

**EMERGENCE AND EXPANSION OF BUDDHIST  
CENTRES IN THE LOWER KRISHNA VALLEY  
(c.4<sup>th</sup> CENTURY BC – 4<sup>th</sup> CENTURY AD)**

*DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
IN PART-FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE  
AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**SMITA SAHAY**

**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERISTY  
NEW DELHI-110 067**

**2000**



# JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI - 110 067

Centre for Historical Studies  
New Delhi - 110067, India

## CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "**EMERGENCE AND EXPANSION OF BUDDHIST CENTRES IN THE LOWER KRISHNA VALLEY (c. 4<sup>th</sup> CENTURY BC - 4<sup>th</sup> CENTURY AD)**" submitted by **Ms. Smita Sahay** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university and is her own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

**Dr. Himanshu Prabha Ray**  
(Supervisor)

**Prof. Dilbagh Singh**  
(Chairperson)

CHAIRPERSON  
Centre for Historical Studies  
School of Social Sciences  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110067

## *ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS*

Dr. Himanshu Prabha Ray, my supervisor, who was always there to help, with ideas, books, and also tips on using the computer.

Prof. Aloka Prasher Sen, for the co-operation she extended to me at Central University, Hyderabad.

Dr. U.S. Moorti, Dr. B. Subrahmanyam, Dr. E. Sivanagi Reddy, Dr. Padmanabha who went out of their ways to make matters easier, at various times in the course of this work.

Mummy and Papa, who just stayed there, listening to my dreams.

Mini, who for all her pranks and teasings, kept awake till late at night helping these ideas appear on paper.

Vinit, who came to spend his holidays, but ended up assisting me.

Deeksha, my field work mate, for her delightful company.

Agni, for the valuable discussions.

The Sharma family for the gracious hospitality during my field work.

The staff of the libraries of Central Library and DSA, JNU, Indian Council for Historical Research, Central Archaeological Library, American Institute of Indian Studies, and Indira Gandhi Memorial Library, Central University, who were very helpful and co-operative.

And Alok too, just like that.

Thank you.

## CONTENTS

|                  |  |                |
|------------------|--|----------------|
| <b>Chapter 1</b> | <b>Introduction</b>  | <b>1-10</b>    |
| 1.1              | Theme  | 1-4            |
| 1.2              | Historiographical Perspectives                                     | 4-6            |
| 1.3              | Historical Geography   | 6-8            |
| 1.4              | Sources  | 8-9            |
| 1.5              | Plan of Dissertation   | 9-10           |
| <br>             |  |                |
| <b>Chapter 2</b> | <b>Urban Centres</b>   | <b>11-33</b>   |
| 2.1              | Theories on Urbanism   | 11-15          |
| 2.2              | Urbanism in Andhra   | 15-19          |
| 2.3              | The Megalithic Antecedent  | 19-23          |
| 2.4              | Early Historic Centres   | 23-24          |
| 2.5              | Shifts Discernible between the Megalithic and Early Historic Sites | 24-30          |
| 2.6              | Hierarchy of Settlements   | 30-33          |
| <br>             |  |                |
| <b>Chapter 3</b> | <b>Religious Centres</b>   | <b>34-100</b>  |
| 3.1              | Buddhism-Urbanism Nexus : The Conventional Model                   | 34-37          |
| 3.2              | Associated Urban & Buddhist Sites                                  | 37-68          |
| 3.3              | Buddhist Centres of Andhradesa                                     | 68-86          |
| 3.4              | Hierarchy of Religious Centres                                     | 86-94          |
| 3.5              | Sanctity of the Site   | 94-100         |
| <br>             |  |                |
| <b>Chapter 4</b> | <b>Message of the Monument</b>                                     | <b>101-127</b> |
| 4.1              | Trends in the Interpretation of Sculptural Reliefs                 | 100-103        |
| 4.2              | Multivalence of Signs  | 103-105        |
| 4.3              | The Message of the Monuments                                       | 105-119        |
| 4.4              | Problems of Interpretation   | 120-127        |
| <br>             |  |                |
| <b>Chapter 5</b> | <b>Conclusion</b>  | <b>128-150</b> |
| 5.1              | Resume   | 128-131        |
| 5.2              | Multiplicity of Faiths   | 131-141        |
| 5.3              | Problems   | 141-144        |
| 5.4              | Negotiations between Faiths  | 144-147        |
| 5.5              | Future Research Strategy   | 147-150        |

**Appendix****i-xlvi**

Table 1: Megalithic Sites

i-xvi

Table 2: Early Historic Sites

xvii-xlvi

Table 3: Districts Showing the Number of  
Megalithic, Early Historic Sites and  
Continuities Between the Two**Bibliography****151-161****List of Illustrations**

Fig. 1 – Reconstruction and Ground Plan of the Stupa at Amaravati

Fig. 2 – Ground Plan of the Bhattiprolu Stupa

Fig. 3 – Ground Plan of the Stupa at Ghantasala

Fig. 4 – Stupas and Monasteries at Nagarjunakonda

**List of Plates**

- Plate 1 Drum Slab depicting a plain, unadorned Stupa
- Plate 2 Elaborately decorated Stupa
- Plate 3 Cakravartin
- Plate 4 Drum slab showing the four events associated with the birth of Prince Siddhartha
- Plate 5 Drum frieze panel depicting from the left
- a) Sibi Jataka
- b) Subjugation of Nalagiri
- c) Sasa Jataka
- Plate 6 Drum frieze panel depicting from the left
- a) The Elevation of Buddha's headdress
- b) A mithuna couple
- c) The Great Departure
- d) A mithuna Couple
- e) Vidhurapandita Jataka
- Plate 7 Memorial Pillars
- i) Cantamula I
- ii) Queen Varmabhata
- Plate 8 i) Goddess Hariti, Nagarjunakonda
- ii) Dome slab, Nagarjunakonda depicting from the Top
- a) First sermon in the Deer Park at Benaras
- b) Buddha being fed after the Enlightenment
- c) Buddha Protected by Naga Mucalinda.
- Plate 9 Mithuna Figures
- Plate 10 Gudimallam Sivalinga

## *Chapter 1*

### *INTRODUCTION*

#### *1.1 Theme*

The present study deals with the emergence and expansion of Buddhist centres in the lower Krishna valley (16 25" N latitude and 79 and 81 12" E longitude). The area comprises the modern revenue districts of Krishna and Guntur. Two major physiographic divisions of the area are the littoral tracts and the uplands. The reason for selecting this specific area is that most of the early historic sites with Buddhist affiliations are concentrated in this region. The region shows occupation from the times of the antecedent Megalithic culture. Many sites in the region show continuous occupation from the Stone Age period itself. The period under consideration is circa 4<sup>th</sup> century BC to circa 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.

In order to place the developments in the lower Krishna valley in a context, we have also taken into consideration the general area of Āndhradeśa. Several Buddhist sites have been reported from the Andhra region. It has been widely held that Buddhism was introduced in Andhra as a result of the untiring efforts of Aśoka. A pillar fragment<sup>1</sup> discovered at Amarāvati, dated in period I b (i.e. 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) is believed to be a part of the Aśokan pillar edict, on the basis of the typical Mauryan polish on it and character of the Brāhmi script with which it has been inscribed. This has led to the belief that Aśoka Maurya was

---

<sup>1</sup> IAR, 1973-74: 4

directly responsible for atleast the beginning of the structure at Amarāvati. While it may be accepted, on the basis of the associated finds that the monument may have witnessed its origin in Mauryan times, the role of Aśoka's involvement in the same, has been questioned on the grounds that the pillar fragment found there was made up of granite, while Aśokan edicts are carved out on Chunar sand stone<sup>2</sup>.

Excavations have brought to light inscriptions issued by local kings and chieftains in Andhra region in the pre-Sātavāhana times. We thus hear of *Rāño* Gobhada, *Rāño* Kamavayasiri, *Rāño* Nāraṇa and *Rāño* Samagopa, who ruled over the area lying between the rivers Godavari and Maneru in northern Telingana region. Numerous inscribed coins of these kings, along with punch marked coins were found in the habitation complex at Kotalingala<sup>3</sup>. *Rājā* Kuberaka, the local king ruled over the tract along the south-east coast of Andhra, with Bhaṭṭiprōlu, as its capital city. The relic casket inscription from Bhaṭṭiprōlu shows that *Rājā* Kuberaka was responsible for constructing the *mahācaitya* enshrining the corporeal relics of the Buddha. The inscriptions on the casket point to the existence of the local variant of Brāhmi script in Āndhradeśa, which has been dated to pre-Aśokan times on the basis of palaeographical evidence<sup>4</sup>.

At Vaḍḍamanu, we hear of a local king Damaka<sup>5</sup>, Rajakumariyya Sammāliya<sup>6</sup> and Senagopa Madukutala<sup>7</sup> heard of from Amarāvati. In light of these evidences, Aśoka's involvement in the raising of the *stūpa*-s does not stand. The Mauryan

---

<sup>2</sup> A. Roy, *Amaravati Stupa*, Delhi, 1994: 169

<sup>3</sup> VVK. Sastry, *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of AP*, Hyderabad, 1983: 122

<sup>4</sup> D. Kanna Babu, 'The Date of Bhattiprolu Stupa', *PAPHC*, 1986: 34-39

<sup>5</sup> *IAR*, 1981-82: 2

<sup>6</sup> A. Roy, *Op. cit.*: 162

<sup>7</sup> *EI*, X, Luder's List 1266

hegemony in the Andhra can be seen only in the peripheral areas of the southwestern parts of Āndhradeśa, which is attested by the discovery of minor rock edicts at Jonnagiri and Rajula Mandagiri in Kurnool district<sup>8</sup>. The non-occurrence of Aśokan inscription at Amarāvati and in Telingana in some parts of Rayalaseema areas, clearly suggests that these fertile and prosperous tracts were ruled by the local *Rājā*-s or chieftains<sup>9</sup>, few of which actively supported the Buddhist faith.

Although, Buddhism in Andhra shows a pre-Mauryan existence, the stūpa-s witnessed magnificence only in the period coinciding with the Śātavāhana reign in the eastern Deccan. The grandeur of Buddhist monuments began to be connected with the royal patronage or with the urban centre in the vicinity, where a surplus was believed to have been generated, which in turn took care of the religious site, in terms of the maintenance and refurbishing of the building and the upkeep of the monks. Such an assumption needs to be examined. We suspect if the religious centre was totally dependent on the urban centre or the royalty for sustenance. A certain amount of dynamics may be attached to the religious site itself which may have after being established, attempted to build up its image for acceptance among masses. In this connection we have attempted to examine the efforts of such an 'image building' by the monuments by claiming to have consecrated the corporeal relics of the Buddha and also the artistic depictions on the monuments which conveyed to the viewers the life history of the Buddha, the *Jātaka*-s which showed the benefits of virtue etc. An attempt has also been made

---

<sup>8</sup> B. Subrahmanyam, *The Buddhist Relic Caskets in Andhradesa*, Secunderabad, 1999: 5

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*



to arrange the urban centres and the religious centres into hierarchies. The relationship between an urban and religious centre has also been examined.

The Āndhradeśa witnessed the Brahmanical faith also along side Buddhism. We have examined the Brahmanical temples of the Andhra region and tried to see the position of Brahmanism vis-à-vis Buddhism that had a stronger presence in the region. The Sātavāhana rulers claimed to be Brāhmaṇa-s, as did the Ikṣvāku rulers. In neither case, these claims have been corroborated. However, we notice coexistence of faith in the period of our study.

### ***1.2 Historiographical Perspectives***

The early history of Andhra has generally been treated as a part of the history of South India as a whole or the Deccan in particular. KR. Subramaniam in *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the History of Andhra between 225 and 610 AD* (1932) has looked at the chronological sequence of religious monuments and their political affiliations. K. Satyanaryana's *A Study of the Culture and History of the Andhras* (1975) views the history of south India as a process of change and progression in terms of changes in the social forces of production from the pre-historic culture till the ultimate rise of feudalism. Plough agriculture, commodity production and trade have been shown to be instrumental in bringing about this change in connection with state. Buddhism has been shown as providing support to state.

Among the archaeologists, the tendency has been to catalogue sites, discuss the scatter of potteries, beads or iron implements, the other structural remains etc. and decide on the basis of the existence or non-existence of these and

other features, the nature of the site. While reporting on the excavation of monuments, the emphasis is to assign the dates.

The art historians on the other hand have occupied themselves with the stylistic evolution of the art forms depicted on the Buddhist monuments. On the basis of the evolution of the art forms, dates have been assigned to the monuments. Barret, Burgess, C. Sivaramamrti fall in the category of art-historians. In such a study, the *stūpa* or the monument in question is not treated as a whole. The reasons behind such depictions and evolution of the same, the processes involved in the same are largely ignored or are sought in the political history of the period. Thus, it has often been suggested that the Sātavāhana-s were responsible for the vigorous artistic activities on the *stūpa*-s in the Andhra region. It needs to be borne in the mind, in this context that not a single donation to any of the Buddhist monuments has been made by any of the Sātavāhana rulers.

There is available another kind of secondary literature which provides a cursory survey of the dynastic history and a little more, such as K. Gopalachari's *The Early History of the Andhra Country*. On similar lines is Yazdani's, *The Early History of Deccan*, which is divided into different chapters discussing the political rule of different dynasties.

Amita Ray in *Life and Art of Early Āndhradeśa* (1983) uses the sculptural material available to reconstruct the socio-economic and religious history of the Andhra region. Vidya Dehejia in *Discourses in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives in India* (1997) has devoted a separate chapter on Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, wherein; she has shown the modes of artistic representations on the monuments and how these involved the viewers in a discourse on religion.

All these works, though, do not deal with aspects we intend to consider in the present study, form excellent secondary source material.

### 1.3 Historical Geography

In ancient literature references abound to the Andhra people, their country and capital. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* contains the earliest reference to the Andhra-s where we find the story of Śunaḥśepa<sup>10</sup>, who has been liberated from a cruel father and selfish King by the sage Viśvāmitra from the grip of the Gōds who are thirsty for human blood. Since, the father of the boy was heartless, the seer decided to adopt him as his eldest child. The first fifty sons of the ṛṣi objected to this, where upon the sage cursed them to mix freely with the non-Āryan tribes that lived at borders of the Āryan settlements. This intermixture resulted in the rising up of new people called the Andhra-s, Puṇḍra-s, Śābara-s, Pulinda-s and Mutiba-s. K. Venkatachalam<sup>11</sup> has pointed out that Andhra-s of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* need not be identified with Āndhra-s inhabiting the present Andhra region. He points out the story the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* where, King Bali who ruled over eastern Bharat and had six sons by the names Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Sumha, Pundra and Āndhra. The portions of the kingdom ruled by these sons as well as the people of the kingdom too came to be known by their names. The kingdom ruled by the sixth son Āndhra, therefore came to be known as Āndhradeśa, and the people of the country as Āndhra-s.

---

<sup>10</sup> PS. Sastri, 'The Early Andhras Before the Satavahana', *JAHRS*, Vol. XVI, 1945-46: 1-2

<sup>11</sup> K. Venkata Chalam, 'The Origin of the Andhras', *JAHRS*, Vol. XIX, 1952: 156

The Buddhist chronicles do not refer to Āndhra-s, though they mention territories like Assaka (Asmaka), a *janapada* in Andhaka region, one of the sixteen *mahājanapada-s*<sup>12</sup>. The *Suttanipata* relates the story of Bavarin who lived in a village on the Godavari in Assaka, and sent his disciples to meet the Buddha<sup>13</sup>. There is mention of Andhakavana near Śravasti and Andhakavinda near Rajagriha in the *Mahāvagga*. These may have been monasteries and rest houses, exclusively built for the pious monks from Āndhradeśa<sup>14</sup>. They were shown to be already following the *Dhamma*. The *Mahāvamsa* from Ceylon mentions Mahādeva Bhikku sent by Emperor Aśoka to Mahiṣamaṇḍala seems to have established his settlement at the mouth of the Krishna as he received sympathetic cooperation in his missionary activities from the Āndhra-s who had already been drawn to Buddhism<sup>15</sup>.

Pliny has referred to a people called the Āndhra-s as inhabiting the lower districts of the Gangetic basins<sup>16</sup>. This account tells us that they were a powerful race and possessed numerous villages and thirty well defended towns. Their King was told to command an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 100 elephants.

The XIII Rock Edict of Aśoka clearly mentions the Āndhra-s and Pulinda-s living within the Mauryan Empire. In many other ancient records, references have been made to Dhaṁṇakaḍa, which has been identified as the capital of Āndhrapatha<sup>17</sup>. Other variations of the name occur as Dhaṁṇakaṭa and

---

<sup>12</sup> B. Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit.*: 2

<sup>13</sup> BSL. Hanumantha Rao, 'Rise of Buddhism in Andhradesa', *JAHRS*, Vol. XXIV, 1958: 87

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*: 88

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>16</sup> SB. Chaudhuri, 'The Andhras', *JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, 1947: 111

<sup>17</sup> *EI*, Luder's List No. 1205

Dhamñakāṭaka, which are identified with Amarāvati<sup>18</sup>. These references indicate that the Andhra country in the ancient times embraced the eastern parts of the Krishna River. *Kāmasutra* of Vātsyāyana mentions the Āndhra country as lying in the *dakṣiṇapatha* and situated to the east of the Karṇāṭa *viṣaya*<sup>19</sup>.

In this context, the identity of Sātavāhana-s who were the first major dynasty of the region has become a matter of controversy. The Sātavāhana records mention the names of several kings of the *Sātavāhanakula*. Some *Purāṇa*-s style them as Āndhrabhṛtya-s. The genealogies of the kings of Āndhra-jāti provided in the *Purāṇa*-s mostly match with the names and the order of succession of the Sātavāhana kings<sup>20</sup>. The Sātavāhana coins or inscriptions do not call the Sātavāhana-s Āndhra-s. RG. Bhandarkar has explained the terms 'Āndhrabhṛtya' as meaning Āndhra-s, who were once servants or dependants. They seem to have come to power under the leadership of Śimūka who uprooted the Śuṅga-s and the Kaṇva-s in 73 BC. It then appears that the Sātavāhana-s kings were Āndhra-s by community (*Āndhra Jātiyah*) and at the same time acquired power as servants of some other sovereign (*Āndhra bhṛtyah*)<sup>21</sup>. The Sātavāhana-s set up their capital at Paithan in western Deccan and at Dhānyakāṭaka in eastern Deccan.

#### 1.4 Sources

The conventional studies on Buddhism have mostly employed the use of

---

<sup>18</sup> *EI*, Luder's List No. 1225, 1271

<sup>19</sup> SB. Chaudhuri, *Op.cit*: 112

<sup>20</sup> G. Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan*, New Delhi, 1982: 72

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*: 75

inscriptional sources and literary references. In the present study, we have attempted a shift in the source base and have employed the use of archaeological evidences in terms of artefactual details such as coins, pottery finds, relic caskets etc., the architectural lay out of the structures and sculptural representation on the monuments. Sculptural references have so far been used for a study on art historical works. The architectural layout of monuments have been utilized to suggest an evolution in stylistic terms of the construction of monuments or to identify the sect that may have been the custodian of the monument. While the above mentioned studies do provide us with interesting details, we have used the architectural layout as an indicator to identify the resources that they may have commanded in terms of time and the other resources utilized, as our attempt has been to arrange the sites in a hierarchy.

### *1.5 Plan of the Dissertation*

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the present study comprising of the theme, the historiographical perspectives, the historical geography of the region, and a reference to the sources utilized.

Chapter 2 deals with the urban centres in the Andhra region. A study on urban centres becomes necessary when we attempt to look at the Buddhist centres as conventional historiography refers to a nexus between the urban and religious centres. We have examined the features of early historic centres in Andhra, in the context of the preceding culture. A hierarchy of urban sites has been attempted in this chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the religious centres of the Andhra region. We first examined associated urban and Buddhist centres, and then the Buddhist centres. The layout of the monuments and other architectural details, as also the relic caskets have been discussed in this chapter as we go on to arrange the Buddhist centres in a hierarchy on the bases of the architectural and artistic details as also the relics enshrined therein. We have argued for the sanctity of the site, which may have been the reason why large numbers of donations were made at certain sites.

From there we go on to chapter 4 which discusses the message conveyed by two of the most important centres of Buddhism in Āndhradeśa - Amarāvati and Nāgārajunaḥḍa. We have examined the sculptural details of the monuments and tried to establish the message being sent out to the viewers. The problems in the monument engaging the viewers in a discourse have also been discussed.

