CHAPTER FOUR

THE PREHISTORY OF URBANISATION IN THE MALWA AREA

INTRODUCTION

Urban centres in India are islands amidst an ocean of villages. Indeed it emerged out of the pre-existing agricultural societies. That is why it is important to understand the history of farming communities in the Malwa region. In the following sections we shall present a brief history of the emergence of agriculture. We shall also try to underline some of the important stages in the expansion and evolution of agricultural communities.

For a long time the study of the Indian archaeology has been defined by a perspective centred on happenings in North India. This was a continuation of the trends of the earlier era when Indian history, primarily based on the study of literary sources, viewed north India as the heartland of Indian culture. An Indian intelligentsia entranced by the discovery of linguistic brotherhood with Europeans looked upon the Vedas as the fountainhead of its culture. Since the Vedas were believed to have been composed in north India, the roots of all historical transformations were traced to the North. This tradition continued in archaeology too. North Indian pottery forms like the PGW and NBPW became the prime denominators of historical development. Or for that matter, the archaeology of the Mahabharata or Ramayana became standard themes for debates in archaeology. The north Indian slant in this discourse is too obvious to need further
elaboration. Other areas figured in discussions only in so much as they had at some point been affected or appropriated by developments in the North. This was in tune with the prevailing diffusionist models in archaeology. It was believed that the beginning of historical development could be located in a well defined space. This 'development' in turn moved from the centre to the periphery. 'Ideas have wings' was the classic statement of this discourse. Such an approach did not require any understanding of the 'periphery' since they were passive recipients of 'development'. Little or no attempt was made to understand 'change' in relation to the cultural, geographical and historical profile of a region. Thus, the north Indian bias in Indian archaeology meant that the personality of other regions was ignored. The archaeology of other areas was expected to conform to whatever happened in the North. In fact the beginnings of an understanding of the archaeology of the Malwa region were related to the search for Maheshwar, a city mentioned in north Indian literature. Dr. Wakankar had discovered the site of Maheshwar in 1952, excavation of the site by Dr. Sankalia of the Deccan college brought to light a pottery with distinctive colour and design (Sankalia et al. 1958). This pottery was called the Malwa ware signifying the fact that it was typical of the chalcolithic settlements in Malwa. Here was a pottery which could not be derived from the North. There has been a steady increase in the number of 'Malwa Culture' settlements since. As early as 1967, Wakankar published a list of more than 100 chalcolithic culture sites (Chakrabarti 1995: 148). As a result of this scholars try to understand the dynamics of the Malwa culture in the local environment rather than look north. The credit for discovering agricultural settlements older than the 'Malwa culture' also goes to Dr. Wakankar. In 1965-66, he discovered the 'Kayatha culture'. With these discoveries, the personality of
Malwa acquired distinct contours. The excavation reports from Navdatoli (Sankalia et al. 1971), Kayatha (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975), Nagda (Banerjee 1986) and Ujjain (Banerjee 1959), established the Malwa area as a distinct personality whose identity could not be reduced to an adjunct to the history of north India. When Chakrabarti argued that the evidence for the earliest use of iron comes from the Malwa region and not from the North (Chakrabarti 1973), the hollowness of North-centred perspective became obvious. This tradition of research and exploration has led to the discovery of hundreds of settlements. However, the theoretical underpinnings of these traditions have not been spelled out so far. In the following section we shall spell out the current understanding of the emergence of agricultural communities in the Malwa area.

Expansion of the Agricultural Communities

The Kayatha Phase

The Kayatha culture complex represents the earliest known agricultural settlement in the Malwa region. Kayatha is situated in district Ujjain on the bank of the river Choti-kali-sindh. The Kayatha culture was believed to have spanned a period of two-hundred years, i.e., between 2000 B.C. and 1800 B.C. (Dhavalikar 1970). However, the calibrated Radio-carbon dates indicate that this culture dated from 2400 B.C. to 2000 B.C. (Dhavalikar 1994). The Kayatha people with advanced copper metallurgy and specialised stone blade industry, do not seem to have had any antecedent in this area. This indicates that they came here from some other area. Thus, even at this early stage certain socio-economic processes were generating population movements. It is, however, difficult to specify all these stages as to what these processes were, or wherefrom the stimulants
So far, over forty sites with traits of the Kayatha culture have been discovered. They are mostly located in the black soil region around the tributaries of the Chambal river (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975). At the same time the time span of the Kayatha culture is coeval with a part of the time span of the Indus valley civilization. If one keeps in mind the historical pattern of migration of communities, and cultural influences, it seems likely that the Kayatha culture was related to cultures north-west of it. Certain parallels have been found between the pottery of Kayatha and those of the pre-Harappan Sothi culture. The Red-painted-Brown slipped ware has certain resemblance to the Dark slipped ware from Sothi. The deep bowl with the beaded rim and the globular jar with a concave neck has its counterparts in Sothi with minor differences. Similarly, exact parallels of the combed red ware have been found in Sothi (Dhavalikar 1970). There are certain similarities between the Kayatha and the Harappan potteries also. The Harappan vessels with dark chocolate slip are quite similar to the Kayatha Brown slipped ware. Again, a huge storage jar with a heavily beaded rim in the Kayatha ware shows similarity with Harappan pottery (Dhavalikar 1970). There are reports of the finds of Kayatha and Late Harappan pottery in Sihonia, Khudai and Basaiya of the Morena district (IAR: 1981-82).

Two exquisite necklaces composed of 173 and 160 beads of semi-precious stones found in a house remind one of a similar necklace from Mohenjodaro. A pot containing over 40,000 micro -beads of steatite, has been found in the same house as the earlier finds. The house also yielded copper axes, bangles and storage jars. It was a large house with well-rammed yellow silt (Dhavalikar 1970). The fact that the beads occur in a restricted area and that they are not evenly distributed all over the settlement indicates that this
house was the focus of the entire settlement. This fits in the model of tribal society. The settlements are of roughly equivalent size. The houses in the settlement too are uniform in size but include a larger house with stronger ritual associations. A particular lineage producing surplus has gained prestige and power. This is reflected in the existence of a larger house having a richer collection of artefacts including some prestige goods like copper axes and necklace. There is a movement of precious goods to one centre. The Malwa region was famous for its bead making industry in early historical times. One wonders if the pattern of trading can be stretched back to pre-historic times, especially when we know that the Indus civilization engaged in vigorous trading activities with faraway communities. The extensive bead making industry of Chanhu-daro might indicate that it was one of the items of export. There is considerable variation in the quality of workmanship in the cutting of beads in the Indus valley (Wheeler 1968:98-101). This might indicate that they came from different sources. Explorations in the Morena district have shown the presence of a few late Harappan sites at Silonia, Khudai and Basaiya (Dayalan 1995) on the bank of the river Asan, a tributary of the river Chambal. A sturdy Red ware of fine fabric with such types as dish-on-stand, vase with disc base remind one of Harappan pottery (ibid.). Can one expect some kind of trade relationship between the Kayatha people and the Harappans? Can the high technology of the copper axes be related to contacts with the Harappans? Probably, there was a kind of "trickle trade", with the material changing hands over very short distances before reaching the consumer. Production was based on locally available material. Some exotic materials like copper must have trickled in from distant sources in small quantities. This kind of exchange takes

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1See our discussion on tribal society in chapter two.
place between village and village, and nomads and villagers (Beal 1973). We know that pastoral nomadic communities existed in places like Bagor (in Banswara dist.) and Tilwara (on the margin of the Thar) in a very early period. These finds might indicate the existence of exchange relations between peasants and pastoral nomads. In fact, excavations in Bagor have yielded a large neckless jar, which is very similar to the pottery of Kayatha. There are other parallels too in the pottery traditions (Mishra 1973). The Kayatha culture complex represents small agricultural communities spread over a uniform agricultural niche. It is likely to have been related to the communities to the north west. These contacts might have influenced the craft traditions and institutional structure of these communities.

