of strange things of the south."\textsuperscript{109} Wang

\textsuperscript{107} Schoff, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 245.

\textsuperscript{108} G. Coedes, The Indianized States of Southeast Asia (Honolulu, 3rd ed., 1968), p. 20. According to him the technique of fore-and-aft rigging had been in use originally in the Persian Gulf from where it was adopted first by Indian and later by Chinese shipping.

\textsuperscript{109} "The men from foreign lands call their boats "P'o". The large ones are over 200 ft. long and are 20-30 ft. high (above the water level) ... they can hold 600-700 men and a cargo of over 10,000 ho.

"The men from beyond our frontiers use 4 sails for their ships, varying with the size of the ships. Other sails are connected with that from bow to stern.... The 4 sails do not face directly forwards but are made to move together to one side or other with the direction of the breeze.... when they (the ships) sail, they do not avoid strong winds and violent waves, and therefore, can travel very swiftly"; quoted in Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea", \textit{Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society}, Vol. XXXI, part 2, 1958, pp. 38f. According W. Gungwu the performance of the ships called p'o was contrasted with that of the slower and smaller south Chinese ships: hence the reference to strong winds and currents which indicated sailing in the open sea, a feat still beyond the Chinese ships of the time.
Gungwu feels that these ships were Indian vessels directly sailing between China and India, or Indian-built ships of the archipelago trading with China. According to him, their name p'o may have been derived from the Tamil padagu, padao or parao standing for a ship (and later, a kind of ship plying along the Malabar coast), which the Malays adopted and used as parahu. This category of ships, therefore, originated from the eastern coast, i.e. Andhra-Tamil region, and must have been in operation for some time before an expanding south-east Asian trade led Indian merchants - either directly from India or from their bases in the Malayan peninsula - to visit the coast of south China. Since the Chinese text was written towards the close of the third century A.D. it follows that this navigational technique was employed on the Indian Ocean for the first time around the second century A.D. This would be one of the circumstances assisting in the expansion of trade and commerce during the peak period of the same century.

Sea-trade for Andhra, just as for entire south India, constituted primarily contacts with the Roman empire, an outcome of which were the Periplus, a substantial part of Pliny's Natural History and Ptolemy's geographical work, the first two produced in the later half of the first century A.D. and the last during the second century A.D. There is over-  

110. Ibid.
whelming evidence, derived from the texts mentioned above among other sources, proving the arrival of Roman ships at the ports of this region in search of the commodities Andhra had to offer as early as the first century A.D. The share of the commerce with Rome in Andhra's trade in general is indicated by the infiltration of Roman coins in large numbers fairly deep into the interior of this region. A district-wise break-up of the occurrences of Roman coins shows the same pattern of concentration of trade in the coastal districts of the interior, as the one emerging from similar analysis of other early historical coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coastal districts</th>
<th>No. of finds</th>
<th>Total No. of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Srikakulam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 denarii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visakhapatnam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27:23 aurii and 4 denarii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 denarins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guntur</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22 denarii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ongole</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A hoard of aurii: only 2 coins are recorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nellore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A hoard of aurii: 3 coins are recorded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Compiled on the basis of P.L. Gupta, Roman Coins in Andhra Pradesh.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal districts</th>
<th>No. of finds</th>
<th>Total No. of coins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nalgonda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>One hoard of 1531 denarii, 4 aurii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Karimnagar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39 denarii with 8 silver punch-marked coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medak</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 aureus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kurnool</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>more than 32 aurii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cuddapah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 aureus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is thus seen that almost the entire coast of Andhra in a varying degree felt the direct impact of the Roman trade. However within this region also, the districts of the lower Krishna valley viz. Krishna, Guntur and parts of Nalgonda assumed a much more active role in it than the rest. On the other hand, the conspicuous absence of early historical coins from West and East Godavari districts requires some explanation. Superficially this appears to be almost in contradiction to the evidence given by Ptolemy, who refers to at least one port Allosygne, which has been tentatively placed near the Godavari delta, a little to the north of Point Godavari. But even if this identification is accepted, the long stretch of territory between Allosygne and Koddoura (Guduru, Krishna district), the locality immediately preceding it in Ptolemy's list of places in Maisolia (Machhliapatnam and its neighbourhood) is left unnoticed, despite the fact that it covered the

112. S.N. Majumdar Shastri, *op.cit.*, pp. 66 and 68.
entire sea-board of the Godavari valley. Ptolemy's ignorance of the Godavari itself has drawn the attention of scholars.\textsuperscript{113}