Lastly, in chapter 5, we have looked at the other faiths existing in the Andhra region alongside Buddhism. The problem of identification of the nature of the brick shrines considered to be Brahmanical structures, and also the problem relating the identification of the deity worshipped in these shrines are issues that have been discussed in the chapter. The role of royal patronage has been examined. A coexistence of faiths is observed. We have also discussed the future research strategies in view of the fact that several aspects, which may have been interesting to look at, are issues that fall beyond the scope of and the period covered in the present study.

## *Chapter 2*

### **URBAN CENTRES**

#### **2.1 Theories on urbanism**

The Indian subcontinent witnessed the first phase of urbanization in the times of the Harappan civilization. The next phase of urbanization or the “second urbanization” was experienced in the Gangetic valley in the sixth century BC. This period in Indian history is known as the ‘early historical’ phase. However, the early historic phase witnessed both urban and rural settlements. Several criteria have been postulated to identify an urban settlement or a city. The broad distinguishing features of a city are<sup>1</sup>:

- a) Its population is denser than in rural areas and is settled in a restricted area,
- b) Only a limited part of its area is utilized for agricultural purposes,
- c) Its population is predominantly non-agricultural in occupation and is dependent on rural areas for the supply of food and raw materials, and
- d) This would involve the presence of merchants to supply the citizens with the necessities of life.

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Ghosh, *City in Early Historical India*, 1993, Shimla: 18



V. Gordon Childe<sup>2</sup> listed ten characteristics of an urban centre. He suggested that in terms of size the first cities might have been larger and more densely populated. The city must have consisted of a more mixed population in terms of occupations followed by people. Thus, the peasants would cultivate land outside the city and the city must have accommodated non-food producing classes. The primary producer would have paid a surplus to either a deity or a divine king. Truly monumental buildings were to be a distinguishing feature of a city. A 'ruling class' would be formed with whom the surplus would be concentrated. Scripts, predictive sciences such as arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, artisans and craftsmen, regular foreign trade were yet other features of the early cities. Kinship ties, he further states, would be rendered useless for security in a state organization. It would be replaced by residence.

Childe's views have been criticized as a mixed bag of characteristics, in which the criteria resolve themselves into a group of primary variables and a larger group of secondary variables, the primary motivating forces for the urban transformation being the rise of new technology and subsistence patterns<sup>3</sup>. The area of Childe's study was Sumer, Mesopotamia. He shows that the land there was fertile and hundred fold returns were not impossible. There is documented evidence dating 2500 BC, that the average yield of the field of barley was about 86 times that of sowing, so that the farmers could easily produce a surplus above their needs<sup>4</sup>. This surplus, Childe shows, was instrumental in bringing about

---

<sup>2</sup>A. Ghosh, *Op. cit.*: 23-24

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*: 12

<sup>4</sup>VG. Childe, *What Happened in History*, England, 1942: 98

urbanism. Social stratification, trade, writing, monumental buildings were all a result of the surplus, which began to be concentrated in the hands of a few.

Critiquing Childe's views, Ghosh points out that this seems to imply that the city arose to consume an existing surplus and specialists thrived because surplus was available<sup>5</sup>. Ghosh<sup>6</sup> points that surplus is a social product and not a technical one. He states that surpluses begin to be produced only when a need for surplus is felt. He argues that a prerequisite of the emergence of city is not a hypothetical surplus, but an administrative mercantile organization that can institutionalize the surplus produced through taxes, trade and other means<sup>7</sup>. He cites the example of the megalithic cultures of south India, which made prolific use of iron, but even then the culture reveals a lack of prosperity<sup>8</sup>. The technology was not applied into any sphere for 'development'. This application, he believes, depends on the encouragement by the social institutions, which can take advantage of that technology.

In the Indian context, RS. Sharma has supported Childe's views, and is of the opinion that agriculture based on the use of iron share, sickles, spade, etc led to the production of surplus on a scale which could not be attained with stone or copper implements and it prepared the ground for the rise of urban settlements in north-east India, around 600 BC<sup>9</sup>. Sharma also brings out that Buddhism may well be regarded as a product of material milieu created by the second phase of the

---

<sup>5</sup> A. Ghosh, *Op. cit.*: 20

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*: 25

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*: 12

<sup>9</sup> RS. Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Early India*, New Delhi, 1983:123

Iron Age<sup>10</sup>. Thus, it appears that Buddhism not only emerged but the Buddhist centres stayed on because of the urban centres that provided them sustenance.

The significance attached to the role of iron, upheld by RS. Sharma, in opening up the Indo-Gangetic areas, and thereby the production of surplus is questioned by Ghosh, when he shows that along with iron, burning of forest was also resorted to<sup>11</sup>. DK. Chakrabarti and N. Lahiri point out that when viewed in its total cultural context, iron does not seem to have given a 'revolutionary' or qualitatively different dimension to the pattern of proto-historic growth in the Indian subcontinent<sup>12</sup>. We also see that in the case of the peninsula, iron was available and was being used from the times of the megalithic builders itself. Iron came to be used for agriculture much later. The iron implements in the megalithic complexes were mostly for purposes of warfare, which implies that iron was not primarily used for tilling of land and therefore, did not lead to urbanism in the region. We also see that the mere presence of iron in an area need not necessarily lead to its increased use in agriculture. Aloka P. Sen points out that in Pochampad, Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh, the megalithic graves show iron objects in quantities, but here, in this district, no early historic site is found. Hence, it is unlikely that iron was put to agricultural use<sup>13</sup>.

As regards the importance attached to urban centres for providing sustenance to Buddhist centres, we meet with an alternative viewpoint in Erdosy,

---

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*: 124

<sup>11</sup> A. Ghosh, *Op.cit*

<sup>12</sup> DK. Chakrabarti, N Lahiri, 'The Iron Age in India: The Beginning and Consequences', *Puratattva*, No. 24, 1993-94:

<sup>13</sup> AP Sen, 'Social Structure and Economy of Settlements in Central Deccan (200 BC-AD 200)', Indu Banga ed, *The City in Indian History*, Delhi, 1994: 42

who cites the example of Rajghat<sup>14</sup>, which supported the monastic community of Sarnath, which existed undoubtedly from the time of the Buddha. The material finds from Rajghat prior to 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, does not match the magnificence of the fortifications, which is dated to 500 BC. The material remains<sup>15</sup> are modest in nature unlike the fortification wall. The houses were built of wattle and daub, with floors of rammed clay. Bone tools still continued along with the expanding repertoire of iron implements. Luxury objects were restricted to beads and bangles of terracotta, copper, glass and semi-precious stones. This instance then brings out that a thriving urban centre was not a necessary precondition for the sustenance and maintenance of religious centres. Even modest centres could well take care of such religious centres. The discussion on the nature of the relationship shared between an urban centre and the religious centre in our region, i.e., the Andhradesa and the lower Krishna valley, in particular, and how far the two were mutually dependent on each other will follow in the next chapter.

## *2.2 Urbanism in Andhra*

Having examined the major debate regarding urbanism, we now move on to see urbanization as it occurred in Andhra. BD. Chattopadhyaya has pointed out that the regions peripheral to the middle and upper Ganga basin in which early historical urbanization had its genesis, experienced early urbanization through

---

<sup>14</sup> Erdosy, *Urbanization in early Historic India*, England, 1988: 108-09

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*: 108

what may be called the process of 'secondary urbanization'<sup>16</sup>. Urbanization spread over to central India, Deccan and the Andhra regions in between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. R. Champakalakshmi points out that it is the latter part of this long chronological span that witnessed most clearly visible manifestations of urbanism<sup>17</sup>. It would be erroneous for us to compare the two areas in qualitative or quantitative terms just because chronologically urbanization is a later development in the Deccan than in the Ganga valley in the north<sup>18</sup>.

It is but obvious that the process of urbanization followed its own trajectories in Andhra, given its distinctiveness in terms of geographical location. Since the Deccan plateau slopes eastwards, the majority of the rivers drain into the Bay of Bengal. They flow through narrow channels carved into the uplands and this makes them largely unfit for navigation or irrigation, except in the Deltaic region<sup>19</sup>. The fertile tracts are also restricted only to the delta region. Thus, agricultural prosperity alone did not lead to urbanism in the region. However, the peninsula makes up for the lack of agricultural productivity, by rich deposits of mineral resources<sup>20</sup>. The Krishna-Godavari region, and the region in the vicinity of the Cuddappah district on the banks of the River Pennar are diamond rich areas. It may not be without purpose that the Asokan edicts were erected in the vicinity of the mineral rich zones.

---

<sup>16</sup> BD. Chattopadhyaya, 'Urban Centres in Early Bengal: Archaeological Perspectives', *Pratna Samiksha*, Vol.2&3, 1993-94: 169

<sup>17</sup> R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade Ideology and Urbanization*: 25

<sup>18</sup> AP. Sen, Op. cit: 21

<sup>19</sup> HP. Ray, *Winds of Change*, Delhi, 1994: 13

<sup>20</sup> HP. Ray, 'Early Historical Settlements in the Deccan: An Ecological Perspective', *M&E*, Vol. XIV: 103

Sudarshan Seneviratne, thus argues for Mauryan intervention as being instrumental in bringing about urbanism in the region. Seneviratne understands state formation in the early Andhra as a rapid progress from a ranked society to a stratified one, with the consolidation of the ruling power, through their direct access to the surplus production and its distribution<sup>21</sup>. H. Sarkar attributes the rise of urban centres to the agricultural surplus as well as technological developments<sup>22</sup>.

In contrast, AP. Sen argues against influences of or contacts with towns well established in north and central India for rise of centres in the Deccan<sup>23</sup>. Given the topography of the region, substantial agricultural surplus can also not be attributed as the cause for urbanization. Sen shows that trade in these parts was stimulated not so much by the export of an agricultural surplus but rather, by the supply of iron objects and other related commodities for which Peddabankur and Kondapur were centres of production<sup>24</sup> catering the regions in the vicinity.

HP. Ray has argued for the twin factors of trade and Buddhism for bringing about urbanism in the Deccan. She suggests that the expansion of trade networks in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC coincided with the development of urban centres in the region and provided a spurt to the excavation of Buddhist monastic

---

<sup>21</sup>S. Seneviratne, 'Kalinga and Andhra: The Process of Secondary State Formation', *JHR*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2, 1980-81: 54

<sup>22</sup>H. Sarkar, 'Growth of Cities in Andhradesa (200 BC to AD 300)', BM. Pande, BD. Chattopadhyaya, eds., *History and Archaeology*, Delhi, 1987: 631-41

<sup>23</sup> AP. Sen: Op. cit: 21

<sup>24</sup> Ibid: 44-45

establishments in the vicinity of towns and ports<sup>25</sup>. Ray points out that the Lower Krishna Valley formed the nucleus of change and territorial expansion in the Mauryan and post-Mauryan periods and shows that the most prosperous site of Dharanikōṭa is situated at the point till which the River Krishna is navigable. It may be defined as the landing place for coastal traffic<sup>26</sup>. The lower Krishna valley continued to retain its preeminent position in the post-Mauryan period as is evidenced from the casket finds at Bhaṭṭiprōlu. The relic casket mentions the *rājā* and also the *goṣṭhi* and the *nigāma*. Its location on the coast reinforces its link with the sea<sup>27</sup>.

That the Āndhradeśa was involved in active trade is evidenced not only by archaeological remains such as semi-precious beads etc, we also have evidence of routes traversing the region. The historical importance of the route from Magadha and Kausambi to Pratiṣṭhāna and Bharukaccha which basically constitutes the *dakṣiṇāpatha* of Indian literature, is also evident from the archaeological sources, namely painted grey ware and northern black polished ware finds<sup>28</sup>. Lahiri plots this route further from Pratiṣṭhāna to Kauṇḍinyapura to Nāgārjunakōṇḍa to Kanchipuram. It may have been this *dakṣiṇāpatha* that traders, and Buddhist monks and nuns may have taken to enter the region. The other route that may have been adopted by traders, monks and nuns was the coastal route. Another overland route started from Paithan to Maheshwar, Ujjain, Śravasti and Vaishali.

---

<sup>25</sup> HP. Ray, 'Trade and Contacts', R. Thapar ed, *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Bombay, 1995:157

<sup>26</sup> HP. Ray, 'Networks of Power: Maritime History & Archaeology of Early Andhra', *PAPHC*: 12

<sup>27</sup> Ibid

<sup>28</sup> N. Lahiri, *The Archaeology of Indian Trade Routes upto c. 200BC: Resource Access and Lines of Communication*, Delhi, 1992: 383

This route had offshoots going into the lower Krishna valley as well. Mauryan remains have been found all along this route<sup>29</sup>. Location of centres along trade routes may have transformed villages into towns<sup>30</sup>. The lower Krishna valley became an important halting point of the looping coastal route from Tamralipti in the Bengal delta<sup>31</sup>. The distribution of Rouletted Ware sherds right from northwest Srilanka upto the delta of the Ganga shows Andhra as a part of the coastal network. Rouletted Ware sherds have been found at Amarāvati, Sattanikōṭa, and the confluence of the Krishna-Tungabhadra-region<sup>32</sup>.

### 2.3 *The Megalithic Antecedent*

To identify the traits, which establish a site as urban, it will be fruitful to look at the culture preceding the early historic phase in the Deccan, which is the megalithic culture.

US. Moorti<sup>33</sup> states that the megalithic culture of south India is mainly represented by burials of a considerable variety. He states that by the term 'Megalithic' we mean a socio-religious expression of burying the dead in a grave, which may or may not have a lithic appendage. Iron, he states, forms an adjunct of this culture.

The megalithic people raised a variety of monuments - both sepulchral and

---

<sup>29</sup> HP. Ray, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Satavahanas*, Delhi, 1986: 203

<sup>30</sup> Heitzman, 'Buddhism Trade and Empire', Kennedy and Possehl eds., *Studies in the Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology of South Asia*, 1984: 124

<sup>31</sup> HP. Ray, *M&E*, Vol. XIV: 104

<sup>32</sup> V. Begley and De Puma ed, *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*: 176

<sup>33</sup> US. Moorti, *Megalithic Culture of South India*, Varanasi, 1994: 1



non-sepulchral in nature. We thus, find pit burials, chamber burials, urn burials of several varieties and non-sepulchral monuments in the form of dolmen, menhir, stone-alignments etc. These appear to have been commemorative in nature.

Besides the monuments, there are other objects, which are thrown up by megalithic sites (Table 1). We thus see, that iron objects such as javelins, lances, sickles, daggers etc are the common artifacts of the megalithic culture. The black-and-red ware<sup>34</sup> is the most common pottery type, though other kinds of pottery such as red ware, black ware, occasionally pottery with incised decoration, etc. have also been unearthed.

It may be noted here that in case of megalithic areas horizontal excavations have not been undertaken at a single habitation-cum-burial site<sup>35</sup>. Whatever details we know about the culture is through the burials mostly. Moorti has shown that megalithic habitation and habitation-cum-burial sites have been located on the major tributaries of the major rivers<sup>36</sup>. P. Vijaya Prakasha and K. Gopikrishna have shown that since usually the habitation areas were located contiguous to the waterbodies such as river courses, lakes, ponds and pools, while their graveyards were located a little away from the habitation sites towards the elevated part of the site, the habitation areas suffered greater destruction as compared to graveyard sites<sup>37</sup>.

---

<sup>34</sup> Moorti has shown that the black-and-red ware has a fairly long history of approximately 2000 years, in Moorti *Ibid*: 6-7

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*: 10

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*: 12

<sup>37</sup> P. Vijaya Prakasha, K. Gopikrishna, 'The Impact of Geomorphological Changes on Archaeological Sites: Isunuru, a Vanishing Site on the Godavari River', *M&E*, Vol.XXIII, No.6, 1998: 50

TH-8633

We thus, see that the presence of iron objects in substantial numbers and also the occurrence of archaeological evidence such as waste material, smelting furnaces and pottery kilns show an industry in iron working. The construction of funerary monuments themselves, i.e., the cairn circles, or the dolmens seem to involve the use of some hard metallic implement for the dressing of stones. Iron may have also been used for the same purpose, although the iron objects that have been found from the excavations do not show such implements that may have been used to dress stones.

Another point to be made here is that due to lack of full reports on the sites, archaeologists and historians have had to depend on the short notices published in the issues of *Indian Archaeology – A Review*. These reports being preliminary notices sometimes only list the objects discovered as ‘iron objects’, without going into the types of iron objects found.

While making use of these evidences, we must bear in mind the point that Moorti makes wherein he states that goods interred in the graves are deliberate<sup>38</sup>. While they help us in our endeavour to reconstruct the history of the period, the lack of data regarding the layouts of sites is regretted. However, historians have attempted to reconstruct a picture of the culture of the megalithic builders given the lack of data.

Other objects that have been found frequently from the graves are beads of various materials, including terracotta, carnelian, jasper, crystal, etc. Copper objects have also been discovered. Elsewhere shell objects have been discovered.

<sup>38</sup> Moorti, *Op. cit.*: 6

Dis  
Q, H; 62.4415 'D  
PO



The megalithic people followed a distinct religious ideology. This is evident by the mortuary structures they have built (after which the entire culture is termed 'Megalithic'). The very fact that the megalithic monuments were constructed of durable materials indicates that they were built to be seen not only by the inhabitants of the concerned period but also by the future generations<sup>39</sup>. The residential areas do not show evidences of houses built of durable materials. Post-holes have been found which indicate that the living quarters may have been built of modest material such as mud, daub and wattle etc. At Gandalur in Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, two houses made of mud brick walls have been discovered.

The uniformity of the megalithic or the iron using cultures in the whole of south India is striking<sup>40</sup>. One may guess this uniformity may be due to trade and migratory habits of the megalithic people. That nomadic food procuring subsistence pattern coexisted with sedentary food procuring patterns over substantial parts of the Deccan has been proved by empirical case studies<sup>41</sup>.

That the megalithic people were involved in trade is also brought out by the occurrence of punch marked coins at the megalithic levels also (see Table 1). Trade is also evident by the fact that certain objects are found far from the place of their origins. One example being, the occurrence of beads of amethyst, agate, jasper and carnelian being found in the megalithic levels at Peddabankur. None

---

<sup>39</sup> SB. Darsana, 'The Megaliths of the Upper Palar Basin, Tamil Nadu – A New Perspective', *M&E*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, 1998: 59

<sup>40</sup> AP. Sen, Op. cit: 21

<sup>41</sup> AP. Sen quotes MLK. Murthy, Ibid: 23

of these beads is locally available in the area. They were obviously carried to this place by traders.

Summing up in Rajan's words we can say that the construction of funerary monuments also provides an insight into the social organization, petrological knowledge, engineering and technological skills, size of the population and their beliefs and customs<sup>42</sup>.

#### *2.4 Early Historic Centres*

It has been observed that Andhra Pradesh is the richest region so far as early historical sites are concerned<sup>43</sup>. In this section we shall examine the features of early historic centres in Andhra Pradesh. The number of early historic sites shot up significantly. Many early historic settlements were not very different from village settlements in the beginning, but later they got transformed into towns<sup>44</sup>. The change in terms of material culture is evident in the extensive use of baked brick, tiles, which are used for public structures, residential buildings, religious structures, etc. The repertoire of pottery consists of many more types of pottery. Thus, we see Rouletted ware sherds, sherds of Arretine ware, Black-and-Red ware, Red slipped ware, Red polished and Black polished ware, black slipped ware, etc (see Table 2).

---

<sup>42</sup> K. Rajan, 'Further Excavations at Kodumanal, Tamil Nadu', *M&E*, Vol.XXIII, No.6, 1998: 76

<sup>43</sup> AP. Sen quotes SB. Deo, Op. cit: 24

<sup>44</sup> NRV. Prasad, 'Urbanization in Andhra', NRV. Prasad ed, *Journal of Archaeology: Satavahana Special*, 1995: 72

While in the case of the megalithic people, it is on the basis of the luxury or the humbleness of the grave goods that we identified social stratification, in case of the early historic period, this aspect is easily recognizable by one look at the layout of the site. The structures are of various kinds and they indicate social stratification by their hugeness or smaller dimensions. We see fortification walls, wells, cisterns, drains - both covered and uncovered, storage tanks etc. All these features are noticeable at the sites of Dhulikatta, Peddabankur, Kotalingāla, Nāgārajunakōṇḍa, etc. Many more coins, both foreign and issues of the indigenous dynasties are found, which attest both foreign and internal trade.

Inscriptional data from the monastic sites attest to the prosperity of the people, which had percolated to occupational castes and groups who are seen to make donations to the monastic establishments. Another characteristic feature of the early historic centres is the location of Buddhist monastic sites along the trade routes.

### *2.5 Shifts Discernible between the Megalithic and the Early Historic Sites*

While we see changes and shifts between the megalithic and the early historic sites, which we shall shortly point out, an important point that needs mention is that several continuities are noticed between the two periods, just as continuities are seen between the Stone Age, chalcolithic and megalithic cultures. At several places there are cultural overlaps between the megalithic and early historic, such as Polakonda in Warrangal district, Donabanda in Krishna district, Vemulapadu in Kurnool district. At the same time shifts in locations are also noticeable.