The Banas Phase

The next phase in the evolution of agricultural communities in the Malwa region is characterised by settlements having affinities with the Banas culture in Rajasthan. The Banas culture spread in the Banas river basin of southern Rajasthan. It is also called Ahar culture on the basis of the type site of Ahar. In the Malwa area the coming of this culture saw both an increase in the site size (at least in Kayatha) and an expansion of the sphere of interaction among agricultural groups. The similarities in the pottery and other material remains, between the cultures of the Banas valley and those of the Malwa region, indicate a more intensive pattern of interaction over a larger geographical horizon compared to the preceding phase. The Ahar culture phase named after the type site of Ahar (in the Udaipur

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2We have accepted the periodisation given by the excavators. Many Radio-carbon dates are available and they seem to corroborate the chronology given by the archaeologists. Since, our intention is to demarcate various phases of social evolution, minor discrepancies in chronology have been overlooked.
district, Rajasthan), has been dated between 1900 B.C. to 1800 B.C. in Kayatha (Dhavalikar:1994). On the basis of a decline in the number of designs on its diagnostic pottery i.e. the Black and Red ware, it seems to have spread from southwest to northeast up the course of the Berach and the Banas rivers (Misra1967:148). Kayatha was reoccupied after a gap of a hundred years. There is a complete break in the pottery tradition. Similarly, the appearance of stylized terracotta figurines indicates the emergence of a different kind of religious belief system. But there is a distinct continuity in the stone blade industry which was to characterise all the succeeding chalcolithic cultures. The continuity in the stone blade industry indicates continuities in the technological tradition. It is likely that although a site like Kayatha was deserted, agriculturists from this settlement moved into nearby localities and continued to follow the stone tool making tradition. When they reappeared in Kayatha they brought about an amalgamation of certain traditions from Kayatha and Ahar. Dayalan has noted the co-existence of the Kayatha and Banas cultures in Dangwada IB and Manoti. At Azadnagar near Indore and Eran the Malwa pottery precedes the Kayatha pottery (IAR 1987-88). In sites like Mahesana and Navdatoli, Ahar and Malwa pottery are found in the same level (Dayalan1995). The Kayatha and Banas periods show similarities in subsistence economies, house form, and flaked stone tool kits. But it is difficult to establish that the succeeding culture evolved out of the preceding ones. For example, what is called the Banas culture is not uniform across all the settlements. Bull figurines are differently made in Kayatha and Ahar. Similarly, house walls resting on stone foundations are unique to Ahar. At the same time the so called Kayatha culture does not see any change in the material culture at Kayatha in the succeeding Banas culture. As such, changes in pottery
traditions should not be treated as symptomatic of the coming of a new group. All these evidences de-emphasise the importance of such categories as 'Kayatha culture' and the 'Ahar culture' in the context of the Malwa region. Generally, a different 'culture' simply denotes a different pottery tradition. However, in anthropological usage, the term 'cultural group' refers to homogenous traditions of language, religion, technology, etc.

Archaeologically speaking, a community sharing a uniform culture should show uniformities in patterns of settlement and subsistence, methods of worship, and the disposal of the dead. Similarly, the coming of a new cultural group should be reflected in these spheres of activity. A change in the pottery tradition can signify a change in the cultural tradition only if such changes are reflected in other kinds of archaeological assemblage. This has not been worked out with any clarity. To us terms like the 'Ahar culture' and the 'Kayatha culture' simply represent convenient time markers.

The typical Black and Red ware used by people in period II at Kayatha, indicates that some of the immigrants might have come from the Banas valley. This Black and red ware has been discovered in the earliest levels of Navdatoli (Sankalia 1977: 112-114) and Nagda (Banerjee 1965). Similarly, necklaces of shell beads of a short cylindrical shape and a short bicone terracotta bead bearing punctured patterns, have been found both in Kayatha and Ahar (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1971). At the same time the Kayatha pottery tradition of the earlier period continued to survive in other Chambal river sites. This is evident from the overlap between the Kayatha and Malwa culture phases in many of these sites (Dhavalikar 1971). Unfortunately, we do not have any detailed information regarding those sites where there is overlap between the Kayatha and the Malwa culture.

The Banas basin is an extension of the Malwa plateau. It is a flat alluvial country with
slightly less rainfall than the Malwa region. So far, around ninety Banas culture sites have been discovered in this region alone (Chakrabarti 1995:146). In the Malwa plateau, sites like Navdatoli, Nagda, Kayatha, etc. have shown evidence of cultural contact with this region. Thus, compared to the time span of the Kayatha culture, there were many more agricultural settlements dotting the landscape of Malwa and the Banas valley. However, there were significant variations in the patterns of adaptation in these regions.

People in the Banas basin used copper tools on a large scale. Hardly if any stone implement has been found at Ahar. On the other hand, Kayatha had a full-fledged blade industry with hardly any copper in the same cultural phase. The abundant use of copper at one site and its almost total absence at the other reflects the social structure of these communities. At this stage of development, the agricultural communities in the Malwa region had not evolved elite groups which could generate demands for foreign prestige goods like copper. These communities exploited locally available sources and inter-regional trade seems to have been almost absent. On the other hand, it is well known that the Harappans almost certainly exploited the copper mines of Rajasthan. This is evident from the similarities in the traces of nickel and arsenic content of metal tools found in the Harappan settlements (Allchin 1968:281). Could the extensive use of copper by the people of Ahar (even though of inferior quality compared to that of the Harappans) suggest some links with the Harappans? Could they be supplying copper ores to the Harappans?

The Ahar culture sites have yielded dishes and bowls in Tan ware, which are closely related to the Harappan pottery (Sankalia 1969). The pastoral communities from sites like Bagor and Tilwara were intimately related to the Banas culture. This is evident from their pottery and other artifacts. Even in modern times, sites like Bagor and Tilwara are
inhabited by pastoral nomads (Leshnik 1972) and there is a regular pattern of movement among them from the dry areas of the Ghaggar valley to south-east Rajasthan. Sometimes they go up to the Malwa plateau (Bose 1968:23). These communities with their annual transhumance might have been the connecting link between the people living in the Harappan settlements on the Ghaggar, and the Banas people. Some similarities in pottery forms have been discovered between the Ahar settlements and the Harappan sites in Gujarat, in the later phase. This might indicate another direction of communication.