It may be that due to the great density of forests in this area, settlements arose here at a much slower rate than in the lower Krishna basin, beginning only during the early centuries A.D. Hence it had yet to play a significant role in maritime activities. As regards the provenances of Roman coins in the internal districts, they were due to a combination of two factors, trade routes, and special, marketable products of the regions through which the trade routes passed. To summarise, Roman contacts reached into the interior of Andhra as far as Kondapur (Medak district) and Nasthulapur (Karimnagar district) in the south; furthermore, the comparatively large number of coin-finds in the areas of the north-west (i.e. Nalgonda, Medak, Karimnagar) place them next in importance to coastal Andhra on the whole vis-à-vis trade with Rome.

It is necessary now to correlate the territorial expansion of Andhra-Roman trade with its chronological progress. A comparative study of the \textit{Periplus} and the work of Ptolemy has been shown to imply an increase in the volume of trade with Rome from the late first century A.D. to the second century A.D.

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 66\textsuperscript{a}. It has been pointed out that while the smaller Pennar river has been noticed by Ptolemy as the Tyna, the Godavari in spite of being a much bigger river has been ignored completely. But Yule has shown that in many maps of the sixteenth and even of the eighteenth century the Godavari has been omitted altogether.
corresponding to the wider knowledge of Andhra, as embodied in the latter text. On the basis of the Roman coins found at Vidyadharapuram (Krishna district) and Salihundam (Srikakulam district), the earliest date for Andhra's direct contacts with Rome can be fixed not earlier than the reign of the Roman emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.). Besides these two finds, three more from Nasthulapur (Karimnagar district), Kotpad (Visakhapatnam district) and Akkenpalle (Nalgonda district), may be ascribed to the first century A.D. The last named hoard, containing the largest number of coins (1531 denarii) was probably deposited some time during or a little after the reign of Nero (54-68 A.D.) i.e. in the latter half of the first century A.D. In marked contrast to this, as many as ten finds of Roman coins belong to the second century A.D., of these again six belong to the time of Antonimus Pius (158-161 A.D.). The second half of the second century A.D., therefore, seems to have witnessed the peak of trade activities with Rome. All the coins of this century together encompass in their distribution, practically the entire coastal region (excepting the Godavari districts), and Nalgonda Kurnool and Cuddapah districts of the interior. Ptolemy's detailed, though occasionally inaccurate information, on Andhra during the second century A.D. is thus vindicated. That the Roman trade with Andhra continued at an equally brisk pace in the next century is,

114. The following discussion of Roman coins is entirely based on P.L. Gupta, *Roman Coins in Andhra Pradesh*. 
however, not likely in the light of the available numismatic evidence. Only two small finds can be attributed to the first quarter of the third century A.D. One of them is an aureus of Septimus Severus (193-211 A.D.) found in the excavations at Yeleswaram. The other is a hoard of fifteen aurei ranging from Tiberius to Caracalla (211-212 A.D.), which was discovered in Vinukonda (Krishna district). It seems almost certain that commercial contacts with Rome petered out by the beginning of the fourth century A.D.; the latest Roman coins in the hoard from Gumada (Visakhapatnam district) belong to Constantine the Great (308-337 A.D.).

It is a well-established fact, based as it is on the lamentations of Pliny\(^ {115} \) and Tiberius, the Roman Emperor\(^ {116} \) - that Rome suffered from the overall adverse balance of trade with India during the first century A.D. In order to meet the deficit, a great quantity of gold and silver coins was transported to India. In the *Periplus*, gold and silver coins, therefore, occur as items imported into Barygaza.\(^ {117} \) Yet, as pointed out earlier, the region of Andhra had a comparatively small share in these profits at this time. Wheeler has postulated a decline in the imports of Roman gold and silver coins from

\(^{115}\) Natural History, XII, 41, 18.

\(^ {116} \) R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London, 1954), p. 141. Tiberius evidently referred to India, when he complained to the Senate in A.D. 22 that the empire was being drained of its treasures by the foreign lands in exchange for gew-gaws.