This exercise that has been undertaken to delineate the finds of the two periods concerned and the continuities in the two is only to show that the Deccan was not an isolated, uninhabited area. Archaeological data indicates that it was an inhabited region right from the Stone Age times. A process of evolution was continuously occurring. There can be no neat division between two cultures. It is the antecedent culture that transforms into a new one, the carriers remaining the same inhabitants of the previous culture under effect of new complexities and developments in various aspects of their lives.

Sen<sup>45</sup> has highlighted in this context that we should refrain from fitting these towns and settlements (areas where a transition is discernable) into constructed typologies of towns. She further states that typologies often become sterile applications of constructs known in some regions and imposed on others. To elaborate she has taken the example of Peddabankur, where she shows the widespread existence of microliths even at historical layers of habitation indicating that the tribal nomadic population was integrated into the new ecological system<sup>46</sup>.

Moorti has shown that the megalithic sites were concentrated mostly along the Krishna and its tributaries<sup>47</sup>. The distribution pattern shows a concentration of sites in the deltas and the river valleys, with atleast 10% located in the coastal plains. There is also a preference for the black soil zone, followed by areas with red sandy-loamy soil<sup>48</sup>. These settlements were located in the vicinity of mineral

---

<sup>45</sup> AP Sen, *Op. cit.*: 21

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*: 45

<sup>47</sup> Moorti, *Op. cit.*: 14

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*: 75

resources with a proclivity for iron ore resources, next in order of importance being gold, copper, zinc and silver ores<sup>49</sup>. VVK. Sastry has shown that in the Karimnagar region, the burial sites were located at a distance from the habitation areas. The burials were located where plenty of stones were available. This may have been the case because of the availability of raw materials in the vicinity for raising the monuments<sup>50</sup>. Sometimes these burial sites were located in close proximity to irrigation tanks or perennial rivers, but nowhere in the vicinity were habitation sites noticeable<sup>51</sup>. The disjunction between habitation and burial sites is further shown in the case of Kolakonda in Warangal district where the cemetery is located at a distance of three kilometers from the habitation site. At Polakonda also the distance between the two sites is that of one kilometer<sup>52</sup>. B. Subrahmanyam shows that in the Krishna-Tungabhadra valley, the burial complexes were located near the water resources and the habitation sites were located a couple of kilometers away from the burial complexes<sup>53</sup>. Moorti has shown that the habitation sites, burial complexes, burial-cum-habitation sites were situated most of the times on the tributaries of major rivers and not on the main rivers themselves. This may have been to avoid the danger of recurrent floods<sup>54</sup>.

In the early historic period, B. Subrahmanyam shows, that a majority of the sites were located in close proximity to the rivers and rivulets. People preferred interior places for their settlements, away from the river beds to escape

---

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*: 84

<sup>50</sup> VVK. Sastry: *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of AP*, Hyderabad, 1993: 103

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>53</sup> B. Subrahmanyam, *Pre, Proto and Early Historic Cultures of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Valley*, Delhi, 1997: 112

<sup>54</sup> Moorti, *Op.cit*: 12

floods<sup>55</sup>. Frequent floods resulted in the abandonment of sites and people moved over to wooded zones, which were fertile and had a perennial supply of water<sup>56</sup>. This kind of settlement in fertile regions along the rivers and therefore, with a regular supply of water may have been preferred as agriculture became the main occupation of the people. VVK. Sastry shows that in the Karimnagar region, settlements spread far and wide into the interiors as people may have been in quest of arable lands<sup>57</sup>. However, since irrigation is not evident in these regions, Sastry suggests that perhaps dry crops such as maize, jowar and ragi besides rice began to be raised. These were supplemented with animal food and dairy products<sup>58</sup>.

From the above data, a spatial shift is evident between the megalithic and the early historic settlements. While in the megalithic period, the settlements were located along the major tributaries, in the early historic period the centres shifted to the major rivers themselves. This is evident in the lower Krishna valley, where we see a proliferation of early historic sites along the rivers. It should however be borne in mind that the centres moved a little towards the interiors to avoid floods. NRV. Prasad shows that sites such as Dhulikatta, Konḍapur, Phanigiri, Gazulabanda, Peḍḍabankur, Tirmalagiri and Nelakonḍapalli were situated on small rivulets. These sites he shows survived for a longer duration as compared to the ones situated close to the major rivers, such as Satanikōṭa, Dharanikōṭa,

---

<sup>55</sup> B. Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit.*: 226

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*: 228

<sup>57</sup> VK. Sastry, *Op.cit.*: 123

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*



Koṭaliṅgāla, Virapuram, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, Rāmireddipalle, as they were situated on the major trade routes<sup>59</sup>.

No clear picture emerges as far as the location of sites along the major rivers or their tributaries or the rivulets is concerned. What does emerge is the fact that the number of centres grew significantly. With better resource management, the centres were able to sustain themselves even in areas where no irrigation was possible. Trade, both internal and external, knowledge of dry crop farming, craftsmanship, must have led to proliferation of centres. Thus, VVK. Sastry remarks that the Karimnagar region is marked by a number of early historic sites almost in every alternate village<sup>60</sup>. A comparison between our Tables 1 and 2, listing the megalithic and early historic site (see Appendix) also shows the increase in number of sites from the megalithic to early historic in terms of sheer numbers. For instance the Krishna district shows a phenomenal increase in numbers from 13 to 95 in the megalithic and the early historic periods respectively. The overlaps are noticeable in case of only 4 sites. Thus, 91 new sites came up in the early historic period in the district. Table 3 (See Appendix) shows the number of sites in the two periods and also the overlaps at the sites between the two.

While most districts show an increase in the numbers of sites from megalithic to the early historic periods, in certain districts, such as Śrikākulam, Vishākhāpaṭṇam, settlements come up only in the early historic period. Certain areas such as Chittoor show 6 megalithic sites and only one early historic site.

---

<sup>59</sup> NRV. Prasad, *Op.cit*

<sup>60</sup> VVK. Sastry, *Op. cit*: 123

What may have led to the abandonment of sites here and no new site coming up in this region needs further investigation. We can seek an answer in the geography of the district that is largely comprised of red lateritic soil. These soils are *in situ* derived from the weathering of gneisses and granites. The red colour is due to iron present in a diffused state. These soils on the whole are deficient in organic matter, nitrogen, phosphorous and other plant nutrients, and the content of soluble salts is very low<sup>61</sup>. No river system traverses the region. It is possible that since agriculture was not possible in the region, it may have been preferred that other areas be sought for settlement. However, Karimnagar district, which has the same soil type, shows a concentration of early historic sites<sup>62</sup>. We have already seen that people may have resorted to farming of dry crops here. However, tributaries of Godavari do traverse the region. It may also be noted that the famous *Śaiva* site of Gudimallam, the earliest phase of which has been dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, came up in Chittoor district.

In any case, a spatial shift is obvious from the above survey and also from Table 3. The numbers of sites with overlaps between the two cultures are few. Map 1 shows the megalithic and early historic sites of the Krishna-Tungabhadra confluence region. As is evident, some of the sites show only a miniscule shift. Nonetheless a shift is apparent.

Thus, as we have mentioned earlier, the two periods, although in a few instances show continuities in terms of material remains and at times even in

---

<sup>61</sup> RL. Singh: *India: A Regional Geography*, Varanasi, 1990: 827

<sup>62</sup> VVK. Sastry, *Op. cit.*: 119

location, the disjunction between the two periods is also quite evident in both of the above indexes.

### *2.6 Hierarchy of Settlements*

Urban settlements may be arranged in a hierarchy on the basis of population densities or the material finds. Thus, a site which would display richness in material remains such as public structures, roads, shops etc, their sizes, the material used and the technology involved for the construction of the same would be placed higher in the hierarchy. This is a simplistic way of arranging the sites in a hierarchy. Objections have been raised on the grounds that placing urban centres into clear cut slots like 'cities', 'towns', 'hamlets' are simplistic modes of expression and need not necessarily refer to structurally distinct natural entities, as such attempts to identify hierarchies within urban data may be futile<sup>63</sup>.

It will be a more sensible approach to form a hierarchy on the basis of the function or the functions that a site serves. We shall limit this hierarchising of sites on the basis of the extant material remains and the inscriptional evidence to the region of lower Krishna valley only. It may be reiterated that for several sites listed in Table 2 (see Appendix), we do not have any available evidence regarding the artifacts discovered. Those sites are therefore, not included in this hierarchy. Again, this attempt is not to say that a commercial or a religious site will be placed higher than the other or the rest. We shall look at the functions fulfilled by

---

<sup>63</sup> HP. Ray, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce Under the Satavahanas*, Delhi, 1986: 81

each site<sup>64</sup>. Those sites where functional overlaps are discerned will be placed higher.

Sites such as Vipparla, Chintalapadu, Dāchavaram, Dāmuluru, Kankaṭa, Kisāra, Mukkolu, Mugasala, Nawābpetā, Valamaunada, may be placed lowest in the functional lattice as the only remains found here were sherds of black and red ware, red slipped pottery etc. On a level above this, sites such as Gokinakonda, Mulakālura, Nemālipuram, Gutlikōṇḍa, Vākaṇthapuram, Bobbellapadu, Adaviravulapadu, Kammavaripalēm, Muppala, Paritala, and Satyāvaram, where one comes across sherds of Rouletted ware pottery. The presence of these sherds is an indicator to their coastal trade linkages. This also shows the involvement of the lower Krishna valley with external trade.

Other sites such as Chebrolu, Gutlikonda, Juna-Chundur, Mallipadu, Kesarapalli, appear to have been commercial centres on the basis of the coins unearthed during excavations at the sites.

Dachepally, Dupadu, Etravaripalem, Gummadiduru, Goli, Gudivada, Kesanapalli, Peddakodamagundla, Uppugunduru, Alluru, Jaggayyapeta, Mogul Rajapuram, Takkalapadu, were religious sites where Buddhist remains in the form of religious structures have been found. No secular urban centre has been found in the vicinity of any of these sites. This implies that no secular urban centre, nearby took direct care of these religious sites. This is then an indicator of the resource mobilization and resource management current in these centres, which were instrumental in sustaining these. Thus, these sites come out as more than just

---

<sup>64</sup> HP. Ray, *Ibid*, has done the same exercise for the sites in western Deccan

simple religious centres that were dependent on other centres for their sustenance and maintenance.

Amongst the religious centres, a sub-type may be discerned, those which had commercial linkages. In this category fall religious sites such as Ghantasala, which has been referred to as being a port centre of importance. Rouletted ware sherds have also been discovered from the site. It was known as *Kaṁtakōsala* by Ptolemy, who refers to it as being located on the mouth of the river<sup>65</sup>. Vaddamanu is yet another centre which appears to have carried out both these functions as is evident from the Buddhist remains, Rouletted ware sherds, the coins found there.

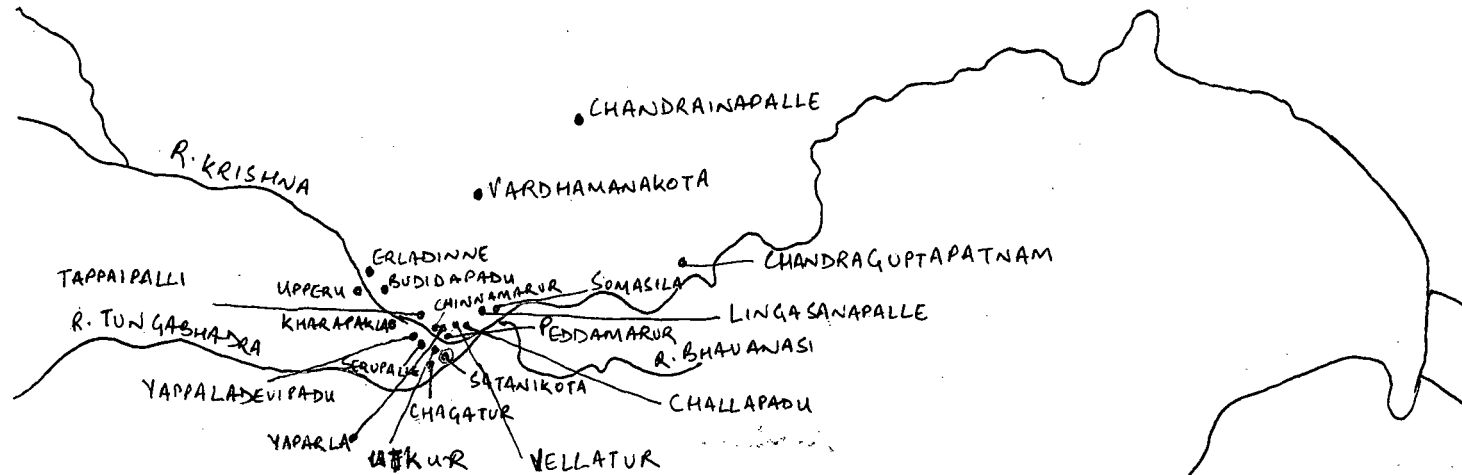
The twin sites of Amarāvati and Dharanikōṭa, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa and Vijayapuri, and also Bhattiprolu fulfilled more functions than one. Besides being vibrant religious centres, these were commercially important centres as evidenced from the coin finds, and also centres of administrative significance. The Sātavāhana-s ruled from Dharanikōṭa and the Ikṣvāku-s are said to have ruled from Vijayapuri, on the basis of citadel remains and inscriptions issued by the Isavaku rulers there. Bhattiprolu relic casket inscription makes a reference to the *rājā, nigama, goṣṭhi and saṅgha*<sup>66</sup>, which is an obvious indicator to its commercial status as also, religious and political centre status. These sites were also the most important religious centres in not only the lower Krishna valley, but in the entire Āndhradeśa, as can be figured out from the inscriptional evidences, which indicate patronage from the laity.

---

<sup>65</sup> K. Satyanarayana, *A Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras*, New Delhi, 1975: 147

<sup>66</sup> *EI*, II: 323-329

We have examined in this chapter the urban centres in Āndhradeśa. Our evidence shows maximum concentration of sites in the lower Krishna valley. This may have been the case because of the availability of fertile black soil that may have caused better agricultural returns. We have already seen that the region was well connected with the larger network of external maritime trade and also internal trade. Although the Buddhist religious sites came up along the trade routes in the Andhra region (see Map 3), the maximum concentration of these is also noticeable in the lower Krishna valley. The religious centres and the nature of the relationship shared between the urban and religious centres will be discussed in the following chapter.

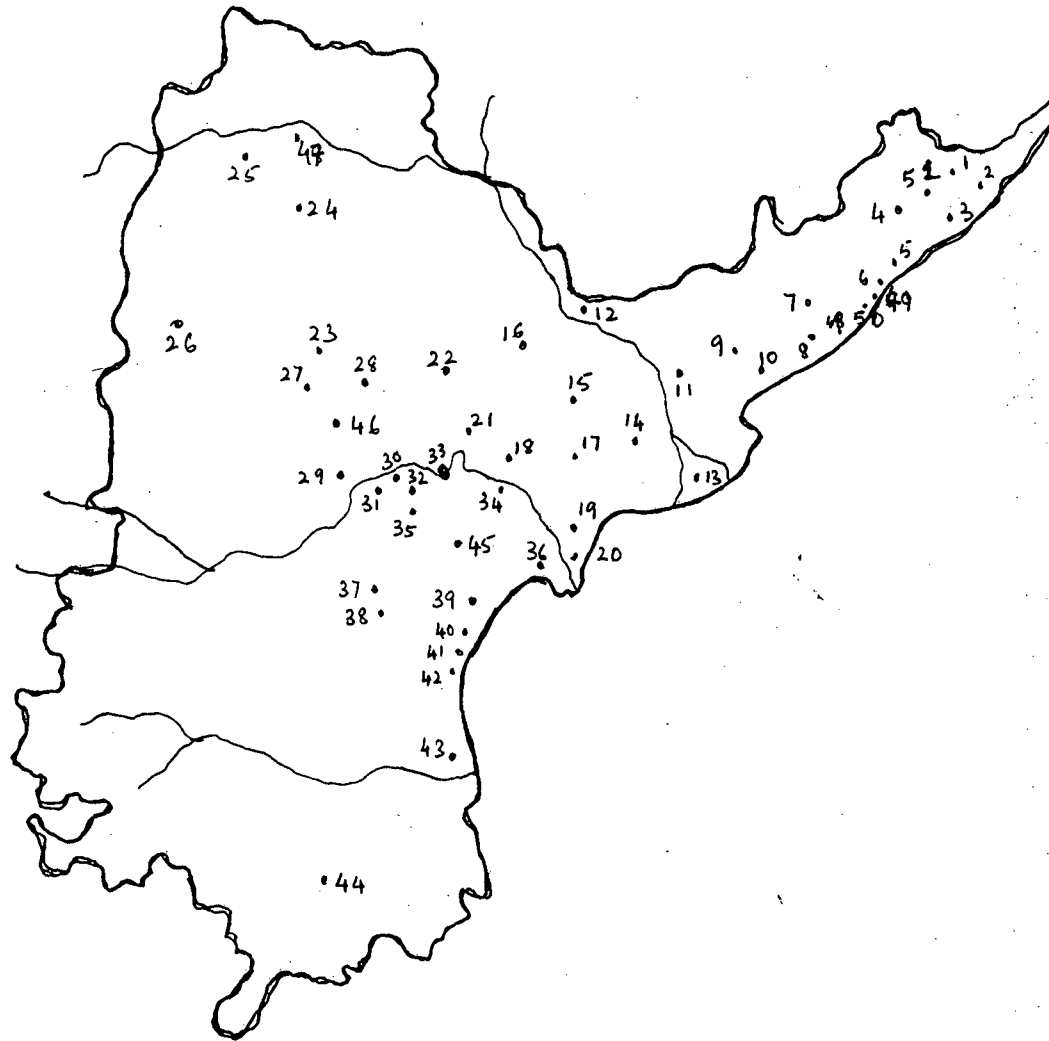


- MEGALITHIC SITES
- EARLY HISTORIC SITES

MAP 1 : SHIFTS BETWEEN THE MEGALITHIC AND EARLY HISTORIC CENTRES, IN THE KRISHNA-TUNGABHADRA CONFLUENCE ZONE.