Kayatha has yielded a large number of terracotta figurines which are absent in Ahar. Stylized bulls made of fine clay were probably used for worship. The naturalistic bull forms might have been used as toys but the stylized forms seem to have been used for ritualistic purposes only (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975). Large scale production of terracotta figurines is possible only in a well established agricultural society where it is undertaken when there is a demand from institutionalised religious cults. Clay figurines were required for making votive offerings, or could be used as magical charms or household deities. Elsewhere, the demand can be for secular figurines and plaques for decoration of homes, or as toys for children. More important is the fact that, while these sites showed certain similarities in the sphere of economy and exchange (semi-precious stones, pottery etc. although copper was largely absent in one region), they had...
independent spheres of belief systems. This indicates that that these agricultural communities had not developed into chiefdoms. Chiefdoms typically achieve ideological unification. Chiefs act as mediators between the divinity and subordinate lineages. The presence of a variety of belief systems indicates that such a unification had not been achieved. Also the absence in Malwa of copper tools, which could have functioned as prestige goods, typically controlled by the elite in chiefdoms, shows that it was not a chiefdom.

The Malwa Phase

The next phase of agricultural development is known as the Malwa culture phase. It has been named after a particular kind of pottery, predominantly found in Malwa. In Kayatha (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1971) and Navdatoli (Sankalia 1971) (located near Maheswar in the Nimar district) this culture came into existence around 1600 B.C. and ended around 1300 B.C. This culture is characterised by a black painted red pottery made of fine orange buff paste. It has a variety of designs in black: geometric, floral, animal and human shapes. In the Kayatha phase at Kayatha a Red Painted Buff Ware in shapes like the 'Lota' has been found. This is believed to be the source of the later Malwa pottery (Dhavalikar 1994). Similarly, Dayalan has pointed out that at Azadnagar near Indore, Kayatha pottery seems to evolve into Malwa pottery (Dayalan 1995). There are typical shapes like the Lota, bowls with concave sides, channel spouted bowls and pedestalled

4 There are many Radio-carbon dates from sites like Kayatha, Navdatoli, Inamgaon etc. They all show the beginnings of this culture around 1600 B.C. This culture was superseded by the Jorwe culture around 1300 B.C. in many sites.
goblets. Goblets have been found only at Navdatoli. In Maharashtra bowls show carination and tubular spouts also. However, the Malwa Lota is absent in Maharashtra.

The geographic spread of this culture is impressive. It has been found at Daimabad and Inamgaon in the Ahmadnagar and Poona districts in Maharashtra. Sites like Prakash in the Tapti basin at Khandesh have also yielded this pottery (Agrawal 1971:45-50; Dhavalikar 1976). Towards the north Kayatha, Nagda and Manoti (Mandasaour district) (IAR 59-60:24) have a Malwa culture phase. Eran in the Sagar district has yielded Malwa pottery at the earliest levels (Singh 1967). In most of the sites the Malwa settlers seem to have been the earliest agriculturists. This indicates a tremendous population increase, or immigration from other areas. Or else, it might suggest the gradual acculturation of hunting and pastoral groups by the agriculturists. Again, compared to the two cultural horizons discussed earlier, the Malwa culture has a larger geographical reach. The agriculturists seem to have confined themselves to the low rainfall black soil region. But they were crossing the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, and fanning out into Khandesh and the whole of the Deccan. On the margins, they did have contacts with other cultures. Kayatha, Navdatoli, and other sites indicate an overlap between the Ahar and the Malwa cultural phases. Nagda, located in the Ujjain district, has indicated certain influences from Saurashtra in its chalcolithic deposits (Allchin 1968:187-88). Certain influences in pottery forms from the southern neolithic cultures have also been noticed (Dhavalikar 1973). Stone tool technology formed the backbone of the economy with the parallel blade industry being the most important. However, the Malwa culture sites have a sprinkling of copper tools. The preceding phases of culture in sites like Prakash, Bahal, Chandoli showed the existence of neolithic communities. The introduction of the Malwa pottery which
gradually became the dominant ware in all these sites, saw the introduction of copper technology in these areas (Sundarajan 1969). Thus, the Malwa culture is associated with the spread of copper technology in the Deccan. At the same time the continuity of the stone blade industry indicates the element of continuity from the Kayatha to the Malwa phases of cultural development. In fact, it might indicate that some specialized community was engaged in producing these stone implements. Factory sites have been discovered at places like Adamgarh, Lalitpur, Mandasaur and Bhopal. The size of these sites suggests that they must have served the needs of more than a single extended family or band. It is possible that many groups visited them. Or else, communities which stayed around areas where good quality raw material was available, might have exchanged it with the neighbouring communities. Many rock shelters have yielded chalcolithic potteries (Joshi 1978: 84). At Adamgarh bones of sheep and goats in addition to those of pigs, dogs and buffaloes have been found. An equally large number of bones of wild animals have been discovered, indicating a combination of hunting and pastoralism.

The close association between agriculturists and hunting - pastoral groups is indicated by the fact that they were using the same basic material derived from the same local sources and the same basic techniques. They were producing the same range of tools too. The only

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5 Jacobson (1978) and Leshnik (op. cit.) have also hinted at this possibility. Cave paintings in Central India depict dancing scenes. Such large gatherings indicated the participation of very many bands. Modern ethnographic studies have shown that such occasions are used for exchanging objects of interest and value. Even in modern times primitive communities in this area exchange forest produce like basket, honey, venison, etc. for food and cloth. Such exchange patterns are likely to have existed in pre-historic times too. This kind of relationship among pastoralists, hunters and agriculturists is likely to have provided impetus to the process of movement of men from one group to another.

6 Jacobson (ibid.) assigns the potteries found in the rock shelters around Bhopal to the period between 2000 B.C. to 800 B.C.
noticeable difference was the greater proportion of hunting tools in the finds from the hunting - pastoral sites (Allchin1974). In the Southern neolithic, there are clear evidences of particular kinds of stone being carried upwards of fifty miles. Examples of tools made in one centre having been discovered in more than a dozen sites have also been reported in the South (Allchin1968:267-268). But in the Malwa region such precise co-relation has not been made so far. The possible mechanism of these exchanges is difficult to make out. Together with the fact that hunters, pastoralists and agriculturists had established a symbiotic relationship, the agriculturists seem to have been emerging as the dominant group. Even in sites like Adamgarh which was occupied by pastoral nomadic groups, slash and burn cultivation was practiced. There seems to be a distinct possibility of shift from pastoralism and hunting- gathering to agriculture. The finds of a large number of bull figurines from the Malwa sites might indicate an enduring presence of pastoral communities in agricultural settlements. Alternately, it might indicate the absorption of pastoral communities by agriculturists. This kind of shift and the increase in the population of agriculturists might explain the increase in the number of Malwa culture sites compared to those of the preceding cultural phase.