\(^ {117} \) *The Periplus*, sec. 49.
the time of Nero (A.D. 54-68) onwards, due to the debasement of his silver coinage as well as the Roman anxiety at the great outflow of gold and silver. According to him, though India's trade with Rome increased considerably even after Nero's time, the imports of bullion were progressively substituted by consumable products. This, however, does not seem applicable to Andhra, where during the second century A.D. the imports of coins were doubled. Roman trade activities evidently shifted to Andhra from their previously favoured regions, viz. Malabar coast and Cholamandalam. In contrast to the ten finds from the Andhra region, not a single find of the second century A.D. is known on the Malabar coast and in the central part of the peninsula, while only two are known from the Coromandel. Even the western Deccan was relatively neglected, with only 3 Roman coin-hoards from Maharashtra and Gujerat.

On explanation for this phenomenon is implicit in a suggestion made by Wheeler. According to him, down to the third quarter of the first century A.D. Roman vessels were not


119. As pointed out earlier, there are only five finds of Roman coins belonging to the first century A.D. as against the ten of the second.

120. Cf. P.L. Gupta, Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh, p. 48f.

121. Ibid., p. 45.

in the habit of rounding Cape Comorin since the knowledge embodied in the *Periplus* of the coast beyond Malabar seems hazy. Hence the importance of the overland route from the west to the east through the Coimbatore gap, which has yielded numerous Roman coins belonging to the period from Augustus to Nero. By the beginning of the second century A.D., however, a circum-peninsular sea-route developed for Roman ships, enabling Ptolemy to include two emporia in his catalogue of towns in Ceylon. Simultaneously, Roman coins ceased to litter the Coimbatore corridor, and Roman trading stations or emporia developed along the eastern coast. Yet, this is not a full explanation of the focus on Andhra. It is possible that despite Ptolemy's awareness of ports and towns in the Gangetic valley, Roman traders still did not frequent them much more than before. No coins of the first century A.D. occur in that area, thus indicating the total lack of direct Roman contacts at that time. 123 The few third century A.D. coins which have been found in the Gangetic valley must have come through Tamralipti, the pre-eminent Gangetic port, as another hoard of aurii occurs in its vicinity in Singbhum district, also belonging to the third century A.D. 124 It may be concluded that even in the second century A.D. more north Indian ships continued to meet Roman ships at the Andhra coast, than vice-versa. Andhra's position mid-way between Cape Comorin and the Ganges delta was ideal in

124. Ibid., p.45ff.
this respect. 125

A comparative study of the scope of the Andhra-Roman trade as given in the Periplus and Ptolemy's geography, suggests a distinct increase in the actual volume of trade handled at the Andhra ports during the second century A.D. It appears from the Periplus that direct contacts with the Romans in the greater part of the first century A.D. were confined to exports of fine muslin fabrics from Masalia. Other commodities mostly found their way into the exports from non-Andhra ports. Thus, the Periplus describes the merchandise brought from Tagara to Barygaza, which included "much common cloth, all kinds of muslins, and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from regions along the (eastern) sea-coast." 126 Amongst the articles thus transported to other coastal markets was possibly rice from the alluvial tracts in Andhra, which, according to the Periplus, 127 was imported into Opone and Discordia Island located at the entrance to the Red Sea from Barygaza etc. Rice, which fetched a high price, was apparently the most important of the cereals exported to West Asia and

125. That there existed considerable traffic all along the coastal sea-route can also be inferred from a statement of Kauśalya (Arthasāstra, VII, 12) indicating his preference for coastal trade route to trade through the open sea, as the former touches many port towns.

126. The Periplus, sec. 51.

127. Ibid., secs. 14, 31 and 41; for comments on the trade in rice Cf. E.H. Warmington, The Commerce Between The Roman Empire and India (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 218ff.
Africa, the others being ragi and jowar. But this is rather conjectural. On the other hand a much more brisk and lucrative trade was conducted in the mineral products of Andhra. It has already been shown that the Indian iron and steel which reached Adulis, the Red Sea port, from Ariaca (the coast around the Gulf of Cambay) in the first century A.D., was possibly of Andhra origin. It would have been exported from the east coast also, when in the next century Roman ships arrived there in greater numbers. Similarly diamond, adamas of Pliny and Ptolemy, was bought in the first century A.D. by the Romans at the Malabar ports. But a century later Ptolemy was able to trace it to the country of the Sabarai on the east coast (identified with the Sambhalpur region in Orissa), though the diamond mines in the interior of Andhra which had been worked since Mauryan times escaped his notice. According to Warmington, "the ancient Indians seem to have checked the exploration of large diamonds, but still the Romans obtained large and famous specimens, perhaps, used as amulets after the

128. The millets, though mentioned by Pliny and some Greek writers, were no more than incidental importations. See Warmington, op.cit., p. 219.