MAP ADAPTED FROM PRE, PROTO AND EARLY HISTORIC CULTURE OF KRISHNA-TUNGABHADRA VALLEY,

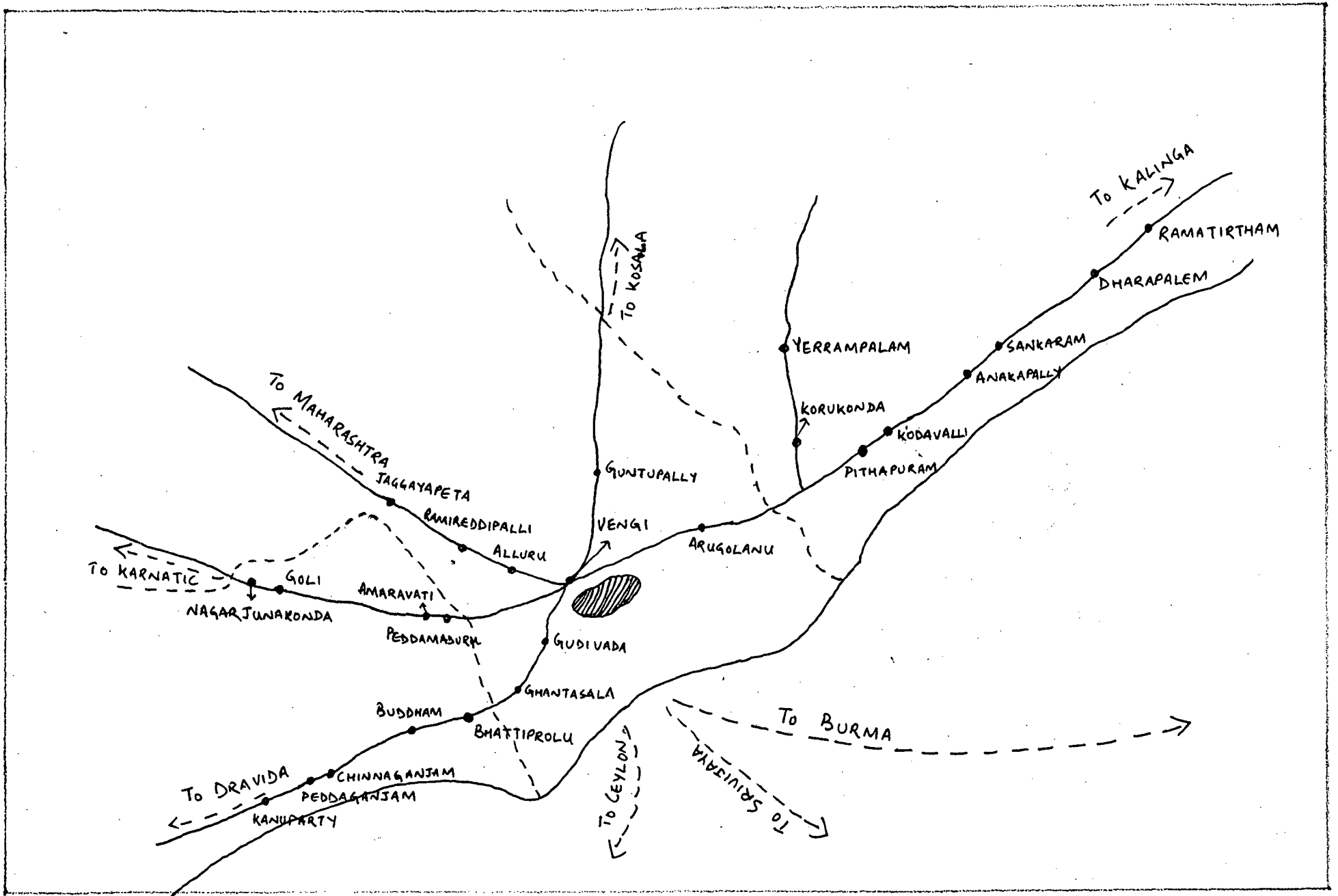
1. SARIPALLY
2. KALINGA PATNAM
3. SALIHUNDAM
4. RAMATIRTHAM
5. MANQAMARIPETA
6. BAVIKONDA
7. SANKARAM
8. KOTTUR
9. LINGARAJUPALEM
10. PITHAPURAM
11. KODAVALI
12. KAPAVARAM
13. ADURRU
14. ARUGOLANU
15. GUNTUPALLY
16. ASWARADPET
17. ALLURU
18. GUMMADI DURRU
19. GUDIVADA
20. GHANTASALA
21. JAGGAYAPETA
22. NELAKONDAPALLY
23. TIRUMALAGIRI
24. DHULIKATTA
25. PASHIGAM
26. KONDAPUR
27. GAZULABANDA
28. PHANIGIRI
29. YELLESWARAM
30. NAGARJUNAKONDA
31. MANCHIKALLU
32. GOLI
33. GANESIRI
34. AMARAVATI
35. RENTALA
36. BHATTIPROLU
37. CHANDAVARAM
38. DUPADU
39. CHINNAGANJEM
40. PEDDAGANJAM



41. KANUPARTI
42. UPPUGUNDUR
43. RAMATIRTHAM
44. NANDALUR
45. BUDDHAM
46. WADHAMANKOTA
47. KOTALINGALA
48. GOPALAPATNAM
49. PURURALLAKONDA
50. DHARAPALEM
51. DANTAPURAM

MAP 2 : BUDDHIST SITES IN ANDHRA PRADESH  
 FROM B. SUBRAHMANYAM BUDDHIST RELIC CASSETS OF ANDHRA PRADESA.





MAP 3 : ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES IN ANDHRADESA  
 (FROM K R SUBRAMANIAM BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ANDHRA AND THE HISTORY OF ANDHRA)

## Chapter 3

### **RELIGIOUS CENTRES**

#### **3.1 Buddhism-Urbanism Nexus: The Conventional Model**

Heitzman defines a Buddhist site as a place where surviving artifactual remains such as Buddha statuary, donative inscriptions, artistic motifs, relics or any other finds that indicate the former presence of persons concerned particularly with Buddhist devotion, and structural remains such as *stūpa*-s, *caitya* halls, monasteries or temples, have been scientifically excavated and described by archaeologists<sup>1</sup>.

A non-monastic site<sup>2</sup> is defined as an area where archaeological excavations have indicated long-term occupation. He says, these centres may be of two kinds - with features of a village or that of an urban centre. We have already discussed the features of urban centres in the previous chapters, wherein we also referred to the point made by several scholars that Buddhism was closely connected with trade and political authority. The argument that went to corroborate this was that it was through traders that Buddhism travelled to different parts of the country - our region the

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Heitzman: 'Trade Buddhism and Empire', Kennedy, Possehl eds., *Studies in the Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology of South Asia*, New Delhi, 1984:122

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

Āndhradeśa included and given the existence of the ostentatious monuments. The conventional belief is that Buddhism may have enjoyed political support. Urban centres become important in this context as the political authority is shown to reside in urban centres where the surplus is generated and this surplus from the urban centre is channeled to the Buddhist monastic site to take care not only of the monument but also of the monks and nuns who lived there.

Heitzman refers to the striking coincidence between Buddhist site increases and political developments<sup>3</sup>. He shows that monastic institutions steadily grew during the Śātavāhana times and with the coming up of the Ikṣvāku-s, there was a sudden jump in site number in the Krishna delta. However, he brings out that this situation, though corroborated by literary references, is not supported by archaeological references. He points out the case of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where the monastic sites are all situated away from the Iksavaku citadel and shows that so is the situation in case of Buddhist centres like Sāñchi, Vaiśali and Taxila. He concludes that the monasteries were peripheral to the major governmental and commercial organizations based in the discrete non-monastic centres<sup>4</sup>.

We shall then in this chapter, first examine centres where the monastic and non-monastic sites are both found in close proximity to each other, and then discuss the monastic sites that seem to exist by themselves. It will also be our endeavour in this section to place the monastic centres in a

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid: 131

<sup>4</sup> Ibid: 132

hierarchy. We shall make use of the layout of monuments, the extent of the entire complex in terms of the area occupied, the length of occupation of the centre in order to arrive at a rough hierarchy. We call it a rough hierarchy because certain sites continued longer and we take only an overview of these sites. Additions, embellishments, superior technical skills may be noticed at sites, which may have existed for a longer duration. However, it may also be pointed here that when a particular site continued longer than the rest, this fact in itself gives us some idea about the significance of the site.

In order to arrive at a hierarchy of the monastic sites, other than the structural details, longevity of the site, resources involved in the construction of the same, it may be interesting to also to look at the relic caskets unearthed from the structures. The *stūpa*-s were erected over the relics of the Buddha or of some other highly venerated monk. On the basis of the relic enshrined, the *stūpa*-s are categorized as *Śārīrika* (with corporeal relics), *Pāribhōgika* ( objects used by the venerated person) or *Uddeśika* (which symbolized the intent) However, there is no means of proving that relics unearthed from the *stūpa* belonged to the Master. The relics (corporeal once) may have even belonged to some venerated monk. We will have to depend on tradition for identification, which again is problematic for it, may not be taken word-for-word. What can help us though, would be the caskets themselves in which the relics have been deposited. In Andhra country, we come across caskets made up of varied materials. The time and resources involved in their making would give us clues regarding the importance of

the monuments. This is not to say that the 'contents' of these caskets are not important. Those continue to be important for they also tell us as to how traditions for the superiority of the site were built, and shall therefore, be considered.

Lastly, we will examine the relationship, as may be revealed between an urban and monastic centre. The objective of this exercise will essentially be to see if a monastic centre really needed a push from the urban centre to survive or did there exist dynamics of its own that sustained it and in this case what role trade had to play.

### ***3.2 Associated Urban and Buddhist Sites***

We begin first of all with a discussion on the twin sites of Amarāvati and Dharaṇīkōṭa in this section. Both were known as Depāldinne and Dhānyakāṭaka respectively in the ancient times and were separated from each other by a distance of one kilometer.

A complete report of the excavations at Dharaṇīkōṭa still awaits publication. Till the time the report gets published we shall have to depend on the short notices of the excavation undertaken, published in the volumes of *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, 1958-59, 1963-64 and 1964-65, as also whatever little details can be found in the secondary literature. The general area of excavation at Dhānyakāṭaka has been the port region at the edge of the Krishna River.

The *IAR*, reports have us believe that phase-I of Dharanikōṭa can be placed reasonably in the beginning of second century BC<sup>5</sup>, which was associated with black-and-red ware of megalithic fabric. A hearth with vent holes was also discovered in this period. It was in the later period that post-holes, drains or cut-channels were discovered, which indicated regular habitation activity. Important finds of the period were: a goldsmith's mould, glass bangles and earrings of a bewildering variety and shape<sup>6</sup>. Subsequent periods showed glass bangles of various colours, Rouletted ware, Arretine ware, red and grey wares, coins of late Satavahana period and fragments of amphora<sup>7</sup>. An Amarāvati type of *stūpa* was reported from period VI<sup>8</sup>.

A massive embankment wall was found all around the town. This is evident from the archaeological reports that have laid bare the embankment<sup>9</sup>. NS.Ramachandra Murty<sup>10</sup> quotes Col. Colin Mackenzie who first discovered the site in 1797 and described Dhānyakaṭaka as being surrounded on all four sides by a massive embankment of earth and broken brick and stones, about 650 yards on each side, the west being a little shorter and irregular owing to a curve in the river bank. The stele from Amarāvati<sup>11</sup> has the representation of Dhānyakaṭaka on its third face which shows some portion of the water (of the river Krishna) enclosed by an embankment. The

---

<sup>5</sup> *IAR*, 1963-64:4

<sup>6</sup> *IAR*, 1964-65:2

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*: 2-3

<sup>8</sup> A.Ghosh, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, 2, Delhi, 1989:126

<sup>9</sup> *IAR*, 1963-64; 1964-65

<sup>10</sup> N.S.Ramachandra Murty, 'Forts of the Satavahana period in Andhradesa', N.R.V.Prasad, ed, *Journal of Archaeology: Satavahana Special*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1995:156

<sup>11</sup> A.Ghosh, H.Sarkar, 'Beginning of Sculptural Art in South-East India: A Stele from Amaravati', *AI*, Nos. 20-21, 1964-65:175

streams are shown flowing in two directions. This may have been due to the fact that the river Krishna takes a sharp bend near Amaravati even today. That this representation is of Dhānyakāṭaka is proved by the short inscription on this face of the stele which reads- *Dhamñekada Vāṇḍa-nāma goṭhi*.

‘ The *goṭhi* called *Vāṇḍa* at Dhānyakāṭaka’.

All these evidences, i.e., the finds discussed above and the evidence from the stele point to the fact that Dharaṇikōṭa was an important trade centre which must have flourished during the late centuries BC. Knox<sup>12</sup> also points to the quantities of dressed limestone found in the wharf area, which he believes to be a clear indication that the stone for the Great *stūpa* was brought to the site by this river.

This embankment seems to mark the site of the ancient walls of what must have been the citadel of the city<sup>13</sup> and has been described by Col. Colin Mackenzie as follows<sup>14</sup>:

The vestiges of this ancient fort denote that it has been a place of some strength, the walls appear amazingly thick, and of considerable elevation. Its form is that of a square but somewhat irregular to the north, the space between which and Kistna is adorned with small gardens. The embankments of this side are also much higher, and divided by nullahs which run into the river. The dimensions of each side of the fort are about 630 yards. The gateways appear to have stood opposite each other, in eastern and western directions. The quantity of bricks that are said to

---

<sup>12</sup> R.Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*, London, 1992: 10

<sup>13</sup> N.S.Ramachandra Murty, *Op cit.* 156

<sup>14</sup> R.Sewell, *Report on the Amaravati Tōpe and Excavations on its Site in 1877, 1880*: 15

have been dug up, and the abundance of small pieces with which the excavations are filled, give every reason to suppose that it was a brick construction, the walls of which appear to have been about 25 feet in thickness. The surface of the ground within is very uneven.

The ancient city of Dharaṇikōṭa seems to have extended to a distance of 3 ½ miles in length<sup>15</sup>. It appears then that Dharaṇikōṭa must have been an important commercial town, fortified and furnished with an embankment-cum-wharf on a navigation channel, which also was a part of the defense system<sup>16</sup>. The C-14 dates obtained for Dharaṇikōṭa belong to the middle of 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC<sup>17</sup>.

Situated at a distance of 1km on the southern skirts of the town is the Buddhist site of Amarāvati. Amarāvati developed into the most important centre of Buddhism in Andhra. This is evident not only from the dimensions of and the embellishment of the *mahācaitya*, which sure indicates that an enormous amount of resources went into the construction of the same - both in terms of finance and human labour, and also in the sheer longevity of the site. In terms of survival, Amarāvati has the longest duration from the 4<sup>th</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC to about the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD and in all this time it remained a centre of importance, except for a brief while under the Ikṣavāku-s when Nāgārjunakoṇḍa gained importance.

---

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>16</sup> Amita Ray, *Life & Art of Early Andhradesa*, Delhi, 1983: 180

<sup>17</sup> N.Ramachandra Murty, *Op. cit*



This becomes significant also in the context of the fact that Andhra Pradesh remained 'untrodden by Buddha'<sup>18</sup>, but still developed into such an important centre of Buddhism. We then have a *jātaka* story wherein the Buddha was born as Sumedha in the city of Śri Dhānyakāṭaka<sup>19</sup>. That the *Jātaka* tale chose Dhānyakāṭaka as the place of Sumedha's birth and not any other centre in the whole of Andhra, which abounds in Buddhist centres is also a pointer to the importance of Dhānyakāṭaka which comprises the present day twin villages of Amarāvati and Dharanikōṭa.

Excavations at Amarāvati have focused from the very beginning on the *mahācaitya* area. Mackenzie visited the site first of all in 1797, and realized the potentiality of the mound. The mound area continued to be ransacked and it was only in 1818 that Mackenzie was able to get the drawings made of the excavated site and the monument, the diameter of which was 90 feet (27.3 m) and its height was 20 feet (6.09 m)<sup>20</sup>.

Subsequent excavations<sup>21</sup> at the site were carried out in 1845 by Sir Walter Smith, who recovered several sculpted pieces from the southwestern part of the mound; in 1877 by Robert Sewell; by James Burgess in 1881; by Alexander Rea in 1888-89; and again in 1905-06 and 1908-09. These excavations revealed megaliths datable to a period prior to the *mahācaitya*. Further excavations carried out by R. Subrahmanyam and

---

<sup>18</sup> Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971:198

<sup>19</sup> I.K.Sharma, 'Dhamna Kada Caitya: Its Role in the Spread of Buddha's Preaching, Growth of Art and Religion', K.K.Mittal, A.Agrawal eds; *Buddhist Art and Thought*, New Delhi 1993:63

<sup>20</sup> H.Sarakar, S.P.Nainar, *Amaravati*, New Delhi, 1992:3

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid* 3-4

K.Krishna Murthy in 1958-59 revealed inscribed architectural pieces and sculptural fragments, reliquaries and other antiquities. IK.Sarma excavated the mound again in 1973-74<sup>22</sup>, when the stratigraphy of the mound was revealed.

The beginning of the site is thus assignable to 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, when pits were dug into the natural soil. Profuse quantities of black-and- red ware and northern black polished ware, at times in association with iron, pot sherds with Brāhmi inscriptions, evidence of huts made of daub and wattle were discovered. In the next sub-period, granite uprights with typical Mauryan polish, limestone crossbars and copings, 'occasionally with short donatory label records in clear Asokan characters'<sup>23</sup>, large quantities of northern black polished ware continued to be found in association with a Buddhist establishment. The next period<sup>24</sup> revealed *āyaka* platforms, gateways with bricks measuring 47x30x9 and 42x21x9 cms. Sculptural activity became discernible in this period - 2<sup>nd</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Period III<sup>25</sup>- 1<sup>st</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD is characterized by the occurrence of Rouletted, Kaolin, polished Black and polished Red Wares. Large numbers of Sātavāhana coins belonging to Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi were also found in this phase. Period IV- 3<sup>rd</sup> - 6th centuries AD shows Ikṣavāku and Viṣṇukundin dominance. Coins of both dynasties have been found. Isolated structures built of reused

---

<sup>22</sup> *IAR*, 1973-74:4

<sup>23</sup> IK.Sarma 'Early Sculptures and Epigraphs from South-east India: New Evidence from Amaravati', F.Asher, Gai eds, *Indian Epigraphy: its Bearing on the History of Art*, Delhi 1985: 16

<sup>24</sup> *IAR*, 1973-74:4-5

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*: 5

bricks have also been found in this period. Period V- 6<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> centuries AD shows the *Vajrayāna* phase of Buddhism in this area.

We thus see, that both Dharaṇikōṭa and Amarāvati trace their origins at about the same time. The antecedent culture in both cases also tallies. The lowest levels of Dharaṇikōṭa and the *mahācaitya* site yielded material belonging to the same megalithic culture<sup>26</sup>. Both blossomed into centres of significance in their own right. Whether they grew independent of each other or were mutually dependent remains to be examined, but before that it may be reasonable to take a look as to when and why the *stupa*-s came to be constructed.

The *Mahāparinibbana Sutta* says that the *stūpa*-s may be erected in honour of only four classes of persons, viz, the Buddha, the *Pratyeka* Buddha-s, the *Arhat* -s and the *Cakravartin*-s. The form of the *stupa*, it is suggested evolved from the primitive custom of burying the dead. A small mud heap that forms after filling up the grave pit was perhaps the beginning of the idea<sup>27</sup>.

In case of Andhra, it has been suggested that the form of the megalithic burial structures may have given ideas for the construction of the *stupa*. E. Sivanagi Reddy points out<sup>28</sup>,

---

<sup>26</sup> H.Sarkar & Nainar, *Op. cit*: 6

<sup>27</sup> S.Nagaraju, 'Buddhist Stupas', VVK. Sastry ed, *Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh: A Souvenir*, Hyderabad, 1987:23

<sup>28</sup> E.Sivanagi Reddy, *Evolution of Building Technology in Early Andhradesa (upto the fourteen century AD)*, Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Central University, Hyderabad, 1994: 432

For instance, the funerary structures noticed at Chagatur, Peddamarur and Gondimalla in the form of the construction of the circle with dressed stones and cairns filling were in hemispherical shape. At Chagatur there was a raised basement resembling a *pradakshinapatha*. Ultimately, these developments contributed partially in laying the foundations for the development of *stupa* from the technical point of view. These emerged in the early historical context of Andhradesa.

He also draws our attention to a small *stūpa* at Amarāvati, which was raised on an urn burial, excavated by Rea in 1908-09.

Seneviratne<sup>29</sup>, on the other hand, states that, a *stūpa* need not be considered to be a linear successor of megalithic burials in south-east India. He suggests that. At the same time, one cannot overlook the physical similarity and also the similarity between the very concepts associated with this issue with imagination when he examines whether the building of *stūpa*-s during the early historical period was the continuation of a proto-historic cultural tradition, but within a different religious milieu.

However it may be pointed out that in the case of the Deccan, the megalithic culture is seen as preceding the early historic but this does not hold true at other places in the sub continent. The earliest *stūpa*-s in regions other than the Deccan are the ones at Piprahwa and Lauriya Nandangarh, datable to 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. No evidence of the *stūpa* evolving from

---

<sup>29</sup> S. Seneviratne, *Social Base of Early Buddhism in South-East India and Sri Lanka (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. – 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.)*, Ph.D Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1985: 528

megalithic burial structures is discernible here. This area did not even witness a megalithic culture.

Thus, it will be safe to believe that *stūpa*-s may have evolved from the custom of burial of the dead. The relics enshrined therein made the monument holy. *Stūpa* worship symbolized the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Thus, several slabs from the *stūpa* of Amarāvati represent *stūpa* worship.

The *stūpa* of Amarāvati has suffered extensive damage at the hands of Rajah Venkatadri Naidu who had it ransacked for purposes of using the bricks unearthed and also for the exquisitely carved limestone slabs which were burnt down and ended up being used for the construction of roads in 1798 even after Col. Mackenzie had made a visit to the *stūpa* area. By the time Mackenzie went there again, the *stūpa* was badly damaged. Venkatadri Naidu was apparently contemplating digging a reservoir in the middle of the *stūpa*, which was referred to as the 'Sevagunga Tank' by Fergusson and had already been marked by Col. Mackenzie in his plan<sup>30</sup>.

The extent of the injury caused to the structure is thus imaginable. Later excavations were able to salvage carved limestone slabs and pillars, relic caskets, parts of the rail etc., but the damage caused in terms of ascertaining the form of the *stūpa*; its layout was irretrievable. In such a

---

<sup>30</sup> R. Sewell, *Op.cit*, 22

case we are left with three sources for reconstruction of the *stūpa*<sup>31</sup> - reports of those who saw the site before complete destruction, remains of several other *stūpa*-s in *Āndhradeśa*, which have been carefully dug, and representations of the *stūpa* that are found on many of the sculptured slabs that have survived.