The individual sites of the Malwa culture themselves show signs of prosperity and population growth. In the Navdatoli phase I characterised by the Black and Red ware of the Banas type, there were around 50 pottery types in all (Sankalia et.al 1971: 105-164). Phase II at Navdatoli, i.e., the Malwa culture proper saw a quantum jump in the quantity and variety of potteries. This phase had roughly around 75 (seventy five) pottery shapes (ibid. 165-203). This is an increase of fifty percent over the preceding phase. The greater variety in pottery shapes signifies many more kinds of requirements. This would
suggest a much more prosperous culture compared to the preceding period. It ties in with the evidence of population increase. Navdatoli had initially ten huts with a population between 50 to 100. It expanded further in phases II and III when a large area was occupied. At its peak, the population might have increased to as much as 1000 (Dhavalikar 1997:133). Similarly, beads of semi-precious stones have been found in larger number in the Malwa phase compared to the preceding phase in Navdatoli. Objects of sea-shell indicate contacts with the sea-coast, possibly Broach (Sankalia et. al.1971:407). Various kinds of habitation structures have been discovered here. There is considerable variation in the size and shapes of these houses. Most of these structures were round huts not exceeding 8 feet in diameter. The smallest of these were probably used for storing grains. Some of the rectangular structures were quite large by comparison. Structures measuring 40'x 15' and 22' x 22' have been discovered. One of them seems to have been constructed for religious performances (ibid.407). These variations in the sizes of habitation structures might indicate social differentiation with a small group having higher social status.

The overall inventory of tools and other objects is certainly richer than in the

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Source: Sankalia (1971)
preceding period. But it does not suggest any significant increase in trading activities. Most of the materials were locally available or could be procured through inter-tribal exchange. The use of copper might have generated some exchange activities. But even this was mostly procured from locally available sources. In the Malwa region copper has been reported from Harda (Near district Khandwa) in small quantities. Prof. Sankalia has suggested west Asiatic origins for the Channel spouted bowls in the Malwa ware. But it is more likely that it was derived from the Southern neolithic (Dhavalikar 1973). Sea-shell and lapis lazuli in Navdatoli were probably procured through 'trickle trade'.

In the Malwa phase the site of Daimabad covered an area of 20 hectares (ibid 29). Compared to the 7 hectares of Navdatoli and the average site size of 2 hectares (Dhavalikar 1997:112-126), Daimabad is very large indeed. New estimates of population at Navdatoli place it between 1000 to 1500 (ibid:133). Daimabad is believed to have had a population of about 3000 to 4000. For the 2 hectare sites, the population has been worked out to anywhere between 100 - 500 (ibid 172 - 174). These population figures...

8Earlier it was believed that copper was imported from Khetri in Rajasthan. However, the copper used in the Deccan is now believed to have been extracted from locally available ores. See Dhavalikar (1974).

are imprecise with large margins of error. However, when we relate them to the fact that the larger sites have yielded evidence for public architecture, large houses and planned settlements, such differences in site size become significant. Among the important factors determining the size of human groups, the carrying capacity of the land is the most crucial. In our context the agricultural output would determine the size of the community. If two hectares was the standard size of the Malwa settlements, it would indicate the ability of the agricultural communities in those times to produce enough of grain to support a population settled over two hectares of habitable space. If the population exceeded the carrying capacity the normal reaction of the communities would be to branch off and set up another village (Chrisolm 1968:131). It is possible that in some areas, land was more productive. The size of settlement would be larger in those areas. However, if the size of some settlement is ten times the standard size as in the case of Daimabad, it needs to be explained by factors other than agricultural output. To be able to understand these "other factors", let us look at the reports of the larger settlements.

At Navdatoli, a site 7 hectares in size, round and square houses have been found. A three room house has also been discovered. Several round and square houses have been reported. Clusters of round houses have been discovered. They probably belonged to large kin groups. This is suggested by the fact that hearth (Chulah) is absent in individual houses meaning that many of the round huts shared the same kitchen (Dhavalikar 1997:130).

The site of Daimabad (on the bank of the river Pravara, a tributary of the river Tapti) in the Ahmadnagar district in Maharashtra is on the margin of the Malwa region (Sali 1986). This site has shown Harappan influences in the Pre-Malwa levels. This is clear proof of the fact that at least some of the people of Maharashtra were in active contact with
the Saurastra area wherefrom the Harappan influences are believed to have come. In the Malwa phase, pottery with potter's mark has been found (ibid.30). The site also yielded coppersmith's and stone-cutter's workshops. It is the varied structures found in this period which attract our attention. Some of the houses were large and spacious. The houses were divided into various parts. House number 32, 33 and 34 are believed to be part of the same complex. This complex is believed to have been a priest's house (ibid.98-104). This in turn was connected to an apsidal structure containing a fire altar which has been identified with a temple. Thus, it represented a single complex where rooms were occupied by different families within a large enclosure. Houses had separate as also interconnecting entrances (Sali 1986:98-104). We have noticed the presence of extended families in Navdatoli too. Large kinship networks sharing hearth and home could become bases of power for ambitious leaders. A burial yielded 283 beads of stone. Obviously, the buried person enjoyed special status in his times because other burials do not show such a large number of beads.

The site of Inamgaon located in the Bhima valley in Maharastra also gives us some idea of those times. This settlement was spread over an area of 15 acres. The houses were rectangular in shape and fairly large (8x5m) in size with partitions inside (Dhavalikar 1988:138). The largest house also yielded two incense burners, a terracotta bull, a number of storage jars, and large quantities of charred grains (ibid.167). Round huts and two pit dwellings have also been discovered. The hearths inside these dwellings had a different design too. So, we have the contrast of spacious houses with some prestige goods, and cramped pit dwellings.

Our discussion of the settlement size indicates that the larger sites show evidence
for public architecture like the temple in Daimabad. Similarly, they indicate some kind of social differentiation. The uneven distribution of grave goods and the discovery of many objects in the larger houses indicate that the difference in the size of houses was related to differential possession of prestige goods.

The variation in the site sizes and differences in the sizes of residences is symptomatic of domination of smaller sites by a large site. One unit had acquired greater power and it was increasingly able to make decisions that were binding on others. Sites with greater agricultural potential or having access to valuable minerals are likely to have engendered new patterns of relationship. The lineages which controlled these areas were apt to acquire greater prestige vis-a-vis other lineages. This superiority in production was articulated through manifestations of control over the super-natural by particular lineages. Thus, some sites emerged as the focus of ceremonial activities with a particular lineage in control. Could these sites indicate the incipient origins of chiefdom?