129. Natural History, XXXVII, 15, Warmington, op.cit., p. 236 has shown that of Pliny's six adamanter at least one was the true diamond. In support of his conclusion he has drawn attention to antique diamonds set in several rings and one gold seal in the British Museum which appear to have originated in India.

130. S.N. Majumdar Shastri, op.cit., p. 70f.

131. The Periplus, sec. 56.

Indian example." Another valuable gem-stone, 'saphirine' (the Persian *jaspis*, *aerizusa* of Pliny?), of which there are at least two antique Roman examples extant, was also exported to Rome. There are only two sources for this rare mineral in the world, Greenland and Visakhapatnam district, of which the latter alone must have been known in ancient times. Hence, saphirine was another export item from Andhra. There were also various other semi-precious stones such as agate, chalcedony, onyx, jasper, etc., which would have been bought by the Romans at the eastern ports as well as at Barygaza. Not far from Andhra, Arikamedu on the Coromandel coast was the site of a Roman trading station, where archaeological evidence has indicated the existence of a number of industries including cotton, lapidary, glass, etc. Andhra could well have been one of the primary sources supplying the raw material for the lapidary industry. Pliny mentions cups and bowls of rock-crystal, some of which came from India. The Godavari basin

134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. According to the Periplus, sec. 49, these were exported from Barygaza. But as these stones were also worked in Andhra during the early historical period, it is natural to suppose that they were sold to the Romans at the coastal markets of this region, at least in the second century A.D.
138. *Natural History*, XXXII, 5; XXXVII, 27-30, and 79.
and Hyderabad area were amongst the various Indian sources. Apparently, rock-crystals were very popular with the wealthy Romans, as Pliny writes of the high prices and foolish whims connected with their possession. Garnets were also bought by Roman traders in this area, as evidence points to the availability of this mineral and its use as a semi-precious stone in Andhra at this time.

Other articles which were possibly sought by Roman merchants at the ports and market-towns of Andhra were ivory, for which Dosarene of the Periplus and Paloura of Ptolemy—both in Kalinga—were famous but which may have also been sold in the markets of this region, Betel-leaf which was grown in such a large quantity that its growers and sellers formed

139. *Natural History*, XXXII, 5; XXXVII, 27-30 and 79.

140. Ibid., pp. 252f. It has been supposed that garnets were included amongst the transparent stones exported from the ports of the Malabar coast at the time of the Periplus (Cf. the Periplus, sec. 56). If this were to be accepted, once again it may be suggested that the trade in this stone shifted or at least included the Andhra coast during the post-Periplus period. The garnets found on the Andhra coastal sites may be dated to the second-third century A.D.


142. Majumdar-Shastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 69f. Paloura has been identified with Palura of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions (Vogel, Epigraphia Indica, XX, p. 22) and is held to be the same as Pliny's Dandagula (*Natural History*, XI, 21). The latter has been identified with Dantavaktra near Srikakulam (Visakhapatnam district); Cf. D. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

143. Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 221, has listed betel leaf and betel-nut amongst the medicinal plant-products in which the Arabians established traffic, and which was also perhaps known to the earlier Romans.
guilds, and fragrant wood like sandal-wood a part of which, however, must have also come from Mysore. Besides these, other products of Andhra's neighbouring regions must have reached its ports through transit trade and were perhaps purchased by Roman merchants.

Against this impressive list of exports from Andhra, the extant remains of Roman objects in this area seem paltry. Table-ware appears to have been an important item which was imported into Andhra. Rouletted dishes of Roman character as well as their local imitations have been discovered at various places in Andhra, such as Kondapur, Amaravati, Kesarapalle, Chebrolu, sites in Kurnool district, etc. Fragments of Roman lamps seen at Arikamedu give some credence to a reference in an inscription from Alluru (Krishna district) to lamps of the shape of a vedala fish, manufactured by the Yavanas (vedālabhikārokarodiya va(na)kadivikāyo), which were included

144. The Periplus, sec. 36, mentions sandalwood as being exported from Barygaza. But, since evidence has already been cited to prove the development of a flourishing business in the making of perfumes from sandalwood among other things - it is reasonable to assume that this fragrant wood was also available in the markets of Andhra.