Although the slabs with *stūpa* representation would be considered to provide the best evidence to its original appearance, Barret makes a pertinent point by saying that questions requiring answers are<sup>32</sup> - what position in the mind's eye did the sculptor view the *stūpa* and consequently what are the true proportions of the separated parts of the structure, and secondly, did the sculptor show the decorations of the *stūpa* as it actually was, or did he indulge his craftsmanship and knowledge of Buddhist legend to depict an ideal *stūpa*.

In a recent paper, Margot Marsman<sup>33</sup>, has developed precisely this point. Marsman looks at the evolution of the *stūpa* motif in reliefs. She suggests that the *stūpa* sculpture was decorative in nature. The motif was used to invoke the devotion of the viewer. The image was not intended to render visual reality. She brings out that the *stūpa* both in architecture and sculpture consisted of a drum (*meḍhi*), a dome (*aṇḍa*) and a *hārmīka*. Differences lay in the proportions, the design and the decoration. She shows that the sculpture of the dome slabs of the structured *stūpa* consist mostly of

---

<sup>31</sup> D.Barret, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London, 1954:29

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*: 29

<sup>33</sup> Margot Marsman, 'Stupa Representations at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda', *SAA*, 1995

panels with symbolic scenes in vertical register, whereas on the *stūpa* panels a single row of narrative scenes has been carved. She concludes that the sculptor of the *stūpa* panels adhered to their own traditions instead of imitating or portraying structural remains.

While we acknowledge the points made above, we proceed to describe the form of the *stūpa* and for this Mackenzie's and Sewell's reports remain most important sources of information.

The *stūpa* of Amarāvati was of the solid variety filled with bricks. Its essential components were drum, dome, and the *hārmīka* with an umbrella rising out of it, the *āyaka* platforms, and the great rail around it. Here we may point out that while the first four components were essential features of *stūpa*-s all over the Buddhist world, the last two were features unique to the Andhra country though not entirely unheard of elsewhere.

The diameter of the *mahācaitya* measured 138 feet at the base of the dome of the *stūpa*. The drum at its base measured 62 feet 7 inches in diameter<sup>34</sup>. The *pradakṣiṇapatha* or the circumambulatory walkway between the rail and the drum, which was used by the pilgrims for their clockwise ritual movement for worshipping the *stupa*, was 13 feet wide. Mackenzie describes this walkway to be paved with long rectangular flat slabs of irregular lengths, which he called 'slate'<sup>35</sup>. At the four cardinal points were

---

<sup>34</sup> D.Barret, *Op. cit.*: 34

Note: However minor variations are found in the works Debala Mitra, *Op. cit.*, who puts it at 168' page 203, Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art Visual Narratives of India*, New Delhi, 1997:151, puts the radius of the monument at 165'.

<sup>35</sup> R.Knox, *Op. cit.*: 28

found projections built of burnt bricks (or the *ayaka* platform) on the drum about 32 feet long and 6 feet wide. Mackenzie's plan remains the sole evidence for dimensions of the *āyaka* platform<sup>36</sup>.

Mackenzie describes the dome as, ' The upper part rose in a turreted shape to a height of 20 feet (6m) which was cased around with bricks of unusual dimensions; the diameter at the top measured 30 yards (27m)<sup>37</sup>.

The vertical portion of the dome was embellished with slabs while the curve of the dome was plastered in lime and had stucco decorations<sup>38</sup>. At the summit of the dome was the *hārmīka*, a low railing surrounding a square area. The sides of the *hārmīka* were 24 feet long<sup>39</sup>. From the centre of the *harmika* projected an octagonal pillar sturdier than an *āyaka* pillar but with the same form. Small pillars to which were attached streamers and umbrellas were also erected in this area.

The great rail forms another major component of the *stūpa* here. The rail measured 192 feet in diameter and was pierced by gates 26 feet wide at the four cardinal points<sup>40</sup>. It consisted of pillars some 9 feet high. Between each pair of uprights were three circular cross-bars or *śuci*. The complete rail<sup>41</sup> it is estimated must have required about 800 feet coping (*uniṣa*) resting on 136 pillars and 348 crossbars. The coping stones were carved on both faces throughout. However, the inner face was carved more elaborately with

---

<sup>36</sup> D.Barret, *Op. cit*: 34

<sup>37</sup> R.Knox, *Op. cit*: 28-29

<sup>38</sup> E.Sivanagi Reddy, *Op. cit*: 434

<sup>39</sup> D.Barret, *Op. cit*: 38

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*: 30

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*



the *Jātaka* tales, while the outer one had motifs of continuous garland with loops filled with various motifs such as the tree, the wheel and the *stūpa*-s.

No other rail in Āndhradeśa has survived except for the fragments of a small decorated example found in the 'workshop' at Nāgārajunakōṇḍa. Probably the *mahācaitya* possessed either small simple rail, such as at Bhattiprolu or there was no rail at all such as at the several examples of Nāgārajunakōṇḍa *stūpa*-s<sup>42</sup>.

The embellishment of the *stūpa* of Amarāvati remains unsurpassed by that of any other monument. The embellishment of the *stūpa* was a continuous process and the period when the *stūpa* stood at its grandest coincided with the period of rule of the Sātavāhana-s. To what extent the Sātavāhana-s were responsible for this grandeur will be examined in another section of this chapter.

There were several other religious buildings and *stūpa*-s of varying sizes in the complex where the *mahācaitya* was located. Alexander Rea's excavation in 1908-09 outside the gate of *mahācaitya* revealed traces of walls, everywhere in a ruined condition and remnants of surrounding *stūpa*-s (votive *stūpa*-s). It was during this excavation that a small *stūpa* measuring 3.3 m (11 feet) in diameter was unearthed. This *stūpa* was elaborately decorated at its base with limestone slabs bearing the image of the great *stūpa* itself, though it does not depict the drum pilasters or the drum arrangement of the larger structure.

---

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*: 29

*Vihāra-s* were the dwelling places of the monks and formed a part of the Buddhist religious establishments. It appears that the Buddha had prescribed for the monks a life of solitary practice and wandering than the establishment of monasteries (*vihāra-s*)<sup>43</sup>. According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the Buddha himself gradually framed new rules, which led to several monastic establishments<sup>44</sup>. However it is difficult to ascertain the above as the *Vinaya* grew gradually and this may have been a later addition<sup>45</sup>. The kinds of dwellings that must have provided the early models for the Buddhists must have been the *kuṭi-s* and *āśrama-s* of the Vedic ascetics and other *parivrājaka-s* and it may have been because of the patronage of the laity that the monastic dwellings may have imbibed features of the urban civil architecture<sup>46</sup>.

The postholes near the Amarāvati *stūpa*, dated to 400-300 centuries BC, suggest the existence of huts built of wattle and daub. These, it has been suggested, may have formed a part of the *vihāra* there, since no other structure at Amaravati suggests the existence of a *vihāra*. This is strange, given the significance of the site and also the number of donations made by monks and nuns, which was substantial. Either these monks and nuns were migratory people, or else their place of habitation was situated elsewhere, which again is a case different from the usual where the *vihāra-s* are located

---

<sup>43</sup> Sushmita Pande, 'The Early Buddhist Architecture as Gleaned from the Vinaya Pitaka', *Bharati*, Vol.17, 1987-88: 101

<sup>44</sup> Ibid: 102

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

<sup>46</sup> Ibid: 102-103

close to the *stūpa*. In this context we may make a reference to Hieun Tsang who stated 'the convents ( *sanghārāma*-s at Amarāvati) are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved, there are about 20 with 1000 or so priests'. It has been suggested that Hieun Tsang mostly probably confused the *mahācaitya* with the monastery<sup>47</sup>. However, Hieun Tsang's statement cannot be overlooked altogether. While it is true that Hieun Tsang was a Buddhist pilgrim and may have therefore had a tendency of exaggerating all he saw, we also have to bear in mind the fact of the very limited areas excavated.

It may briefly be mentioned here that several donative inscriptions have been found in Amarāvati. They come from people belonging to different sections of the society, following different occupations and also from guilds and merchant organizations<sup>48</sup>. The number of inscriptions available here far outnumbers those found at other monastic centres in the Andhra country. Why Amarāvati may have received so many donations shall be elaborated later in the chapter. We may also take note of the fact that no royal inscription from the Sātavāhana dynasty has been recovered from Amarāvati.

We now turn our attention to the relic caskets recovered from Amarāvati. A total of ten caskets have been found from the *mahācaitya* and its precincts. The first casket was discovered from the *mahācaitya* itself by

---

<sup>47</sup> NS. Ramasvami, *Amaravati: the Art and History of the Stupa and the Temple*, Hyderabad, 1975: 11

<sup>48</sup> See Luder's List, *EI*, X: 141-157

the local *zamindar*. Small pearl and leaves of gold were found in a crystal casket, which were contained in a stone box.

Rea<sup>49</sup> discovered a small object made of mortar, six inches in diameter. It contained in itself a pottery relic casket, which contained within itself gold reliquary in the form of *dagōba* three-and-half inches high, surmounted by an umbrella. This reliquary<sup>50</sup> was crudely ornamented and consisted of an upper and lower lid and contained six flowers in thin gold leaf and a small fragment of bone, ivory articles and a seal of lapis lazuli incised with Brahmi characters. Where exactly this casket was found is not known but it may have belonged to the small *stūpa* whose dome had disappeared but upright walls were intact<sup>51</sup>.

From the southern *āyaka* platform were discovered five crystal caskets. These were found placed in five slots of the *ūrdhvapāṭa* of the *āyaka* railing. Four of these caskets resemble a *stūpa* while one is cylindrical in shape. The caskets, each contained a relic inside along with objects such as gold flowers, pearls, coral beads etc. Slabs with inscriptions<sup>52</sup> were discovered near the *āyaka* platform. One of these inscriptions datable to 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD refers to the renovation of *caitya-khambha* with *dhātu* on the southern side of the *stūpa*.

This clearly brings out the fact that the relics were consecrated at a later date. Tradition has it that Aśoka had sent Mahādeva Bhikkhu with the

---

<sup>49</sup> A. Rea, *Excavations at Amaravati, 1908-09*, Delhi, 1990: 88-89

<sup>50</sup> BR. Subrahmanyam, *Buddhist Relic Casket in Andhradesa*, Secunderabad, 1999:40

<sup>51</sup> A.Rea, *Op. cit*: 89

<sup>52</sup> BR.Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit*

relics of the master to Mahisamaṇḍala and he probably convinced the ruling prince of Dhānyakataka to erect a *mahācaitya* over the relics<sup>53</sup>. While this event went unrecorded, the consecration of the other relics (of the Buddha?) was recorded in the inscription in 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

A small crystal casket was recovered from below the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, near the western *āyaka* platform. This casket was in the shape of a *stūpa* in two parts, the lid of which looked like a dome with square *hārmikā* and a flattish finial. It contained twelve irregular short cylindrical beads of shell, two cylindrical beads, a pendant made of bone, a hexagonal and two flat rectangular beads of fine blue beryl. This casket was contained in a red ware pot with a lid.

A limestone-casing slab with a circular slot covered by a stone lid, on the eastern *āyaka* platform yielded a sturdy and a heavy crystal divided into two parts. The lower part resembles an elongated *stūpa* and contained light tiny beads of pearl, one double spacer bead of pearl and one unfinished spacer bead of crystal. Fragments of an ivory casket, devoid of a receptacle, were discovered near the northern *āyaka* platform. Upon reconstruction, the shape of the casket closely resembled the one found at Piprahwa<sup>54</sup>.

It may be reiterated that the discussion on relic caskets was undertaken here to enable us, later in this chapter, to arrange the Buddhist sites in a hierarchy as may be discerned from the caskets.

---

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*: 41

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*

We now examine the site of Vijayapuri and Nāgārajunakōṇḍa. These two sites may also be seen as associated, as they are located close to each other. The Ikṣāvāku-s are said to have established Vijayapuri as their capital. Several donative inscriptions of the royal ladies of the Ikṣāvāku-s have been found from Nāgārajunakōṇḍa, while the Ikṣāvāku rulers themselves are believed to have followed the Brahmanical faith.

The sites of Vijayapuri and Nāgārajunakōṇḍa lay in a secluded valley, about 23 square kilometers in area, enclosed by some off shoots of the Nallamalai Ranges on three sides except the west, where the river Krishna served both as a barrier and a river passage. The two sites may be seen as associated because of their proximity to each other. The Ikṣāvāku-s who held sway in the region, always mention Vijayapuri in connection with Sriparvata (*Śripavate Vijayapure*). Śriparvata is identified as the Buddhist part of the valley which later came to be known as Nāgārajunakōṇḍa, to perpetuate the name of Nāgārjuna, who is supposed to have spent the later part of his life at Śriparvata, according to Tibetan tradition. However, there is no evidence to establish the connection between the sage Nāgārjuna and Nāgārajunakōṇḍa. Vijayapuri is said to have been the capital of the Ikṣāvāku-s. The identification of Vijayapuri is also slightly suspect. The site with the citadel is supposed to be Vijayapuri. However, so far, no remains of a palace or even of Ikṣāvāku inscription have been discovered from this citadel area. For now, we move on with the premise that this citadel area was known as Vijayapuri. This area was definitely an urban centre as revealed by the

presence of the citadel, remains of residential structures, and several other secular structures such as a bathing tanks, shops, provision stores etc. We shall limit ourselves, here, to a discussion on the structural remains of Vijayapuri and Śripārvata and later come to a discussion on the relationship between the two.

The valley of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa is the richest so far as architectural remains go. There are not only urban secular remains in the citadel area as pointed out but also extensive Buddhist structural remains. Thus, there are *stūpa*-s, *vihāra*-s, *caityagrha*-s, and votive *stūpa*-s in large numbers. What also makes this site unique is the occurrence of Brahmanical structures in good numbers. Both the Buddhist and Brahmanical structures were constructed at the same time.

This has led to the belief that while the royal women patronized Buddhism, the men followed Brahminism. The presence of structures belonging to both faiths is used to corroborate the epigraphical evidence, which shows royal women actively making donations to the Buddhist *stūpa*-s or *vihāra*-s. No inscription shows the king or any other member from the royal family making donations to the Buddhist establishments. The royal men are said to have patronized Brahminism since the inscriptions refer to the kings performing sacrifices. Thus Cāntamūla, the founder of the dynasty is described as the performer of the *asvamedha*, by his successors<sup>55</sup>. This evidence is not sufficient to establish that Camtamula had indeed performed

---

<sup>55</sup> *EI*, XX: 6

the sacrifice. Operating on this relation between the epigraphical references and the extant Brahmanical structures, the tortoise shaped tank within the citadel area is described as the 'aśvamedha tank'.

While on this discussion it may also be pointed out that the first Brahmanical temple, the Aṣṭabhujasvāmi temple was constructed in the Ābhira interregnum, by three patrons in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of the Ābhira era<sup>56</sup>, which is 278 AD. This goes on to prove that the first Brahmanical temple was not raised by the Ikṣvāku-s, although, the very first ruler of the dynasty was supposed to have patronized the faith. The other temples raised in the Ikṣvāku period, only refer to the regnal year of the king in whose reign it was built. Inscriptions refer to the construction of the Nodagīśvarasvāmi temple during the reign of Ehuvala Caṁtamūla and of the Mahādeva Puṣpabhadrasvāmi temple in the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the same ruler (342 AD). There is no evidence to suggest that they made donations for the construction of the temples, as there is in case of the ladies' donations to the Buddhist structures where the inscriptions clearly state the objects donated by them. The Brahmanical structures, the reasons for their presence, their relationship with Buddhist establishments will constitute another chapter. We now turn to examine the structural remains of the Nāgārjunakōṇḍa valley.

The citadel, enclosing a roughly trapezoidal area of about 3000 x 2000 feet (914.4 x 609.6 m), lay close to the riverbank. It was surrounded by a fortification wall which was mud built and lay on natural soil except for the

---

<sup>56</sup> *EI*, XXXIV: 9



river-side where it overlay an earlier occupational deposit, in the first phase. In the second phase, this wall was superimposed by a burnt brick wall (9-14 feet wide) at some places. This fortified citadel was surrounded by a moat 12.5 feet (3.65 m) deep and 74-132 feet (22.55 – 40.23 m) wide. It had two gates, one each on the eastern and western side, besides a postern gate on the northern side. The hillocks Peddakundellagutta and Chinnakundellagutta on the south and north also formed a part of the enclosed area. The ceramic evidence from pre-to-post-rampart layer remained uniform and conformed to the *Iksvāku* period.

Residential buildings, barracks, stables, cisterns, baths, square wells or soak-pits are some of the structures found within the citadel area. One of the two structures of significance in this area is the stepped tank which was a tank made of brick with thick coat of plaster, which appears to have had a wooden structure super, that seems to have been destroyed in a fire discernible from huge quantity of ash, charcoal, burnt tiles with impressions of wood-fibre and burnt iron objects. The other was the tank identified as the *aśvamedha* tank. Pottery, horse and goat bones have been recovered from this area. This may have been another reason why this site has been identified as the *aśvamedha* site. This tank may have been a bathing-establishment attached to the palace-complex<sup>57</sup>. However, it may be pointed that no remains of a palace structure have been discerned. These structures are on the western side of the citadel and are enclosed within a wall.

---

<sup>57</sup> H. Sarkar, BN.Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi, 1966:20

Outside the citadel area are found the houses of the common people, which were mostly represented by rubble compound walls. These were concentrated towards the eastern side of the citadel area. Some of these houses have been identified as shops or centres of craft. A goldsmith's shop has been identified because of its terracotta crucible, touch-stone, iron pestle, terracotta and stone weights, terracotta bangles, ear-rings and oblong moulds with designs for ornaments<sup>58</sup>. Such houses were made of both, rubble with mud as the binding material and also bricks.

A rectangular enclosure 16.46 x 13.72 m, surrounded by tiered galleries with seating facility for about a thousand people has been suggested to be a stadium, which may have been used for theatrical purposes or as a boxing arena, because of the acoustic properties of the structure. Stone<sup>59</sup> has argued against the conventional view that it was a Roman amphitheater, and suggested that the technique is likely to have been of Roman inspiration. Wayside rest houses<sup>60</sup> have also been brought to light, other than several baths, burning ghats, wide roads, streets and alleys which are the other structures that have been uncovered at the citadel site of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa.

More than thirty Buddhist establishments have been exposed and such a large concentration of Buddhist structures at this site may have resulted from the presence of at least four different sects here, viz., the

---

<sup>58</sup> DK. Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, Delhi, 1995: 236

<sup>59</sup> ER. Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, Delhi, 1994:10

<sup>60</sup> H. Sarkar, BN.Misra, *Op. cit.*: 17

Mahisasaka<sup>61</sup>, Bahusrutiya<sup>62</sup>, Mahāvihāravāsin<sup>63</sup> and Aparmahāvīnaseliya<sup>64</sup>.

We know of these sects because of the reference to these in the inscriptions.

There may have been more, but as of now, there is no evidence of the same.

These different sects may have erected structures on the basis of principles

followed by them. We do not go into the examination of the ideologies

followed by the sects and their resultant religious structures, here<sup>65</sup>. We shall

now survey the monuments found at the site.

While the florescence of Buddhism coincided with the Ikṣvāku

period in the valley, with donations made by the royal women as also by the

lay people, the presence of Buddhism in the valley before the Ikṣvāku

dominance cannot be denied. The *Mahācaitya*, the earliest structure in the

valley, the Mahāvihāra, the Cula Dharmagiri *Vihāra*, were all pre-Ikṣvāku

constructions. The inscriptions associated with these structures refer to

addition of new elements, further expansion or embellishment of the

structure in the Ikṣvāku period during the reigns of different rulers<sup>66</sup>. They do

not refer to the construction of these monuments in this period, though a few

of the other structures may have come up in this period.

In *stūpa* construction, we see a change in Nagarjunakonda, from

Amaravati. Most *stūpa*-s here, had wheel-shaped bases. The spokes varied

---

<sup>61</sup> *EI*, XX: 1-37

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>65</sup> H. Sarkar has attempted such a study in (i) 'Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments of Nagarjunakonda', *AI*, No. 16, 1960:

Also see H. Sarkar, (ii) *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966 .

<sup>66</sup> Venkateswaralu, M, 'Sri Parvata in the pre-Ikṣvāku Period', *JAHRS*, XX: 1-8

from four-to-six-to-eight-to-ten. There were others which had two concentric circles at the base with eight spokes in the inner circle and twelve in the outer, or eight in the inner circle and sixteen in the outer circle, or even eight in the inner most circle and sixteen each in the central and outer-most circle.