The findings of objects not available locally (sea shell, carnelian beads in Ahar, lapis, gold etc. from the Malwa sites) shows an enlargement of the interaction sphere. At Navdatoli alone 12 kinds of materials were being used for manufacturing beads. It meant the mobilisation and transportation of goods from one area to another. Goods not available in one region could be made available by trade. The cultural inventory was enriched. It could also lead to the stabilisation of agricultural communities, since in the time of food shortage or other such emergency, communities spread over a larger area could help or loot each other. It paved the way for the expansion and prosperity of the agricultural communities.
The Jorwe Phase

The next phase of expansion of agricultural communities is known as the Jorwe culture phase (dated C.1300-700 B.C.) after a type site in Maharashtra. In Navdatoli, the Jorwe pottery appears in phase II. This pottery seems to be derived from the assimilation of the Southern neolithic and the Malwa potteries. The tradition of painting in black over red is obviously derived from the Malwa ware. The changes in the fabric and surface dressing are already indicated in the Malwa ware of Maharashtra. Unlike the coarse fabric and buff slip in the Malwa sites, the Maharashtra specimens have fine fabric and a pinkish red wash. The globular jar, carinated bowl and Lota (Indian household utensil) in Jorwe ware are derived from the Malwa ware. From the Southern neolithic it borrowed tubular spouts and funnel mouth (Dhavalikar1973). The distinguishing feature of the paintings in the Jorwe pottery is the speed and deftness of application. The fussiness of the old pottery style disappears and the linear patterns are simplified. The number of animal and human motifs also diminish. The mark of the new pottery is the economic use of decoration with rapid strokes (Allchin1968:301-302). This implies mass production, greater demand for pottery and greater efficiency.

On the basis of many C14 dates available from sites like Nevasa, Chandoli, Navdatoli and Inamgaon etc., the Jorwe culture has been dated from 1300 B.C. to 700 B.C. Most of the Jorwe culture sites were deserted by 1000 B.C. but, on the evidence from Inamgaon and Sonegaon, a late Jorwe phase lasting upto 700 B.C. has been postulated.
The Jorwe culture spread up to the upper Krishna valley in the South. Navdatoli was its northern extremity. It covered almost the whole of Maharastra except Konkan (Dhavalikar 1973). Over 200 sites yielding Jorwe pottery have been discovered (Dhavalikar 1997: 172). In the Malwa region itself, sites like Nagda, Eran, Manoti etc. did not have Jorwe pottery and they continued to use the Malwa ware. Apparently, the close interaction between the Malwa and Jorwe people indicates similar patterns of development. Thus, studies conducted in one area might give insights into the developments in the other region. While discussing the pottery traditions of chalcolithic Central India, Miller has suggested that the Ahar, Malwa and Jorwe potteries are simply geographical variations of the same tradition. The Jorwe pottery represents improved techniques of pottery making. The motifs and shapes of the pots seem to point to a uniformity in the entire region extending from Ahar to Inamgaon (Miller 1984).

Sites like Navdatoli, Daimabad and Inamgaon indicate that the Jorwe phase overlapped with the Malwa phase. As pointed out earlier, they were likely to have developed out of a synthesis of the Southern neolithic and the Malwa culture. Evidence of contacts with Lustrous red ware people in Saurashtra has also been found in some sites. This period saw the establishment of more active contacts with the coastal region. The agriculturists in the black soil region were interacting with Southern neolithic, Saurasran chalcolithic and the Banas chalcolithic. The expansion of agricultural communities continued as is evident from settlements established on virgin soil in sites like Sonegaon, Jorwe and Chandoli. Navdatoli, Inamgaon and some other sites witnessed

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10 Sites like Navdatoli and Prakash have yielded the Lustrous red ware in small quantities. See Allchin (1968: 187-197)
expansion in site size.

This period also saw the clear cut emergence of a variety of settlements. There were agricultural settlements, farmsteads, herding units, factory sites or seasonal camps. Settlements like Inamgaon and Daimabad were agricultural units. They were located in the black cotton soil region close to perennial sources of water. Sites like Walki and Gotikhil, close to Inamgaon, were farmsteads (Shinde 1994). Thus, we see the emergence of settlements performing specialised activities. Factory sites dating to an earlier period have been unearthed, but such a variety of settlements is not reported from the earlier period. It is significant because such specialised settlements imply the presence of specialised human groups. This kind of specialisation in combination with the emergence of site hierarchy might have paved way for the emergence of more complex social formations.

Many new developments are discernible in the socio-political structure in the Jorwe period. In the Deccan a two-tiered settlement hierarchy had clearly emerged. The clustering of settlements can be clearly seen in the Tapti basin and the Pravara-Godavari valley. Each of these regions had one large site which because of its size might have dominated the whole region. Prakash in the Tapti valley spread over an area of about fifteen acres. Daimabad in the Pravara-Godavari valley is even more remarkable (Dhavalikar1985). In the Jorwe period, the site of Daimabad expanded to 75 acres. On a conservative estimate their population would work out to about 6000 people. Such a large cluster of people is likely to have drawn resources from the surrounding settlements. Inamgaon in the Jorwe period had a size of about 12 acres with an estimated population of about 1000. Some medium sized sites like Jorwe, Bahal and Nevasa have also been
discovered (Dhavalikar1973). They were roughly 5 acres in size. Incidentally, it must be pointed out that the three bigger sites were roughly equidistant from each other. This shows that some kind of 'central place' had emerged.

The settlement of Daimabad with its enormous size has attracted a lot of attention. The excavation showed a distinct continuity from the Malwa to the Jorwe period (Sali1986:20). Two large houses have been discovered. One of them identified as a merchant's house, 9x5m in size, had three rooms. It has yielded a cylinder seal, terracotta figurine of a sage and his consorts and images of bulls and rhinoceros. It also yielded shell bangles, a lamp, chalcedony beads and bone objects like chisels, points etc. A child burial in the courtyard showed that its feet had not been chopped off as was the normal custom (ibid.146-47). Another large house with three rooms has been identified as that of a nobleman.

This period also showed some evidence of public architecture. An elliptical structure complex with approach paths has been identified as a temple. Inside it have been found fire pits with ash, charred grains and animal bones. It has also yielded pot sherds, mother goddess figures and gamesman of terracotta and fresh water shells (ibid.163). The large house of the priest was attached to it. A mud fortification wall has also been discovered (ibid.165), as has a lime embankment to prevent floods.

A large number of craftsmen lived in Daimabad. Evidences for the presence of bead makers, carpenters, stone cutters, potters and lime makers have been found. Some evidence for long distance trade has also been found. Precious metals like gold must have come from lands faraway. Coral and sea shells were probably brought from coastal Saurashtra (ibid.523).
The excavator believes that by the Jorwe phase the population of the 50 hectare site of Daimabad would not have been less than 10,000 (ibid.577). The evidence for planning, use of stone weights, discovery of a cylinder seal and the evidence for long distance trade make it an extraordinary site for those times.