145. From Yeleswaram ware found sherds of red, polished sprinklers made of well levigated clay which appear to have been Samian ware, imported from the Mediterranean; see Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavation, p. 18. Similar pottery has been noticed at Nevasa (Indian Archaeology - A Review, 1954-55, p. 7) and possibly Kondapur. The importance of the importation of Roman table-ware can be gauged from the numerous sherds of Arretine and Rouletted black wares, and Mediterranean amphoras found at Arikamedu; Cf. Wheeler, 'Arikamedu, an Indo-Roman Trading Station', loc.cit., pp. 17ff.

in a list of gifts made by a certain mahātalavara. At Dharanikota, Kesarapalle, Nagarjunakonda and Yelleswaram numerous glass-bangles and beads were found amongst the excavated objects. Their occurrence in the lower Krishna basin suggests a foreign origin, and it is reasonable to assume that they were manufactured at the Roman factory of Arikamedu, or possibly directly imported from the west. Glass bangles and beads are known to have been sold at some of the markets of the western Deccan, Nevasa (Ahmednagar district) being one such example. What other items constituted the merchandise of the Romans cannot be determined at present. It is possible however, that they also sold sculptured objects, as traces of Roman influence have been detected in a few examples of Andhra art. The pillar of a ruined palace at Nagarjunakonda represents a male figure nude down to the waist and holding a drinking horn (rhyton) in his left hand. Standing on the ground near his left foot is a wine-jar covered with an inverted drinking cup. The figure appears to be a crude representation of Dionysius.

The nature of goods imported and exported shows that Andhra's trade with the Roman empire was mainly a traffic in luxuries - an abiding characteristic of Indo-Roman trade. Yet,

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147. D.C. Sircar, Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan, p. 330
despite the adverse balance of trade suffered by them, the Romans considered it of enough value to have established permanent trading agencies at important trading ports. Ptolemy has singled out certain coastal markets as emporia all along the coast from the Indus to the Ganges. Like Muziris emporion or Podouke emporion on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts respectively, there was at least one emporion on the Andhra coast called Melange, which was located at either Bandar Malanka (near one of the Godavari mouths) or Krishnapatam, a little to the south of the North Penner river. These maritime towns must have been trading ports in some special sense. Wheeler has suggested that in each maritime district there was amongst other places one which was pre-eminently the commercial port, with rights and privileges, similar to perhaps to those of the Periplus nominon emporion (lawful market) of Adulis, Muza and Apologos, or enthæsmon emporion (privileged market) respect of Calliena (Kalyâna) near Bombay and it is likely that in these emporions were normally posted permanent agencies of Graeco-Roman traders. Presence of such Roman trading representatives is suggested by the discovery of several near-perfect imitations of Roman coins numbering about fifty-five in the Akkenpalle (Nalgonda) hoard and one from the Nasthulapur find which were, according to P.L. Gupta, issued by Roman


151. Ibid.
traders present in Andhra to supplement their own exchequer. These imitations are known exclusively from south India and absent from other regions in the world with which the Roman empire had trading relations. However, it is difficult to assess the impact of this factor on the development of the early historical economic structure, since any settlement on the scale of the Roman trading station at Arikamedu is yet to be unearthed in Andhra.

Apart from the discovery of and demand for Andhra's various products, another circumstance was responsible for the concentration of Roman traffic in Andhradesa during the second century A.D. The Periplus speaks of big ships named Colandia which set sail for Chryse (Malayan peninsula) from Camara (Kaveripattinam), Podouke (Arikamedu) and Sopatma (Markanam on the Nellore coast). But in the time of Ptolemy the point of departure for 'Further India' shifted up along the eastern coast. He places the apherterion (point of departure) for ships bound for Khryse in Maisolia somewhere beyond Allosyagne which was located a little to the north of Point Godavari at Koranj. The actual point has been placed by Sylvian Levi near Chicacole,

153. The Periplus, sec. 50.
close to Kalingapatnam in Srikakulam district.\textsuperscript{155} From the manner in which Ptolemy has described the localities on the eastern coast, i.e. moving from the south to the north, it appears that these ships belonged to Andhra and the far south, and not to the coastal areas of the north-east.\textsuperscript{156} Andhra's brisk trade with south-east Asia at this time is corroborated by the evidence already cited in connection with the development of shipping capable of sailing across the high seas under the Sātavāhanas. The growth of this traffic should now be seen in the wider context of India's trade with south-east Asia and beyond. Evidence from various sources points almost certainly to the emergence of a well-organized lucrative maritime trade in that direction - the horizon of which gradually came to include even China - from about the second century A.D. Thus some of the various regions of south-east Asia mentioned by Ptolemy have been identified by Sylvian Levi with those mentioned in the Nīdēsa, a Pāli text dating to around the second-third century A.D.\textsuperscript{157} Ptolemy's information on the lands be-

\textsuperscript{155} See G. Coedes, \textit{The Indianized States of South-east Asia}, p. 29. It is interesting to note that this area, including the north-eastern part of Visakhapatnam district, which is in the vicinity of Chicacole, is particularly rich in the finds of early historical and Roman coins. The possibility of a port belonging to this period at Bhimunipatnam nearby has been discussed earlier.