H.Sarkar, summarizes the position in the following table<sup>67</sup>:

**3.1 TABLE SHOWING THE RELATION OF DIAMETERS OF STUPA-S WITH THE NUMBER OF SPOKES**

| <i>NUMBER OF SPOKES</i>   | <i>SITE</i> | <i>RANGE OF DIAMETER</i> |
|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| Four  | 14          | 20 to 30 ft.             |
|   | 27          | "                        |
|   | 52          | "                        |
|   | 54          | "                        |
|   | 105         | "                        |
|   | 108         | "                        |
| Six   | 30          | 20 to 30 ft.             |
|   | 32A         | "                        |
| Eight   | 4           | 20 to 30 ft              |
|   | 26          | "                        |
|   | 2           | 30 to 40 ft.             |
|   | 3           | "                        |
|   | 7           | "                        |
|   | 24          | "                        |
|   | 85          | "                        |
|   | 106         | "                        |
|   | 6           | 50 to 60 ft.             |
| 21  | "           |                          |
| Ten   | 16          | 40 to 50 ft.             |
| Eight in the inner circle and twelve in the outer                             | 5           | 40 to 50 ft.             |
| Eight in the inner circle and sixteen in the outer                            | 9           | 40 to 50 ft.             |
| Eight in the inner most circle and sixteen each in the central and outer most | 1           | 91 ft.                   |

<sup>67</sup> Table reproduced from H. Sarkar, Op.cit: 79, also see H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966: 95

Sarkar succeeds in bringing out that the number of spokes in a *stūpa* was dependent on the size of the *stūpa*. Thus, the spokes at the base may be seen as an architectural advancement for better structural stability. The *āyaka* platforms continue to occur in most *stūpa*-s, though *stūpa*-s without *āyaka* platforms have also been found. Several *stūpa*-s were mounted on square platforms. While most *stūpa*-s had a *vihāra* attached to them, instances of *stūpa*-s without *vihāra*-s have also come forth (Site 15 A, 16, 22, 52 and 59)<sup>68</sup>. Some of the *stūpa*-s were highly decorated with carved stone slabs and these slabs can still be seen at the site museum of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa<sup>69</sup>.

The *mahācaitya*, the earliest of all structures in the valley, was built on the wheel pattern. The drum rose to a height of five feet and the diameter of the drum was 120 feet. The *pradakṣiṇāpatha* measured 13 feet wide. The *āyaka* platforms were found on the four cardinal directions. The bricks used in the *stūpa* measure 20" x 10" x 3". The *Mahācaitya* remained severely undecorated throughout.

While it may be agreed that the wheel pattern was introduced at the base of the *stūpa* for stability, it is possible that ideological aspects could also be discerned from the same<sup>70</sup>. Thus, the wheel may have symbolised the *dharmacakra*. There are *stūpa*-s with bricks laid in *svāstika* motif in the centre of the base. This has again been inferred in the same manner as above. The number of spokes are also said to be representative of the main episodes

---

<sup>68</sup> H. Sarkar, *Op.cit.*: 77

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*: 80-81

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*: 78

in Buddha's life or the Buddha's teachings<sup>71</sup>. While this hypothesis does sound interesting, there is no means of testing it against available remains to prove the same.

Several monasteries have come to light from this site. We know of monasteries 'belonging' to the Mahāvihāra-vāsin-s (Site 106), the Bahusrūtiya-s (Site 5), the Mahisasaka-s (Site 7-8), and the Sihhala-s (Site 43). The number of cells at the vihāra-s varied from two to thirty cells. Three of the cells in the Bahusrūtiya *vihāra* appear to be larger than the rest. It is possible that these cells may have belonged to more senior monks. The more developed units were provided with a kitchen, dining hall, store room, bathrooms with drainage facilities etc. The *vihāra*-s were mostly of the *catuśāla* type. Some of the *vihāra*-s show *caityagr̥ha*-s, within the *vihāra* structure itself, for worship by the monks residing in the *vihāra*.

Several *caityagr̥ha*-s either have also been found at Nagarjunakonda. The *caityagr̥ha*-s either have a *stūpa* or the image of the Buddha enshrined within. At site 9, two *caityagr̥ha*-s existed consisting the image of the Buddha in one and a votive *stūpa* in another. Site 85 enshrined the image of the Buddha in both the *caityagr̥ha*-s attached to it. The *caityagr̥ha*-s at the site are mostly apsidal in form, though a few circular *caityagr̥ha*-s have also been noticed.

Votive *stūpa*-s began to be included in the monastic establishments. There are examples of a wheel-based miniature *stūpa* also. The votive *stūpa*-s, with rare exceptions, had a solid construction and were bereft of the *āyaka*

---

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*: 81

platforms, except for a solitary example at site 2. The laity for acquiring religious merit may have donated votive *stūpa*-s.

A good number of relic caskets from different monastic complexes were discovered<sup>72</sup>. The *Mahācaitya* yielded a broken pot, filled with earth and mixed with few crystal beads. It also contained a silver receptacle, 2 ½ inches high, in the shape of a *stūpa*. This receptacle in turn contained a gold casket, 3 ¼ inches in diameter, in which were placed a fragment of bone, a few gold flowers, pearls, garnets etc. Princess Cāntiśiri's inscription on the pillar datable to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD mentions the consecration of the relic of Lord Buddha in the *Mahācaitya*<sup>73</sup>.

A small votive stupa in Monastery 2 yielded a relic casket made of stone, which resembled a miniature *stūpa*, with a *chatra*, fixed by an iron rod. In it was a clay pot, glazed pale green on the outer surface. This pot in turn contained a copper receptacle 4 inches high, which in turn contained a silver casket, 2 inches high. Inside this casket was discovered a small gold casket 1 ½ inches high. It was this casket that contained a fragment of bone, lotus and jasmine flowers, gold and a few decayed pearl and coral beads.

The *stūpa* 2A yielded two dislodged caskets, one gold and the other silver, both in the shape of a *stūpa*. The silver casket contained amethyst and turquoise beads, beads of pearl, bone, coral, lapis lazuli and leaf shaped flowers. A tiny bone relic was also contained herein.

---

<sup>72</sup> The information regarding the caskets from Nagarjunakonda has been taken from B.Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit*: 64-69

<sup>73</sup> *EI*, XX: 29

Yet another *stūpa* enshrined a tiny piece of bone relic in a gold casket placed in another gold container, which resembled a miniature *stūpa*. This was placed in a silver receptacle, which contained gold leaves, pearls and coral beads. This casket was placed in an earthen pot.

The small brick *stupa* near the Nallarallabodu monastery no. 2, revealed a clay pot containing a silver receptacle. This receptacle resembled a miniature *stūpa* and contained within itself a tiny gold casket which contained a few gold leaves and flower, red coloured glass beads, rock crystals, corals, pearls and relics. A dozen pots and begging bowls were also found amongst the remains. It has been suggested that this *stūpa*-s, by virtue of its location outside the monastic complex and the occurrence of domestic pottery, here, may have belonged to a Buddhist monk<sup>74</sup>.

The *stūpa* situated near monastery 3 yielded relics of monks. Six globular pots and bowls contained ash mixed with earth. Semi-precious stones, pearls and corals were also found in here. A *stūpa*, situated one kilometer west of the *Mahācaitya* contained within itself a silver receptacle (which was crushed, when found) that contained a gold casket resembling a bowl with a lid and had within itself, a number of gold flowers, a pair of coins bearing bust figures of male and female with facial features, typically Greek. These coins may have been used as pendants given the holes at the top of the coins. It also contained a bone relic.

Another wheel patterned brick *stūpa* yielded two relic caskets one

---

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*: 65



made of copper containing the other of debased silver which had the gold flowers, pearls, semi-precious stones, bone and lumps of ash. A broken glazed pot with *triratna* symbol found nearby may have originally contained the two receptacles.

A *stūpa* also enshrined within itself bones of animals such as, ox, deer and hare along with terracotta head of dolls. Globular pots filled with animal bones and earth was also consecrated here. This may have been because the Buddha had assumed these forms in his previous birth. This *stūpa* is indeed unique in the objects it enshrined<sup>75</sup>.

A silver casket with a flat base, globular body and a knobbed top contained a gold casket containing beads, and a hemispherical crystal object and a blue stone piece were found within an earthen pot from a *stūpa*.

An apsidal Buddha *caitya* at site 6<sup>76</sup> revealed a gold capsule made of thin sheet (3/4" long and 1/2" diameter), which was found in a socket. This socket was scooped out in the portion between the legs of the Buddha, and was firmly sealed with a stone stopper or a lid. The capsule contained ninety-five pearls, a fragment of bone and a lump of ash. This was a new method of consecrating the relics not encountered anywhere else in Andhra Pradesh.

An artistically and skillfully carved limestone vase, with a limestone stopper in the shape of a saucer with a hole in the centre (probably for attaching a chatra) contained a piece of the wisdom tooth and another piece of tooth from the frontfile, was found from a cell of a monastery

---

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*: 67

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*: 68

formed on *triśāla* pattern. Whom, these teeth belonged to is not known. The limestone vase was carved with the auspicious motif of the *pūrṇaghata*, which has led to the suggestion that the teeth may have belonged to some important ācārya and the vase may have been deposited in the cell with the intent of consecrating it later on an auspicious day<sup>77</sup>.

We thus see, vibrant Buddhist activity at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, but we must now proceed to look at other urban centres associated with monastic sites.

It is in Dhulikatta that we encounter remains of both an urban centre as also a monastic site. Dhulikatta is situated on fertile black soil on the right bank of the Hussainivaggu. The mound is about eighteen hectares in extent. A baked brick wall of six courses, running north-south, built over rubble foundation was encountered in a trench laid across the mud fortification<sup>78</sup>. The fortification wall was raised from mud that was dug out from the trenches outside the fort and this area must have served as a moat<sup>79</sup>. Four gateways have been traced at the cardinal points. The wings on either side of the southern gateway perhaps served as guardrooms, though it cannot be established with certainty<sup>80</sup>. The mud fortification seems to be pre-Sātavāhana, while the guardrooms are datable in the Sātavāhana period on

---

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>78</sup> *IAR*, 1974-75:3

<sup>79</sup> VVK. Sastry, *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of AP*, Hyderabad, 1983: 125

<sup>80</sup> *IAR*, 1975-76:2

the basis of the coins found here. C-14 dating dates the constructional activity at the mound to 320 BC or so<sup>81</sup>.

Palace complex, residential quarters, granaries in inverted pyramidal form were also revealed here<sup>82</sup>. Phase II<sup>83</sup> reveals two structures with two rooms each and another structure with one room. Pottery of the previous phase, i.e., red, brown, tan and dull black-and-red ware continued. Concrete lime flooring was witnessed in this phase. The third phase showed spacious brick-paved halls, massive granaries and wells. Sātavāhana coins were found in good numbers. Phase IV had reused brick structures with plastered walls. Phase V was a continuation of phase IV. Phase VI showed hutments and no use of bricks.

Other than details mentioned above, no other detail regarding the layout of the town is known. A Buddhist *stūpa*, datable to last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, located one kilometer away from the habitation mound, at a place called Venkatapur, was revealed<sup>84</sup>.

The *stūpa* belonged to the solid variety type. The stupa appears to have been enclosed by a square platform in the first phase and it is only in the subsequent phase that the *āyaka* platforms, serving as *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, were added<sup>85</sup>. Sivanagi Reddy sees technological improvement in *stūpa* construction in the fact that the *stūpa* was built over a raised platform of

---

<sup>81</sup> AP.Sen, 'Social Structure and Economy of Settlements in the Cenral Deccan (200 BC-200AD)', Indu Banga ed., *The City in Indian History*, Delhi, 1994: 31

<sup>82</sup> Ibid

<sup>83</sup> Description from phase II to phase VI from *IAR*, 1976-77:4-5. Also see VVK. Sastry, *Op.cit*: 136-138

<sup>84</sup> AP.Sen, *Op.cit*: 35

<sup>85</sup> *IAR*, 1975-76:2-3

bricks over a rubble foundation<sup>86</sup>. The *aṇḍa*, five meters in height, was crowned by a *hārmīka* surmounted by a *chatra* of limestone. There is also an inscription by a *gahapati*<sup>87</sup>. The stūpa was not greatly embellished. The revealed limestone casing slabs have very simple representations of the Mucilinda Nāga, *Buddapāda* etc<sup>88</sup>. No evidence of an associated vihāra or other monastic structures has come to light at Dhulikata. The relic casket discovered from Dhulikatta is made of stone with a socket and is inscribed with Brāhmi letters. Where exactly it was placed and what the contents of the casket were is not known, so far.<sup>89</sup>

### 3.3 Buddhist Centres of Āndhradeśa

Having finished surveying the sites with associated urban and Buddhist centre, we now turn to examine the Buddhist centres of the Āndhradeśa (See Table 2). On the basis of the evidence available regarding the layout of the structures or their dimensions, we shall attempt to place these centres in a hierarchy. We shall begin with the simplest sites and go on to more complex ones. Sites with very few evidences shall be placed at the lowest rung of the hierarchy, unless the evidence itself happens to be a complex one. It is acknowledged that this is not the ideal way to establish a hierarchy because of reasons of lack of data; it appears to be the only way to do so. As more

---

<sup>86</sup> E.Sivanagi Reddy, *Op.cit*: 435

<sup>87</sup> VVK. Sastry, *Op.cit*: 145

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>89</sup> B. Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit*: 78

data would come up, all of this may change. We shall also examine the relic caskets side-by-side and if the evidence from these shows a picture different from the one reconstructed by the layout and dimensions of the structures, it shall be discussed alongside.

We would like to specify here, that in the attempt to arrange the sites in a hierarchy, we do not take into account the chronological progression. It is more-or-less obvious that the chronologically later structures would have acquired more complexity in their construction, though experiments at an early date would not be unknown. Besides, the resource base may also have widened. We only take an overview of the site to accomplish our task. Besides, though many monastic establishments witnessed early beginnings most went up to about 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD and some, as we shall see, many more. The ones, which went on for longer had, began about the early Christian centuries. In this case, some overlaps in the time period are discernible and these go on to show that the monastic centres did not come up in chronologically disjointed periods but in a common general period. Thus, chronology, for the purpose of arranging the sites in a hierarchy will be considered only when a site exists for a period longer than the rest. It may also be pointed out that when sites with modest remains are clubbed together lower in rung of monastic sites, it may not be taken to be the last word on it, for future excavations may reveal more.

At Kondapur, the existence of a Buddhist mound is known as Kampalli shows an ancient mound with Buddhist affiliations sprawling on

low hillocks. Rudrakota in Nellore shows vestiges of Buddhist establishment just as Kesanapalli in Guntur district shows the remains of a Buddhist stupa. At Kundamotu, Guntur district, a square brick shrine containing an oblong panel with six carved figures in bas-relief, resembling the Nagarjunakonda sculptures was discovered. Square brick shrines are not associated with Buddhist architecture. We are not even aware of the contents represented on the stone panel. Its resemblance to Nāgārjunakōṇḍa sculptures may lead us to conjecture that it may have been Buddhist themes that may have been carved out. These could have been secular representations as well. It may be pointed out that the brick structure where this panel has been found is referred to as a shrine. If this shrine happens to have a Buddhist connection, then this site may also be clubbed with the rest, mentioned above, for remains are modest.

At Dachepally, Guntur district, remains of a *stupa* were discovered. A Prakrit inscription containing the name of Cāntamūla, the founder of Ikṣvāku dynasty was also found. The inscription is datable in 300 AD.

Dupadu, also in Guntur district, showed the remains of a *stupa* with *āyaka* platforms, drums, etc and an inscription datable to 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. At Kotalingala, near the range of a hill, the existence of *stūpa* with lime plastered dome and *āyaka* platform has been discovered, fragments of a chatra with inscriptions datable to 1<sup>st</sup> century has also been found. It appears that the *stūpa* must have existed with all its component parts in both sites viz., the *āyaka* platforms (with pillars?) and *chatra* (within the *hārmika*?), though one cannot be sure about the railing.

Sites, such as Rajahmundry, show a *stūpa* and a wall of a monastery, all made of baked bricks (55x22x7 cms and 45x22x7 cms respectively). The details of the layout of either of the structures are not available.

Another site with a *stūpa-vihāra* complex was found at Gazulabanda (Nalgonda district). The first phase of construction was simple, while in the second phase construction became more complex and the *stūpa* thus was sixteen spoked at its base. The *vihāra* was of *triśāla* type and a full wing comprising of eight cells has come forth. Stucco figurines of animals, lotuses etc. have been found. No other structure, such as *caityagr̥ha*, is found here, other than the ones just mentioned. Although, the layout of the *stūpa* at Rajahmundry is not known, we club the site with that at Gazulabanda because both sites show only a *stūpa* and a *vihāra*. No doubt the site of Gazulabanda was more elaborate.

Singarakonda, Prakasam district, shows a stupa, 40 feet in diameter, with *āyaka* platform, coping and outer railing, *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, a dome in three stages and a *hārmīka*. A number of sculptured panels are also found.

Bhattiprolu, in Guntur district, is another site, which shows a *stupa* with a *vihāra* complex. The *vihāra* complex was revealed during the excavations undertaken by R.Subrahmanyam in 1969-70<sup>90</sup>. However, the details of the *vihāra* complex are not available.

The *stūpa* at Bhattiprolu approximates the solid variety, though the central portion of the *stūpa* is wheel-shaped. IK. Sarma is of the opinion that this may have been the beginning of the wheel-shaped foundation of the

stupa architecture of the Asokan times, which was motivated by the impact of the Caityaka-s during the Mauryan period as seen at Dharmarājika *stūpa* at Taxila, a *stūpa* at Bara-Pahari near Patna, and at Panguraria, in Madhya Pradesh<sup>91</sup>. The *stupa* is huge, with a diameter of 148 feet at the drum, which rose to a height of 8 feet. The *āyaka* platforms were provided with pillars. The *pradakṣiṇāpatha* was 8 feet 4 inches wide. Two pieces of stone umbrella, ribbed inside, were also found. Oblong panels of limestone slabs encased the *stūpa*. A limestone railing is suggested on the basis of six fragments of uprights that are *in situ*<sup>92</sup>.

The relic caskets found at Bhattiprolu are interesting. Five sets of relic caskets were found at Bhattiprolu. Boswell discovered a stone casket containing a crystal phial with beads, pearls etc. Its position in the *stūpa* is not known.

Sewell at the top of the *Mahācaitya* discovered another set. A stone relic chamber was discovered, in which lay a clay bowl made of soap stone, which in turn contained a crystal phial with pearl, some ashes and a few bits of gold leaf.

Upon moving further down from the top of the *Mahācaitya*, an irregular black granite receptacle was found embedded in brickwork. The lower part of the receptacle had an inscription engraved on its rim, which records the gift of the casket by Kurā and his family. A globular stone casket

---

<sup>90</sup> B.Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit.*: 48

<sup>91</sup> IK.Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments and Brahmi Inscriptions of Andhradesa*, 1988, New Delhi: 31

<sup>92</sup> Debala Mitra, *Op. cit.*: 214



was found in this receptacle. Two small semi-spherical vessels were placed on the western side and crystal prism; gold flowers etc were placed on the eastern side of the caskets. The earth in the stone casket contained bits of copper, a copper ring, a small bead, two double pearls, two small semi-spherical brown metal cups with gold beads studded at the apex and bottom, thin gold sheets depicting *triratna* (?), a single gold bead, four flowers with eight petals, double edged gold beads, seven triangular gold pieces, a hexagonal crystal spacer with label inscription on both sides mentioning the casket to be a gift to some women from Nāndapura, and by the Śramana-s from Suvanamaha, in the Ayasakasathi *goṣṭhi* of Gilanakera (?)

This casket also contained within itself a cylindrical crystal casket, which contained a bone fragment. In between the stone casket and crystal casket, were found eight small beads, nine small flower of various sizes, six hollow gold beads, four small copper flowers, one amethyst bead and nineteen small pearl beads etc.

The stone casket was placed over twenty four punch marked coins, with motifs of *sripāda*-s, *trisūla*-s, lotus flowers and other emblems on the obverse, arranged in the shape of a *svāstika* symbol. At the depth of 17 feet from the top and on the northern side of the central post, a similar stone receptacle was found. It had inscriptions smeared in white lime. It talks of a 'committee' and also a *nigama*.

The relic chamber contained loose earth and a crystal phial moulded in the shape of a *stūpa*. The earth was mixed with 164 gold flowers with six,

eight and nine petals (some of the petals are dotted), two circular gold flowers with two armed figure made on thin sheet, two gold trinacris, two gold stems and flowers, six hollow gold beads, a coral bit, a small coiled gold ring, two pearls, a garnet, an oval crystal bead, six coral beads, flat oval blue crystal beads, two flat-six sided beryl drops, several copper leaves, flowers and stems, a silver metal strip, a miniature umbrella, etc.

One foot below this, on the eastern shaft, a stone receptacle, circular in shape was found. The inner side of the upper lid had inscriptions on it, which spoke about a guild (*nigama*). The inscriptions on the lower container spoke of Rājā Kuberaka, who had caused this carving to be done.