At Inamgaon there is some evidence of planning of settlements, a feature which is absent in the preceding Malwa phase. Large rectangular houses at a distance of a metre and a half from each other spread over the whole of the habitation area. A street about five metres wide could be traced between the rows of houses. One particular habitation area seems to have been occupied by privileged individuals, as an embankment was constructed to protect it (Dhavalikar1975). A structure at the (10.50m x 9.15m) centre of the main mound, having a number of pit siloes and round platforms for storage-bins of various sizes, was also discovered. It had large fire pits on one side. The excavator believes that it was a public building. It may have been used as a granary by the priest chief (ibid.). To the north of the granary was discovered the largest house of the settlement. It had five rooms including a kitchen and a store room. Most other houses in the site seem to be single room dwellings. This indicates that the family living in the five room house enjoyed an exalted status.

Two separate mounds in Inamgaon showed traces of humble and flimsy habitations (Dhavalikar1985). This would indicate that people who lived in these houses did not have the same status and wealth as those who lived in large rectangular houses along wide streets.

The existence of a mud embankment 240 metre long and a channel 4 meter wide and 3.50 meter deep dug parallel to it, indicates the presence of an authority at the site.
(Dhavalikar1973). This authority could organise and direct community efforts. This embankment indicates the societal potential for mobilisation of labour on a larger scale than was possible before.

There is considerable variation in the distribution of grave goods in the burials discovered in Imangaon. In most cases the dead were buried inside the habitation area. In one case a person was buried in an urn of unbaked clay having four stumpy legs. The man was buried in a sitting posture and his feet were intact. In all other cases the feet of the buried persons were amputated. This burial was found in the the largest house in the settlement (Dhavalikar1988:1005). Obviously, the buried person enjoyed a different status compared to the rest of the inhabitants. Two child burials at Nevasa and one at Chandoli show copper bead necklace round the neck of the children (Sankalia1977:135). The use of an expensive necklace by a youngster indicates that he enjoyed a high status by birth. This is important evidence of change from a society where status was acquired through acts of bravery to one where a person was born to status.

Copper bronze implements were used on a larger scale. The craftmen's habitations were huddled together in the periphery of the site at Inamgaon. This pattern of keeping the craftsmen at the periphery of the habitation prevails even now in Maharastra villages. These craftmen's quarters had pit siloes for storing grain which they might have received in exchange from the agriculturists. The Baluta system in modern Maharastra involves exactly this kind of relationship between villagers and the craftsmen. Period I and II yielded houses of potters, coppersmiths and ivory carvers. Thus, at least three kinds of craftsmen seem to have emerged by the early Jorwe phase. The Jorwe pottery bears potters' mark in the form of a dot or a cross (Sankalia1974:132). The use of potter's mark
is indicative of a more conscious specialisation of labour. The graffiti decorations show a cart with solid wheels being drawn by humped bulls (Dhavalikar 1975). This is proof of the existence of wheeled transport in this period. Whether it was used by the preceding chalcolithic communities or not is difficult to say, but the introduction of wheeled transport must have provided a boost to the exchange economy. The occurrence of wheat in period II has been interpreted as proof of the introduction of irrigation. Since wheat is a Rabi crop in this region, it requires winter rainfall. This area has very little winter rainfall. Similarly, lentil, pea and hyacinth bean could have been grown only with irrigation (Dhavalikar 1988: 1003). The existence of channels near the embankment might indicate the beginnings of well organised irrigation (Dhavalikar and Possehl 1974). Navdatoli, Kayatha etc. have yielded evidence of wheat cultivation in the Malwa period itself. That is because this region had a higher rainfall. All this is evidence of the beginnings of double cropping from an early period. At Inamgaon the early Jorwe farmers grew bajra, sorghum, black gram, hyacinth bean and horse gram during the monsoon, and wheat, barley, lentil, grass pea and field pea in winter (Dhavalikar 1985). This will mean that the agricultural economy had become much more stabilised.11

11This will imply that the agriculturists could cushion crop failures in one season and carry on its traditional pattern of subsistence by crops grown in the next season. The introduction of irrigation helped intensify the methods of exploitation of land of a particular area. At the same time it reduced the area available for exploitation having maximum return. Thus, irrigation had the in-built tendency of generating intra-community and inter-community competition. There were bound to be some communities which were at a relative disadvantage. The groups having control over irrigation channels could potentially produce more and convert it into normal pattern of domination over other communities. Or else, the communities at a disadvantageous position could try to wrest control of these channels by attacking the community controlling it.
Did the Jorwe Phase Represent Chiefdom?

A noteworthy development in the middle of the second millennium is variation in site size in southern Rajasthan too. While the majority of the Ahar culture sites were small hamlets covering two to four hectares, Ahar and Gilund covered an area of ten hectares each (Chakrabarti 1995: 146). This increase in site size may have occurred towards the end of the chalcolithic period in Ahar, that is around 1300 - 1200 B.C. It can be inferred from the finds of a large structure (overlying smaller structures of two earlier periods) 30' long in Ahar. At Gilund too a structure 100'x80' has been found (ibid.146).

Similarly, the appearance of a few Lustrous Red ware sherds and a Jorwe sherd in this phase (period I C of the excavator) makes it roughly contemporary with the Malwa and the early Jorwe phases. What is significant to us is the fact that in the time span of 1400 - 1200 B.C. large sites were emerging over a fairly large geographical area. It was happening in Maharashtra (Daimabad, Inamgaon), it was happening in Malwa (Navdatoli), and it was happening in Rajasthan (Ahar, Gilund). So, the emerging differentiation is not confined to some small geographical area. Given the fact of the gradual emergence and spread of agricultural communities certain patterns of domination had emerged. Fire altars have also been reported from many settlements over the wide geographic spread of Rajasthan Malwa and Maharashtra. While they belong to roughly the same time span, we are not very clear whether they were constructed in the same way. Their occurrence in roughly the same time span seems to indicate that such symbol systems had emerged which were shared over a large area. Settlements like Inamgaon, Daimabad, Dangwada,

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12Erdosy (1995:11) believes that fire worship with horsemanship and fortification was one of the archaeological features of the Aryan groups in South Asia. This is important in the context of the assertion by Sali that at Daimabad people were familiar
Navdatoli and Gilund show evidence of the presence of ceremonial centres. The precious stones and metals found in and around these centres must have belonged to those who presided therein. The presence of these large religious centres and the roughly contemporaneous fire altars suggests that such ideological systems and symbols had emerged which could bind people from settlements faraway. That such centres were also seats of power is evident from their size and richer inventory of tools. Dhavalikar claims that the archaeological remains of Inamgaon indicate that it was a chiefdom.