\textsuperscript{156} In fact Coedes, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 29 feels that the role of Tāmralipti, the Gangetic port, and the far south, i.e. the Tamil country probably became more important from the fourth-fifth century A.D. onwards.

\textsuperscript{157} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 16, see also H.B. Sarkar, 'The Lure of South-east Asia at the dawn of History', \textit{Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society}, XXXII, I-IV, 1971-72, pp. 57-64.
yond the Ganges is certainly a great improvement upon that of
the Periplus (with its vague references to Chryse and a distant
country called Thina).\textsuperscript{158} The spurt of trading activities
across the Bay of Bengal in the second century A.D. is also
attested by Chinese texts as well as archaeological remains in
south-east Asia.\textsuperscript{159} Coedes has therefore postulated that
serious Indian economic penetration of south-east Asia could
not have taken place before the time of Ptolemy.\textsuperscript{160} Further-
more, Roman interests in this trade became direct from one
hundred and sixty six A.D. when Marcus Aurelius Antonius sent
on embassy to the Chinese emperor Huang-ti.\textsuperscript{161} At a slightly
earlier date, the first Roman coins belonging to Antonius Pius
reached Cambodia.\textsuperscript{162} It appears, therefore, that before one
hundred and sixty six A.D. the Romans had contacts only through
India's intercourse with these countries, in which again Andhra
had a large share. Increasing Roman demands for luxury items
were met by augmenting its indigenous supplies with those from

\textsuperscript{158} Majumdar Shastri, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 189-244; the Periplus,
sec. 63-64.

\textsuperscript{159} For instance, with reference to Vietnam, the Chinese begin
to speak of the Kingdom of Champa in one hundred and ninety
one hundred and ninety three A.D. Similarly in the Malayan
peninsula the Chinese mention petty Indian States from the
second century A.D. onwards. For a full discussion on
this subject see Coedes, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 16-19.

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{161} Wheeler, 'Roman Contacts with India, Pakistan and Afgha-
nistan', \textit{loc.cit.}, p. 359.

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid.
south-east Asia. The latter had much to offer in the shape of gold, spices, aromatic woods and fragrant resins. Its greatest attraction was, probably, due to its reputation for being endowed with gold. "It was gold that attracted India to the Eldorado of the Far East." This was partly meant to supplement south India's dwindling gold sources.

Cultural influence of Andhra has been detected in the antiquities found in south-east Asia. For instance, the oldest Buddha images carved in the tradition of the Amaravati school and Ceylon were discovered in the Celebes. Close association of Andhra with these countries from this period onwards have also been noticed in the form of place-names, epigraphical records and other cultural material. It has been pointed out that Dong-duong in Champa was not only known as Amaravati, but a bronze Buddha in the Amaravati style was also picked up at that spot. According to traditions current in Pegu, "Hindu Colonists" from the country of the

164. Ibid.
165. Ibid.
166. Ibid., pp. 18f.
167. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, South Indian Influences East (Bombay, 1949), p. 52, for the epigraphical evidence proving Andhra's contact with south-east Asia. For other cultural evidence see D.Das, op. cit., p. 258f.
168. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 53. Foucher, therefore, described Amaravati as "one of the great ports of embarkation from which Graeco-Buddhist influence was exported to Indo-China and Indonesia"; quoted in Coedes, op. cit., p. 267n. 10.
lower courses of the Krishna and Godavari had at a remote
time crossed the sea and formed settlements in the delta of
the Irawadi and on the adjoining coast. 169

It is thus seen that during the early centuries of the
Christian era, Andhra's commercial activities increasingly
involved not only its immediate neighbouring countries in the
Peninsula, but also the distant Roman empire and the countries
of South-east Asia across the high seas. To what extent it
affected the emerging socio-economic structure is the subject
of the following chapter.