This casket contained a dislodged crystal phial with a miniature relic casket made of beryl. It contained three cylindrical holes, which contained splinters of bone. A white crystal stopper with a hexagonal knob and a gold leaf fixed on to it was kept over it. A thin gold piece was used to place the stopper firmly. Two amethyst beads, a yellow crystal bead, a flat white crystal, six pearls, a yellow hexagonal crystal drop, thirty two seed pearls, two armed figure in gold, a gold quartet-foil, a piece of white silicate, iron cinder, a few bits of copper, thirty gold flowers etc. were also contained herein.

From the above, it is clear that the relic casket of Bhattiprolu is the most complex of all the caskets found. Even its consecration on coins is unique. Although, the dimension of the *stūpa* is smaller than that of

Amarāvati, which is the largest *stūpa* in the whole of Āndhradeśa, the relic casket deposited here, is more complex than that of Amarāvati, too.

Alluru, Krishna district and Adduru East Godavari district, do not show remains of a monastery attached to the *stūpa*. But the *stūpa*-s discovered at both places seems to be more complex than the one found at Gazulabanda. The *stūpa* at Alluru was brick built and was built in the form of a wheel with a circular solid hub. The diameter of the drum was 76 feet 8 inches. There are two phases of construction on the processional path, the earlier one made of brick and edged with one brick wall, and the later one paved with stone slabs enclosed by a thicker wall. The *āyaka* platforms were also found. Four limestone-standing images of Buddha were found. Donations made in favour of *Puvaseliya*-s were recorded on a pillar.

The *stupa* of Addurru appears to be more complex than the one at Alluru, on the basis of the fact that the base of the *stūpa* was spoked wheel within a wheel. Twenty-four spokes forming twenty-four cells joined by sixteen spokes forming sixteen cells emanating from the hub, which was 5.30m in diameter. The diameter of the *stupa* was only 20.40m which is less than that of Alluru *stūpa*. This site also becomes more complex than the Alluru *stūpa* because of the presence of an apsidal *caityagr̥ha* with the provision of a miniature *stūpa*. Another circular brick shrine was noticed in the vicinity on the northeastern side of the *stūpa*. It appears that the entire complex was enclosed in a broad brick boundary wall.

The *stūpa* at Yelleswaram in Nalgonda district has a diameter of 39 feet and is constructed of wedge-shaped bricks. No *vihāra* has been found there, but apsidal caitya halls, oriented north-south have been found. A large hall with limestone pillars and wall in between the pillars to form rooms has also been found. Small brick *stūpa*-s have also been uncovered in the area.

The *stūpa*-s at Nelakondapally, Khammam district, also showed no vihara complex in the vicinity. The *Mahāstūpa* was 16.5m in height and had a radius of 33m at the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* level. The height of the dome was 6.60m. Another *stūpa* at Erradibba, in Nelakondapally, showed a five-tiered dome, drum, and *pradakṣiṇāpatha* along with three *āyaka* platforms, though the four cardinal points were exposed. Five radiating walls connected the circular central hub of the *stūpa*. Lime plaster was found at some places along the walkway.

We may also discuss the sites of Jaggayapeta and Ghantasala while we are discussing the sites where only *stūpa* has been discovered. The two sites are in the Krishna district. Although, no other structural remains in the form of *vihāra* or *caityagr̥ha* has been discovered, these sites are important and complex in the fact that relic caskets were enshrined in each of these *stūpa*-s. However, excavations undertaken in 1969-70 revealed a *vihāra* complex at Bhattiprolu, details of which are not available.

Jaggayapeta, situated four miles from the confluence of Palar River and Krishna River was known as Velagiri in the ancient times. The *stūpa* was

of solid variety<sup>93</sup>. Earth in the layers about two inches thick was covered with a close flooring of very large bricks. This ensured that water did not percolate within the structure. The drum of the *stūpa* was 63 feet in diameter and was faced with slabs. Slabs on the basement were carved in low relief of archaic type. The *pradakṣiṇāpatha* was 10 ½ feet wide. *Āyaka* platforms were provided. Burgess said that there was no evidence of a railing around the stupa and suggested that the railing may have been carried off for mortar even when the *stūpa* was tolerably entire<sup>94</sup>. However, Debala Mitra suggests that fragments of plain limestone recovered from around the walkway may have been part of the plain railing around the *stūpa*<sup>95</sup>. More details regarding the stupa are not available. We shall now see the evidence provided by the relic casket at Jaggayapeta.

Unfortunately, only a small fragment of the outer stone casket was discovered from the *stūpa* area. No further details are available. The inscriptions datable to 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, mentions that the *Mahācaitya* enshrined the relics of the Buddha. The *stūpa* had suffered great damages, again at the hands of Rajah Venkatadri Nayadu.

Boswell made a note of the *stūpa* at Ghantasala in 1870-71. The mound was locally known, by the people, as Lañja ḍibba. The *stūpa* was excavated by Rea<sup>96</sup>. The *stūpa* was 112 feet in diameter and stood at a height of 23 feet. The plan of the *stūpa* is unique to the region. The *stūpa* has a cube

---

<sup>93</sup> Burgess, *Op.cit.*:107

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>95</sup> Debala Mitra, *Op.cit.*: 211

<sup>96</sup> A.Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, 1969, Varanasi: 32-34

of solid brickwork in the centre, measuring 10 feet square. A hollow chamber, measuring 19 feet square, with walls 3 feet 4 inches thick enclosed it.

A cross wall 2 feet 4 inches thick connects the enclosing wall with the cube. Outside the square-enclosing wall is a circular enclosure wall, 55 feet 10 inches in exterior diameter. The four cross walls continue out to join this circle. Another circular wall encloses these. The outer surface has a *chunam* facing. The space between the two concentric circles is divided into sixteen cells of sixteen walls, which radiated from the centre and connected the two. These walls are 2 feet 4 inches thick, and twelve of them branch out from the inner circle from the points where it is intersected by the inner cross-walls. The thirty-two hollow chambers, thus formed are firmly packed with mud. Bricks used in the central wall appear to have been of an inferior material for they were all fractured. A procession path is provided with, as are the *āyaka* platforms. Staircases leading up to the *āyaka* platforms appear to have been provided. The encasing slabs were mostly plain. Some of the marbles were carved. Piers, bases and capitals, umbrella, carved rail etc. were scattered in nearby villages.

Two caskets were reported from different levels from the centre of the *stūpa*. The first casket at the depth of 3 feet from the top revealed few broken pieces of red ware bowl, a square lead coin, a pentagonal blue coloured bead, a crystal bead and three other small beads.

Another red ware terracotta receptacle with a knobbed lid was noticed. The receptacle was 4 ½ inches in diameter and of same height. It contained within itself a glazed bowl, which looked like a stone casket. This contained fragments of bone or coral,, a white hexagonal crystal beads, two pieces of yellow crystal, one eight petalled gold flower, a gold leaf and bits of minerals. The sides and the bottom of the casket were packed with compact earth to keep it firmly placed in the terracotta container.

The *stūpa* of Gudivada, Krishna district, was also of the solid variety. No plans are available for the *stūpa* was badly despoiled by the time Rea reached there. Sewell has suggested that the *stūpa* may have had dimensions akin to the *stūpa* of Sañci or Amarāvati, but Rea has shown that the mound was much smaller than that of Amaravati<sup>97</sup>. Sewell also suggested that in the absence of stone, the rail of the monument might have been constructed of brick or wood<sup>98</sup>. However, we have mentioned earlier that all *stūpa*-s did not necessarily have railing around it. But the *stūpa* appears to have an important structure. This is evident from the relic chamber made up of slabs, one each in the four corners of the *stūpa*. These were found to be empty by Burgess. It appears that the stone vases with crystal reliquary in the Madras Museum may have belonged to this *stūpa*.

We shall now discuss sites, where a *stūpa* connected with other Buddhist monastic structures was found. The *stūpa* site at Lañjakanumalagutta, at Cuddappah showed ten *stūpa*-s on different terraced

---

<sup>97</sup> A.Rea, *Op.cit*: 18

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*

platforms. Larger *stūpa*-s seem to have come up earlier. In the later period, votive *stūpa*-s protected by revetment walls came up.

At Vaddamanu<sup>99</sup>, district Guntur, revealed a Mahastupa and several votive *stūpa*-s, *vihāra*-s, pillared halls, elliptical structures, art motifs etc. A fragment of an upper lid of a crystal casket was found. An inscription refers to the enshrining of *dhātu*, though none was found<sup>100</sup>

At Goli, district Guntur, the *stūpa* found was decorated with Buddhist themes. Details regarding the layout of the *stūpa* are not known, though *āyaka* platforms were found. An inscription dates the *stūpa* to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The style of the sculpture relates to that of Nagarjunakonda, but Goli had a distinct style of its own. Votive *stūpa*-s and *mandapa*-s, have been discovered from the site. Buddha figures in the round had led to the suggestion that *caityagrha*-s may have existed as well<sup>101</sup>. No relic casket was found from Goli.

The *stūpa* of Gummadiduru<sup>102</sup> has a diameter of 55 feet. It is 4 feet high. The core of the *stūpa* is not of solid brickwork. The hub is a square brick structure with a filling of rubble and brickbats in mud. Its central part is in the form of a brick *swāstika* with a central hole, two inches square. Eight walls emanate from the middle and corner of the square hub and join the circular rim. The *āyaka* platform measures 13 feet 4 inches by 2 feet. The stone slab encasing the monument relates it to that of Amarāvati and

---

<sup>99</sup> TVG. Sastri, *Vaddamanu Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1992

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*: 264

<sup>101</sup> Debala Mitra, *Op.cit*: 210

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*: 212



Nagarjunakonda. There are a dozen small *stūpa*-s that have been found at the. An apsidal *caityagr̥ha* is also found here, which enshrines a *stūpa* 10 feet in diameter.

The relic casket found here is made up of silver and it contains fifteen pieces of gold necklace and also a bone fragment. This casket was contained in an earthen pot buried face downwards at the southern end at a distance of six feet from the northern wall of the central square. The site continued from about 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, up to the medieval times. A dedicatory record, datable to 7<sup>th</sup> century AD was found on the Buddha statue at the western *āyaka* platform.

Pavurallakonda has revealed *vihāra*-s with cells and a common verandah, circular *caityagr̥ha*-s, votive *stūpa*-s, halls etc. were found. Near a tank was discovered a big brick platform, over which several dilapidated votive *stūpa*-s of various sizes were found. It appears that this platform was used for worship. Inscriptions date the site to 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. A dislodged small copper casket was found while exposing the *stūpa*, but no relic was found.

Although, Gopalapatnam, in Vishakapatnam district, did not show the remains of the *stupa*, several votive *stūpa*-s were found in the foothills. *Vihāra*-s and cisterns were also discovered. A *catuśāla* kind of *vihāra* complex was found on a hillock. Gopalapatnam has been dated 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Several *stūpa*-s, *vihāra*-s and slabs beautifully carved in Amarāvati idioms have been found from Chandravaram in Prakasam district. The *Mahāstūpa* was a double terraced structure with *āyaka* platforms at cardinal directions. The *stūpa* was approximately hemispherical. The core was made of bricks laid in mud. The drum of the *Mahāstūpa* was expanded twice by adding a circular wall around the existing one. The gap was filled with rubble packing and coarse brickwork. The *āyaka* platforms were also added later on. From the second terrace of the *stūpa*, a flight of steps was found leading into the monastery.

The monasteries found here were three in number and were of quadrangular plan. The first monastery was of *triśāla* type with nineteen cells. Another monastery showed twelve cells. Remains of an apsidal *caityagrha* were found in the first monastery. Courtyards were also found and the floors of the cells were paved with stone slabs laid over soling of mud mixed with stone chips.

At Bavikonda, *stupa*-s were discovered on platforms. *Vihāra*-s with several cells, *caityagrha*, halls that may have been refectory, library or dining hall have also been discovered here. Bavikonda appears to have been a centre of pilgrimage and a centre of learning in the early Christian era.

The *Mahācaitya*<sup>103</sup> is an imposing structure erected north of the vihara complex. It is provided with *āyaka* platforms and two *pradakṣiṇāpatha*-s. There is also an outer railing of bricks. The drum is

---

<sup>103</sup> B.Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit.*: 42

reached by a flight of steps. Fragments of stone *chatra* have also been found here.

Several caskets were found at Bavikonda on different directories of the *stūpa*. In the east a clay receptacle containing a silver casket was found. Within it was a gold casket, which contained a green turquoise bead and three pearls. The clay receptacle on the west also contained a silver and gold casket, one within the other, and gold casket held one coral bead, one turquoise and four small perforated pearls. The gold casket on the north containing a turquoise bead and a light brown coral bead was held within a silver casket, which in turn was placed in a stone receptacle.

A stone casket resembling a *stūpa* was found in two parts of the southern side. The *stūpa* shaped casket was also provided with a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, a *hārmika* and a conical knob, which may have been the base of *chatra*. This receptacle contains a clay container, silver and gold casket, and one within the other. The clay receptacle also looks like a *stupa*. The lids of the metal caskets are decorated with *swāstika* designs on the gold caskets. A small green turquoise bead was found within this casket.

An urn, with a conical lid, containing a lump of ash, burnt charcoal and a bone piece, along with a silver and gold casket was found, also on the southern side. The upper portion of the gold casket has an embossed wheel engraved on it, with a prominent knob on top. Fifty-one precious beads are placed within it. It is only in this instance, that we find that the corporeal remains in the urn were placed on a silken cloth.

The excavation at Thotlakonda revealed a brick built *mahāstūpa*, *vihāra*, apsidal and circular *caitya*-s, stone pillared hall, stone-paved paths, cisterns of various sizes. Railing uprights, *chatra* pieces reveal that the *mahāstūpa* may have stood with all its component parts. The *vihāra* complex here comprised of twelve, four, seven, fourteen cells. Iron nails, Roman coins, brick benches have also been found from different cells of different monasteries. The *vihāra*-s were built in different ways. Thus, *vihāra* number VII, was raised on to different terraces. On the lower one was the verandah and the raised terrace had the cells. *Vihāra* number VI was 'L' shaped in plan. Bathroom, storehouses, have also been found from the *vihāra*-s. Neatly paved stone pathways were also noticed at *vihāra*-s.

Several votive *stūpa*-s were also found from the site. Near the southern staircase of the *Mahā-stūpa*, two platforms were constructed. One over the other, on which stood a brick built circular *stūpa* 2.90m in diameter. On the northern side of the structure was an entrance towards the southern staircase of the *Mahāstūpa*.

Another structure with a cruciform plan, akin to *Sarvatobhadra* design was formed. On the northern edge, was found a mutilated fragment of *Buddhapāda*. Another such structure, measuring 7.10 x 6.00m, was discovered, on which were found a number of broken and intact *Buddhapāda*-s. It appears that this structure was meant for the purpose of worshipping the *Buddhapāda*-s. A much-disturbed circular *stūpa* was also noticed.

The site of Guntupalle<sup>104</sup> can also be placed in this category although no *mahācaitya* has been discovered at the site. There are several *caityagr̥ha*-s both of brick and rock-cut ones. The main *caitya* shrine is circular 7 feet 6 inches in diameter. The *stūpa* enshrined within it is of solid variety, encased with stone slabs, with fine joints. The paved floor is a brick soling. The *caityagr̥ha* is approached by a flight of steps. More than thirty *stūpa*-s of varying sizes are found in front of *caityagr̥ha*. There were also monolithic portable *stūpa*-s in the vicinity.

The rock cut monasteries consist of simple halls with cells in a row. The entrances are decorated. The cells are small mostly on three sides of a narrow lobby and verandah in the front. From one of the thirty *stūpa*-s, a stone casket containing a copper vessel was discovered, which contained a hexagonal bead, a miniature gold alms bowl and tiny gold beads.

In votive *stūpa* number 4 a copper casket containing a silver and gold casket was found. The gold casket contained beads of bone and crystal. Metallic discs found near votive *stūpa* number 3 may have formed a part of a casket.

Another set of copper, gold, silver and gold caskets were found, one within the other. The gold casket contained mortal relics. The site shows occupation from 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC to 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, when another votive terracotta *stūpa* and image of Padmapāṇi, with inscription were undertaken even at such a later date.

---

<sup>104</sup> Debala Mitra, *Op.cit:* 216-218; B.Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit:*57-58

Salidhundam<sup>105</sup>, is yet another important Buddhist site. It continued from 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to about 8<sup>th</sup> century AD and revealed several *vihāra*-s on terraces with *stūpa*-s, and also the *Mahā-stūpa*, made of wedge-shaped bricks around a central hollow shaft.

Five monasteries with cells, kitchen, drains etc. have been found. The flooring seems to have been rendered in thick lime plaster. Circular and apsidal *caityagr̥ha*-s were found as also pillared *mandapa* halls, votive *stūpa*-s and brick platforms, the exact purpose of which is not known.

A crystal casket was found from a rectangular receptacle containing gold flowers from a *stūpa* near the *mahācaitya*. Another rectangular receptacle showed five intact gold flowers and one gold flowers in three bits. An empty stone relic box was recovered from the west of the *stūpa* from the periphery of the *stūpa* were found four more caskets. In a terracotta receptacle without a lid was contained a silver casket with five gold flowers and a fragment of bone. Another terracotta receptacle showed a broken silver casket containing seven gold flowers. Other two similar sets contained six gold flowers each.

### 3.4 Hierarchy of Religious Centres

On the basis of the dimensions of the monuments surveyed above, we see that the Amarāvati *mahācaitya* was the largest, with a diameter of 162 feet 7

---

<sup>105</sup> R.Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam: A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh*, 1964

inches. Its *āyaka* platforms and *pradakṣiṇāpatha* were also the longest and the widest measuring 32 feet 6 inches and 13 feet respectively.

Bhattiprolu followed next, with a diameter measuring 148 feet and the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* measuring 8 feet 4 inches in width. The diameter of the *stupa* of Ghantasala measured 112 feet and the *stūpa* stood at the height of 23 feet. The *mahācaitya* of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa stood fourth, with its diameter measuring 91 feet.

The following table shows the monuments arranged in descending order of their diameter.

**3.2: TABLE SHOWING THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE DIAMETER OF THE STUPA-S**

| SITE           | MEASUREMENT OF THE DIAMETER |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| Amaravati      | 162 ft 7 in                 |
| Bhattiprolu    | 148 ft                      |
| Ghantasala     | 112 ft                      |
| Nelakondapally | 108.35m                     |
| Nagarjunakonda | 91 ft                       |
| Ramatirtham    | 84 ft                       |
| Alluru         | 76 ft 8 in                  |
| Adurru         | 73 ft                       |
| Sankaram       | 64 ft 8 in                  |
| Jaggayapeta    | 63 ft                       |
| Gummadidurru   | 55 ft                       |
| Yelleswaram    | 39 ft                       |

This table is based on available published data and we need to remember that for several structures the dimensions are not available, but we can be certain that those did not compare with the first four entries made in the table, in terms of size.

In terms of longevity, Amarāvati stands first, for it survived from 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC to 14<sup>th</sup> century AD, followed by Gummadiurru, which starting from 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC goes on to about to 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Salihundam comes next, for it survived from 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, which is such a complex site, survived for a very short while. Bhattiprolu also did not continue for long.

In terms of complexity of the site on the basis of the method used to construct the monuments therein, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa appears to be the most complex, given the brisk architectural and artistic activity undertaken there and the expanse of the site. Because of the number of the structures available at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, we notice a difference in methods of construction. Thus, even in structures with wheel-shaped bases, we observe variations. *Vihāra*-s are found at several other sites, but they are not as extensive as the ones at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. Nāgārjunakōṇḍa could support 450 monks and nuns, including those on pilgrimage, at the same time<sup>106</sup>.

The *stūpa*-s of Bhattiprolu and Ghantasala also show complex constructional methods. Amaravati *stūpa* is of the simple solid variety. It

---

<sup>106</sup> H. Sarkar, Op.cit: 83



may be the case because it was the earliest *stūpa* to come up in the Andhra region. Coming up a little later, the experimentation must have taken place at Bhattiprolu and Ghantasala.

On the basis of inscriptions discovered, Amarāvati appears as the single site with the maximum number of inscriptions, which is a pointer to the popularity of the monument amongst the masses. At Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, not too many inscriptions from the people have been found. It appears that Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, in spite of it being such a huge site, depended chiefly on support of the royal ladies and the monastic population. The site did not witness donations from many lay pilgrims.

Salihundam shows several inscriptions on potsherds found from the cells of the *vihāra*-s. Though available records are fragmentary in nature, these donations appear to have been made to the monks. The fact that the potsherds have been recovered from the cells of the *vihāra*-s show that they were meant for the use of the monks. Donations for the embellishment of the *stūpa* are not as many in number as the donations made for the monks in the form of pottery (containing perhaps one of the prescribed *dāna* items?) are.