Anthropological studies of chiefdoms show that chiefs exercise control over many villages. There is a specialized political office and labour mobilisation on a fairly large scale. Such societies also show evidence of elementary forms of craft specialization. The organisation of production and the mechanisms of exchange are largely determined by relations of kinship. The chief is the pre-eminent kinsman of all his people. There is a flow of surplus from the surrounding villages to the centre in the form of irregular and voluntary tributes to the chief. It is a kinship based society where the head of the senior-most lineage is the chief (Sahlins1966:24). A particular lineage producing surplus has

with horse drawn chariot having spoked wheels (Sali1986:578). We believe that Sali's observations require further proof. Erdosy's observation about fire worship requires further specification in archaeologically in terms of the shape and size of the altars. Our evidences could be an interesting pointer to the presence of the Indo - Aryan in the Malwa Maharashtra area in the Jorwe phase or earlier. This would indicate that the Indo - Aryan influences were slowly seeping into these areas. There are very few signs of conflict and confrontation.
gained prestige and power. The chief controls the circulation of prestige goods. He also has monopoly over the performance of some rituals, which are supposed to ensure the welfare of the chiefdom. This is reflected in the existence of a larger house having a richer collection of artefacts including some prestige goods. There is a movement of precious goods to one centre.

Ratnagar has stressed the need to discover the chain of command extending from larger settlements like Inamgaon, Daimabad or Navdatoli to the smaller settlements to prove that the Jorwe remains represent a chiefdom. The presence of settlements of different sizes does not prove that a chain of control existed (Ratnagar: 1995). In the archaeological context it is very difficult to prove that the larger site was exploiting the resources of the surrounding hinterland. This notion of control was based on the idea that the elite groups establish control over resources (agricultural?) critical to the survival of the members of the group. This understanding needs to be reformulated. Sumerian texts show that the early state did not levy taxes in the form of grains (Ratnagar 1991: 135). Also, it would have been difficult for the elite to extend its control over the land which was collectively owned by kin groups. The notion that an elite extended its control over productive land causing systemic deprivation of large groups is based on the assumption of low level scarcity of subsistence resources. This might be an incorrect proposition because the emergence of cities is believed to have been accompanied by technological developments (Gordon Childe 1950). Similarly, it has been pointed out that chiefdoms and leaders of the early state tried to control the production and circulation of some primitive valuables which were used for marriage, bride price and payment for ritual services. The elite consciously employed exchange processes to create and maintain social inequality,
strengthen political coalitions and fund new institutions of control.

The evidence for inter-regional trade is limited. Long distance trade is only for gaining prestige goods. So, an archaeological search for site hierarchy and mechanisms of control would be difficult. What one could do instead is to analyse a site in terms of its size and finds, to answer some of the questions. This method would suit us because reports from Malwa about the Jorwe phase are scanty.

Chiefdom society is called an intermediate stage of development between state and tribal societies (Sahlins 1966:92). The chief enjoys the power of a fixed office. Descent groups are graded in rank and the chief is the member of the senior most lineage. Political relationships, exchange of goods, access to land and the composition of work teams are determined by descent and alliance. Some of the rituals can only be performed by the chiefs. Chiefdoms are characterised by differential access to the supernatural. Chiefs are believed to be mediators between men and the gods. People are supposed to give them gifts on a more or less regular basis. Some chiefs are known to have subsidised craft production, initiated major technical works such as irrigation projects, built temples, sponsored ceremonies and organised support for military campaigns. Collective labour was used to build grand houses, assembly places and temples. However, chiefdoms are unstable structures. The chief is also a kinsman. He is expected to ensure the welfare of his people by propitiating the divinities and ploughing back the surplus that comes to him. If the cycle of rituals, or the demands for prestation and gifts become extravagant, lineages rise in revolt. Such periodic revolts by the people lead to the collapse of chiefdoms. A period of decentralised polities follows (Sahlins 1966:90-92, Fried 1967:225).

Our description of structures of power in chiefdom societies clearly shows the
centrality of rituals in mobilising social surplus and creating inequality. Our survey of the Jorwe period sites shows unambiguous ritual association of the larger buildings in some of the larger settlements. These larger structures were also privileged in terms of finds of precious objects. The richer inventory of goods, (notable among the finds are the conch-shells, which could only be procured from the deep south, ivory beads etc.), the two tiered hierarchy in site size, the variations in house types, the existence of embankments, fortification, ditch, granary, irrigation canals, the variation in burials - all indicate a differentiated agricultural society. The appearance of elaborate ceremonial complexes (priest's house and the huge complex with large fire pits, identified as a religious structure) and two tiered hierarchy indicate that it was a chiefdom.

Since chiefdoms anticipate many of the features of state society, it is important for us to state why we think that Jorwe and its contemporary cultures cannot be considered state societies. The crucial features of the state are the presence of a professional ruling class not bound kinship ties. The other corollary of the presence of a privileged section is the presence of a section which is poor and deprived. State society is highly stratified and extremely diversified. The state attempts to maintain a monopoly of force. States are often marked by the presence of markets. States are also believed to have populations numbering hundreds of thousands (Flannery1972).

The remains of larger settlements like Daimabad, although indicating fairly extensive habitation, do not show marked social differentiation. There are a few big houses and a temple complex but nothing to show the presence of a ruling, or of a deprived class. It is true that it is difficult to discover the habitations of the poorer sections since they would be made of comparatively non durable materials. Also, the fact that they
would not possess precious or semi precious stones or other distinctive objects, means that their presence is marked by their absence in archaeology. We do get more information about the richer segments in archaeology. There are a few clusters which might have housed the rich and powerful. The size of houses and the discovery of precious and semi precious objects do testify to their prosperity. But such habitation clusters are too small in number to have the bearings of a class. The larger houses or temple complexes cannot be called palaces. In other words, these buildings lack the grandeur and monumentality that we associate with the buildings of the historical period. Also, the big houses are not located apart from other houses. This does not suggest any exclusivity for the residents of these houses. As such, we cannot say that the occupants of these houses were kings who controlled vast resources and large armies. In the case of China, the early state lacked monumental structures because the capital was where the king lived. Kings seem to have changed their capitals very regularly. A shift of the capital meant that the previous habitation could return to its rural past. The Malwa - Jorwe period settlements show long periods of habitation and growth but the buildings never quite reach the proportion of a settlement which could indicate the presence of a ruling class. Archaeologically speaking, state societies are marked by the presence of a centre and a periphery, meaning that those places inhabited by rulers, priests, bureaucracy and the army, are markedly different from the sites of the surrounding areas inhabited by commoner lineages. Such 'centres' would have a better share of the riches available in the society. If we examine the excavation reports of the various settlements of the 'Jorwe culture' phase, we find that precious and semi precious objects are fairly evenly distributed over many settlements. No site, big or
small, seems to have a monopoly of some exclusive luxury item. As in the case of the 'Malwa culture' the 'Jorwe culture' sites do not seem to have any thing in common apart from the distinctive pottery. Each of the areas seems to be using different kinds of tools and weapons. One cannot talk of standardisation of any kind. Certain similarities are visible in the worship of fire (reports from settlements like Daimabad, Dangwada, Navdatoli) but that too has not been fully worked out. Thus, the settlements strung across Maharastra, M. P. and southern Rajasthan have very little that binds them together. Here are agricultural communities able to take care of their needs. This is a world of 'mechanical solidarity'. The economic bases of the tribal societies are families. A man's work together with a woman's can provide most of the customary 'Good Things'. These work teams replicate themselves in the entire tribe. Households are not inherently brought into relation by the production process. Typically, state societies are characterised by the presence of craft specialists who do not produce their own food. On a larger scale, such societies engender patterns of specialisation leading to the dependence of one area over the other. The pattern of settlements in our study indicates a more egalitarian pattern of distribution than is the case in state societies. Also, the settlements of the Malwa - Jorwe phase show frequent desertions, phases of prosperity followed by periods of poverty. In Navdatoli and Inamgaon there are evidences of burning down of the settlement between

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13 Lahiri has prepared tables of the sitewise distribution of various kinds of archaeological finds in the Malwa and the Jorwe settlements (Lahiri 1992: 163 and 172). They do not show any settlement as particularly privileged. Some of the settlements have yielded some precious metals or stones in larger quantity. However, it might be attributed to excavation done on a larger area. Some of the smaller sites like Nagda seem to rival some of the larger sites. The simple fact of the presence of a larger population in the larger settlement might explain the presence of larger number of objects too. None of them can be used as an argument for the presence of a privileged class.
the Malwa and early Jorwe phases. Such a history of settlements is more characteristic of chiefdom societies. Since chiefdoms lacked effective mechanisms of government and coercion, lesser lineages frequently revolted if the chiefs put in too high a demand for labour or produce. Thus, periods of centralisation and prosperity would follow periods of decentralisation (Sahlins 1966:92-93).

It is clear from our description that the agricultural population inhabiting Rajasthan, M.P. and Maharastra had in the second millennium B.C. evolved fairly complex patterns of social organisation. Some of these developments anticipate the evolution of political society in the subsequent period. Around 1000 B.C. begins the late Jorwe period. Settlements in Maharastra, Malwa and Rajasthan were deserted. Their devolution into more fragmented entities in the early first millennium B.C. remains a puzzle. Scholars have ascribed this devolution to ecological changes. However, it seems to fit into the pattern of periodic disintegration of chiefdoms.

Our description of the agricultural communities in and around Malwa throws up some interesting problems - in our discussion on the emergence of state in the previous chapter we assumed that a shift from the egalitarian tribal society to societies based on inequality represented a major change. Studies of contemporary tribal communities indicate that the processes of production and reproduction in tribal societies are organised in such a fashion as to discourage the emergence of inequality. Although there were frequent desertions of settlements, each succeeding century saw a progressive move towards more differentiated settlement pattern. The other noteworthy fact is that this differentiation is visible in the ritual sphere as was the case in other early civilizations.
The Late Jorwe Phase

The next phase of development in the western Malwa region has been called the Late Jorwe phase dated between 1000 to 700 B.C. in Inamgaon (Dhavalikar 1975). This period has so far been an enigma for archaeologists. By 1000 B.C. most of the Jorwe culture sites were deserted. Historians and archaeologists were unable to fill the yawning gap between the early historical period beginning around 6th-5th century B.C. and the end of these chalcolithic cultures. The desertion of sites in the late Jorwe phase has been attributed to sudden increase in aridity in the region. This is represented stratigraphically in the withered soil layer at Nevasa (Dhavalikar 1974). A majority of Jorwe sites, like Prakash, Bahal, Nasik etc. were deserted. At sites like Inamgaon, Sonegaon etc., a degenerate Jorwe phase survived. This was because the impact of aridity was less in the Bhima valley and further south. Some sites in the Krishna valley show new influences coming from Maharashtra. They are indicative of the movement of farmers from the North (ibid.). However, no attempt has so far been made to measure the period of this drought. Nevasa had a long hiatus and was reoccupied only in the historical period, as is evident from the succeeding phase IV yielding NBPW (Sankalia et al. 1960:67-70). Prakash, on the other hand, had a very short hiatus between the chalcolithic Jorwe phase and the succeeding iron age. This is evident from the occurrence of fourteen to fifteen feet of BRW deposits below the first finds of the NBPW sherds.14 Similarly, some burials in

14B.K. Thapar (1965) dates period II at Prakash on the basis of finds of iron tools to 600 B.C. This is obviously questionable because he believes that the NBPW appeared in the same phase around 500 B.C. and merged into period III around 100 B.C. This will give equal period of time to the pre NBPW layer of 15 feet and NBPW layer of 3 feet. The iron age phase in his area can go back to 900 B.C. (See Chakrabarti 1992).
Tekawada on the Girna river show an overlap between the Jorwe pottery with the Black and Red ware of the historical period (Allchin 1968:219). What we are trying to suggest is that variations in the periods of re-occupation indicate problems generated by the social structure itself. The late Jorwe sites of Inamgaon, Sonegaon are mere shadows of their prosperity in the earlier period. At Inamgaon new evidence from the eastern mound indicate the presence of multi roomed structures too (Shinde 1994). New evidence suggests that most of the large rectangular houses were burnt down, and possibly a large section of the population was massacred. This is evident from the burials. In the earlier phase the adults were ceremoniously buried within the house floor. Usually one person was buried within a single pit. However, in the last phase, the presence of more than one skeleton in one pit, and the absence of burial goods in many cases, indicates that they could not be given proper burial. The skeletons also show missing limbs such as hands, legs or head. This is proof of large scale unnatural death (Shinde 1994). However, the construction of a large multi-room structure on the eastern part of the main habitation mound suggests that half the population was leading a normal sedentary life. And even the chiefdom system of the earlier period continued (ibid). The number of craft specialists increases from three to five in Inamgaon in the late Jorwe phase. Rice, Sorghum and some other legumes were introduced in the late Jorwe phase or in the overlap between the early and late Jorwe (Mitre and Savithri 1976). Thus, the explanation for the decline of the Jorwe culture is to be found in enemy raids (as evidenced by appearance of iron age pottery in late Jorwe Inamgaon etc (Shinde 1994)). Shinde believes that it was destroyed by raids.

15In period II at Inamgaon houses of potters and copper smiths have been discovered. In period III there is the addition of gold smiths, lime makers and wine distillers. See Dhavalikar (1976).
by iron age megalithic people. This period of 'decline' also saw an extension of the cultural interaction zone (as evidenced by greater variety of craft specialists and introduction of new types of crops). At the same time, a generalized shift towards pastoralism as evidenced by the desertion of most of Jorwe culture sites in Deccan and Malwa by agricultural communities must have triggered off tremendous social changes. However, we need to keep in mind the fact that scholars studying the history of pastoralism in West Asia have shown that large scale pastoralism emerged as a form of specialised activity only after the emergence of well established agricultural communities. So, the late Jorwe period needs a closer look. The large scale desertion of settlements need not be simply related to a shift to pastoralism caused by aridity. The explanation lies in the emergence of new kind of social order. Some evidence for the emergence of this new development is to be found in the developments in the Malwa region where large scale desertion of settlements is accompanied by the emergence of fortified towns like Awra (Mandasaur district), Nagda (Ujjain district), Maheswar (district Nimar) and Eran (district Sagar). These new developments form the theme of our next chapter.