On the basis of the embellishment of the *stūpa*, we can say that Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa were the two most important sites. Both succeeded in establishing their own schools of art. Amarāvati reliefs are cut deeper and are heavier, the panels are more congested and figures are more graceful. Though, Goli and Gummadidurru are related to Nāgārjunakōṇḍa as far as sculptural representation go, they both managed to develop a style of

their own. The other sites such as, Bhattiprolu or Jaggayapeta and others followed either the Nāgārjunakōṇḍa style or the Amarāvati style. The fact that Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, though it did not survive very long, managed to remain the standard to be acquired, as far as art representations go, is worth taking note of.

The relic caskets show that Amārāvati, Nagarjunakonda, Bavikonda, Ghantasala, Gummadidurru, Jaggayapeta, Bhattiprolu, Salihundam show corporeal relics of the Master (?). The caskets from Bhattiprolu appear to be the most complex of all. Their consecration is also unique in the fact that the casket was placed on punch marked coins arranged in the form of a *swāstika* motif. In terms of riches, of the objects interned in the casket, Bavikonda stands first. However, it is at Amarāvati that we see that another set of relic caskets was interned in the *stūpa* at the time of renovation work undertaken there.

We have already discussed how relic caskets may have added to sanctity of a site. The fact that Amarāvati was chosen for the enshrining of fresh caskets with relics goes on to show, that the site was already considered important enough to enshrine the corporeal relics there. This in turn further increased the sanctity of the monuments in the eyes of the masses who had faith in it.

The enshrining of caskets at Amārāvati, Bhattiprolu, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, Bavikonda, Salihundam, Timmavaram must have taken a lot of resources both in terms of human power, which must have gone into making of the

caskets and also in terms of the resources involved to procure the other enshrined objects such as beads, gold flowers, pearls along with the corporeal relics.

Who took care of arranging the caskets and the objects to be enshrined therein cannot be said with certainty. In case of Bahattiprolu, we do know that the local ruler Kuberaka took the initiative of doing the same, but this evidence is not enough to generalize and apply to all places.

If members of the laity were causing the relics to be enshrined, they may have sought the services of the monk or some authority of the monastic order to decide the place of enshrining the same. The consecration ceremony itself must have required some authority to decide as to which objects were acceptable to enshrine. These are not issues which can be resolved through a study of canonical literature alone, but require an understanding of the ritual practices in early Buddhism, a theme which continues to be under-researched.

We may stop here to take a look at the size of the monument and the relics enshrined therein. The relics enshrined in the *stūpa*-s of Amarāvati, Bhattiprolu, Ghantasala, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa are corporeal ones along with the usual objects such as gold flowers, beads, pearls etc.

However, we see, that at sites such as Ramatirthan, or Sankaram which have a diameter of 84 feet and 64 feet 8 inches respectively, the caskets unearthed are very simple (besides they were not even recovered from the main *stūpa*. They have come up from a *caitya* and votive *stūpa*

respectively.). We cannot use this evidence to show that *stūpa*-s with smaller dimensions housed simpler relic caskets. The *stūpa* of Jaggayapeta, with a diameter of 63 feet, which is less than even Sankaram, has also yielded a fragment of a simple stone casket. However, in terms of complexity, Jaggayapeta appears to be more complex for reasons such as the embellishments that appeared on it, which followed the Amarāvati style, and also the fact that an inscription at Jaggayapeta mentions that relics of the Buddha were enshrined in it<sup>107</sup>. Although, there is no way of proving that the relic was that of the Buddha, we can at least take into consideration that some relic was enshrined in there. In case of both Sankaram and Ramatirtham, we have no evidence to suggest whether any relic was contained in the casket. Even if we attribute the non-availability of the contents to their having got lost, we must note that the caskets were not even recovered from the main *stūpa*-s there. They were recovered from a *caitya* and a votive *stūpa*, respectively. However, this may be possible because of the ideology that went into the consecration of these in the *caitya* or the votive *stūpa*.

Thus, we see that no uniform pattern emerges. There, are diversities at various levels. Our data is also not adequate and complete. The above examination thus, does not establish the primacy of any one sites, since there is no clear hierarchy vis-à-vis dimensions, embellishments, longevity, relic caskets enshrined etc. Complexities have been encountered at several levels in the discussion above, based on the available though often incomplete information.

---

<sup>107</sup> J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayapeta, Varanasi*, 1970: 110

However, on the basis of a range of factors we can conclude that Amarāvati appears to be perhaps the most important site in Āndhradeśa. We say this on the basis of the size of the monument there, the relic casket enshrined there, the embellishment of the structure and also the phenomenal longevity of the site, and its popularity among the people in the entire period, which waned only for a short period, but soon rejuvenated.

Nāgārjunakōṇḍa may be said to be next in number, because of the expanse of the site, the number of structures at the site, the school of art that it developed, the relic caskets enshrined, the number of sects amongst which the site was popular or considered holy enough to be made their area of residence. These seem to have been followed by the rest.

The point worth taking note of is the fact that most of the important centres, both size-wise and relics interned-wise, are concentrated in the lower Krishna valley along the river. This may have been because of the proximity to the river and also because this is a fertile belt. The other area of concentration is the northern coastal belt of Andhra Pradesh. There are also districts such as Adilabad, Anantapur, Mahbubnagar, Kurnool, Warangal where no Buddhist site was located, while there are others such as Chittoor, Cuddappah, Nellore, Karimnagar where only a single Buddhist site existed.

Why we find concentrations of Buddhist centres in these two zones is not a difficult question to answer. The obvious answer is the fact that these are the zones traversed by trade routes. We shall elaborate on this in the next section, which concerns itself precisely with the above question. We

shall concentrate on the lower Krishna valley area as that forms our primary area of concern.

### *3.5 Sanctity of the Site*

As stated earlier, conventional scholarship believes that Buddhism was promoted in this region as a result of patronage received from the royalty and the urban centres, which made huge donations to the monastic sites owing to the surplus that was generated there. We shall examine, both the role of the urban centres and the political elite in the sustaining of the monastic sites, here.

At Amarāvati, we find donations coming from people following vastly different occupations. Although, all donations do not come from people residing in the nearby town of Dharaṇikōṭa<sup>108</sup>, it may be supposed that the majority of such donations came from the people following the Buddhist faith in Dharaṇikōṭa<sup>109</sup>. The variety of occupations being followed by the people does presuppose an urban base, to which they may have belonged. To therefore, contend that it was the urban population that was making these donations and that thus, urbanism had a direct relationship with the site would be erroneous. Both in case of Amarāvati-Dharaṇikōṭa and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa-Vijayapuri, there is no evidence to prove that they were tied in a relationship with each other. In case of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka we

---

<sup>108</sup> *EI*, X, Luder's List, 1213

<sup>109</sup> *EI*, X, Luder's List, 1271

see that the monks were involved in a direct and an active relationship with the laity. No such evidences are discernible in our region. It thus, does not appear that the two sites were dependent on each other. Each seems to have worked on its own dynamics, independent of the other.

An urban centre is also considered to be important because royalty is believed to reside there. In case of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa and Vijayapuri, there is no evidence to show that the Ikṣvaku rulers resided there. There are no inscriptions of the rulers in the region, nor is the palace complex discernible. The citadel area has been identified, but no remains of the Ikṣvaku palace have been found.

In case of most other centres the existence of a corresponding urban centre is not even known. In spite of the fact that no urban centre was found in the vicinity of Bhattiprolu, or Ghantasala, or Jaggayapeta, and even others, they managed to survive, and with ornamentation on the monuments too, which may have commanded resources, both in terms of human-power (architects, artisans and supervisors) and cash. Gummadiduru and Salihundam managed to even survive for a long period.

Thus, to locate the survival of religious centres to the presence of urban centres nearby is not free of problems. As far as the role of the royalty is concerned, it may be noted that though the glorious period of Amarāvati coincided with the era of Sātavāhana dominance, it should not lead us to assume a direct relationship between the two.

We hear of Prince Sammaliya in the Amarāvati region, Prince Damaka ruled in the Vaddamānu area and Raja Kuberaka is known from the Bhattiprolu inscriptions. Punch marked coins found in Amarāvati also attest to pre-Mauryan dates for the region. It was under the rule of these local rulers that Buddhism first got established in the region. These local rajas seem to have acknowledged the new faith and also patronized it as is evident from the inscriptions discovered in the area.

To draw a one-to-one connection between the Satavahana dynasty and the refurbishing of the *mahācīṭya* at Amarāvati is far from correct. To begin with, no inscription of any of the ruler from the Sātāvahana dynasty has been found at Amarāvati. The ones that have been found, are private donations made in the regnal years of the Sātāvāhana rulers. Thus, the rulers are just mentioned for purposes of recording the date. It will also be erroneous to say that the Sātāvāhana-s may not have followed Buddhism. It has been brought out that the Sātāvāhana-s were Brahmins by religion, on the basis of their inscriptions in the western Deccan. It is quite possible that their proclaiming, themselves, to be Brāhmins was a result of the exigency of the times. It may have been simply for legitimation, as appears the case with the Ikshvakus too, who have also been shown to be followers of Brahminism on the basis of an inscriptions. Fynes<sup>110</sup> shows that literary tradition shows a connection between the Buddhist sage Nagarjuna with a Sātāvāhna ruler, to whom he wrote a letter called the *Suhrullekha*. Fynes shows that this may

---

<sup>110</sup> RCC.Fynes, 'The Religious Patronage of the Satavahana Dynasty', *SAS*, no. 11, 1995: 46



have been a tactic of the Buddhists to show that the royalty favoured them. However, as of now, the evidence that exists, leads us to believe that the Sātavāhana-s were not patrons of Buddhists at Amarāvati or anywhere. We do not know if they were followers of Buddhism.

After having questioned, both the role of the urban centre and also the royalty, we may expect a different set of factors for the flourishing of the religious centres. We suggest that the religious centre had a very different resource base, not in terms of the people who comprised it (i.e., the people inhabiting the urban centre) but in the relationship with the resource base i.e., the same people were used whose donations, not only for the time-to-time elaboration of the monument but also for the upkeep of the Buddhist community of monks and nuns there, came for reasons of the 'sanctity' of the site. It was the belief and the faith of the followers in the religious structure(s), which attracted these donations.

We need to pay attention to the fact that in terms of sanctity; Amarāvati stands at the highest level of the hierarchy. It may then, not be incorrect to suggest that it was the 'holiness' of the site which attracted the pilgrims and donations and not as if the *stūpa* site sustained itself because of the urban centre in the vicinity.

The donations by royal ladies at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa must have been made because of religious beliefs too and this instance should not be seen as an example of the royal elite supporting the monastic establishment. It has already been shown that several structures at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa were

constructed in pre-Ikṣvāku times. Thus, the ladies were only adding on to the existing structures because of their faith in the same.

Patronage by trading communities who traveled along the routes is shown as the other reason for the rise of Buddhist sites in *Āndhradeśa*. As mentioned before, the sites may have arisen because of trade, as most of the Buddhist sites are located along the trade routes (Map 3). An examination of the relic caskets and the objects enshrined in those show great numbers of semi-precious beads, pearls, gold etc. Neither gold nor crystal is available in the vicinity of Nāgarjūnakōṇḍa. Similarly, at Vaddamanu does is no evidence of local crystal deposits. The other sites also do not show local availability of gold, garnet, beryl, jasper, etc. What is then evident is the fact that these semi-precious stones were items of trade, either as raw material or as manufactured goods or both and it was through these trade networks that they reached the sites.

A strong link between trade and Buddhism cannot be denied. It may not be mere coincidence that the monastic establishment at Salihundam situated on a hilltop overlooked the port of Kalingapatnam. This is valid also for sites such as Bavikonda and Thotlakonda that overlook coastal centres. This accounts for the clustering of Buddhist site along the trade routes (See chapter 2 for details on the routes that traversed the lower Krishna valley), which may have continued from the ancient times.

However, once established, the monastic units may have prospered not only because of their physical location in the vicinity of on trade routes

but consequently acquiring of donations from the traders, monks and nuns on the move, and pilgrims. As has been argued earlier, it is important to investigate how a monastic centre established its image, how much 'sanctity' it managed to create for itself, and how much 'sanctity' the common people attached to it thereby. It was ultimately, the holiness of the centre, which attracted lay donors. In this context, reference may be made to Finucane's work where he shows that in the early Middle ages, Christianity in Europe, attempted such an 'image' building. Monasteries and cathedrals became the greatest repositories of relics of the saints and apostles. Claims were also made regarding the possession of the relics of the Christ<sup>111</sup>. Such an attempt elevated the sacral status of the church.

As has been said for Amarāvṛ̥ḥi, that it was a 'concrete expression of the piety and prosperity of the private citizens who sponsored its building and decoration'<sup>112</sup>. But this piety, resulting in so many donations had to be established and we need to examine the process through which this may have been accomplished. Thus, the relationship between the monastic unit and the hinterland was one of interaction with the lay population and was one that continued to evolve over time.

At Amarāvṛ̥ti, we see donations coming from people engaged in different occupations. Donors include caravan leaders, traders and merchants, artisans, perfumers, garland makers, scribes, leather workers, *gahapati*-s, monks, nuns, wives and families of *gahapati*-s, merchants etc. Similarly, at

---

<sup>111</sup> Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England, London, 1975*: 28

<sup>112</sup> RCC.Fynes, Op.cit: 48

Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, donations made by commoners are also recorded. What is then evident is that these lay people provided the resource base for the survival of these centres, for reasons of appeal of a particular site.

Thus, we see that it is possible to de-link the religious centres from the urban centres or the royalty or even trade, when it comes to a discussion on their sustenance. The site may have become important because what they projected was in conformity with the religious faith of the people and also the values or ethics that they propagated. We can also go on to say that once established because of trade, the Buddhist centres in the lower Krishna valley were able to appeal to the masses because of which they may have expanded or got refurbished and sustained themselves in general.

Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa emerge as two of the most important in this regard centres. In the next chapter, therefore, we go on to examine the appeal of these two centres that enabled them to become the most popular and sacred of the religious and pilgrimage centres in early Āndhradeśa.

**MESSAGE OF THE MONUMENT**

**4.1 Trends in the Interpretation of Sculptural Reliefs**

The earliest handling of the artistic representations, from the Buddhist monuments in the Andhra region, by the art historians led to identification of scenes depicted, comparison of the inscriptions to ascertain the date of the slabs and thereby, the monument itself, or the evolution of the style of the representations.

Fergusson<sup>1</sup>, in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, compared the style of sculptures and alphabet of the inscription with those of Buddhist rock cut temples at Nasik and Kanheri and thus fixed the date of the Amaravati rail between the times of Gautamiputra Satakarni and the Kanheri *Caitya*. Besides contributing to the dating of the rail, Fergusson also took into account the motifs represented on the stupa slabs. In the process, he recognized certain motifs on the slabs as ‘miniature representations of the building itself and of different parts quite sufficiently correctly drawn to be recognized’<sup>2</sup>. Foucher<sup>3</sup>, in his, *On the Iconography of the Buddha’s Nativity*, has tried to examine the evolution of the lotus motif in the Amaravati reliefs – how it became more elaborate with time and what it represented. He thus says that a lotus with a female figure holding a child refers to Maya and Buddha’s birth episode. Douglas Barret has also identified

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta*, London, 1887:11

<sup>2</sup> J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1868

<sup>3</sup> J. Foucher, *On the Iconography of the Buddha’s Nativity*, Memoirs of ASI No. 46

motifs with the actual events in Buddha's life<sup>4</sup> thereby showing that lotuses springing from the vase and the lion crowned pillar signified Buddha's birth. The enlightenment was depicted by the tree; the first sermon by wheel crowned pillar and death or *Mahāparinirvāṇa* by *stūpa*, often with attending worshippers. He also brings out that in the middle phase of artistic activity, the Buddha began to be represented by the pillar of Fire. The symbols also began to be represented by anthropomorphic images occasionally<sup>5</sup>. Barret has also discussed the reasons for the introduction of Buddha's image in the same paper.

We do not see much change in the trend of dealing with the artistic representations on the monuments since those early writings. K. Padmanabha<sup>6</sup>, in a paper written as late as 1995 has dealt with similar issues regarding the reasons for introduction of the image of the Buddha, the parallel between the evolution of the image at two centres and also the inscription for the modeling of the images. Anamika Roy<sup>7</sup> has used the epigraphical evidence to date the sculptures of Amarāvati. Stone<sup>8</sup> has attempted to place the sculptures discovered from Nāgārjunakōṇḍa to the site they may have belonged to on the basis of the style of execution of the sculptures.

Amita Ray has attempted to reconstruct the social life of the inhabitants of Āndhradeśa on the bases of the sculptural representations, though she pertinently points out that this does not imply a mechanically deterministic relationship

---

<sup>4</sup>D. Barret, 'Amaravati', *Marg*, Vol. IX, No.2, March, 1956: 62

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>6</sup>K. Padmanabha, 'The Buddha Image in Sculptural Arts of India', *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 4, 1995:93-98

<sup>7</sup> A. Roy, *Amaravati Stupa*, Delhi, 1994

<sup>8</sup>ER. Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, Delhi, 1994

between the art form and the total life pattern, since the same pattern may motivate and condition different forms according to responses and reactions in individuals and groups in different social and economic grades of society, and according to the adequacy or otherwise of the technical means available to and employed by them<sup>9</sup>.

While scholars have believed that the embellishments carried out on the stupa were meant for viewing by those who would visit the monument, it is Vidya Dehejia<sup>10</sup>, who has shown how the viewers were involved in a discourse by exhibiting the scenes from the Buddha's life, the teachings of Buddhism and also the *Jātaka*-s, carved on to stone.

The writings discussed above, except for that of Vidya Dehejia, all make use of the stylistic evolution of the sculptural representations to achieve their ends. While all of these works are significant in their own rights, it is only Dehejia, whose study has direct bearing on the discussion to occur in this chapter for the theme of the chapter is to see whether these representations on the stupa carried a message for the visitors, which then implies a discourse with the viewers. It is, therefore, necessary to examine what Dehejia has to say in order to explain this relationship of discourse between the sculpted slabs and the viewers.

#### *4.2 Multivalence of Signs*

Dehejia shows that the artisans adopted several modes for narrating a story<sup>11</sup>, an event or a theme on stone. She has identified the monoscenic mode the

---

<sup>9</sup>Amita Ray, *Life and Art of Early Andhradesa*, Delhi, 1983: 108

<sup>10</sup>V. Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India*, New Delhi, 1997

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*

continuous narrative, the sequential narrative, the synoptic mode, and the conflated narrative. She points out that specific codes of viewing were also in operation<sup>12</sup>. It has been conventionally believed that aniconic representation was the earliest form of representing the Buddha and gradually the Buddha began to be represented anthropomorphically or iconically. Scholars have, as stated above, conjectured at the reasons behind this transformation. While it is true that the earliest representation of the Buddha at Barhut, Sāñchi, Amarāvati, Bodhgaya, Nāgārjunakōṇḍa has been aniconic, to say that aniconic developed or evolved into iconic is not problem free. It has been amply shown that aniconic representation of the Buddha continued till later periods even when the Buddha image became the standard usage and may have been a conscious selection by the artist, monks, patrons and devotees<sup>13</sup>.

Deheijia, recommends that the term ‘aniconic’ be dropped in favour of Peircean terminology – the iconic, the identical and the symbolic, which helps in understanding and articulating concepts in early Buddhist visual material<sup>14</sup>. Iconic sign, she explains, clearly and distinctively evokes the non-existent object to which it refers, as there is a direct and close visual relationship between an iconic sign and the proposed object<sup>15</sup>. Indexical signs are a physical manifestation of a cause, and that cause is the thing to which they refer<sup>16</sup>. Symbolic sign relies most heavily on interpretation and convention that is specific to a particular tradition.

---

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*: 36

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*: 51

Note: We are aware of the ongoing debate on the usage of the term ‘aniconic’ but since the larger part of the debate falls outside the scope of the present thesis, we do not go into details here.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*: 54

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*: 38

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*: 41



Thus, the representations of Buddhist ideals were mostly depicted in the symbolic manner<sup>17</sup>.

While we accept Dehejia's categorization of signs into iconic, indexical and symbolic and also her identification of the different modes of narratives used by artists (?)<sup>18</sup> to tell the story, her contention that the emotional response triggered in the viewer cum worshipper by the use of one mode against another is significant<sup>19</sup>, will be examined later in this chapter. Before going into that discussion we may stop here to link up this chapter with the concluding lines of the previous chapters and examine what message, if any, were provided by the two most important sites – Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa – in the lower Krishna valley, and indeed the whole of Andhradesa, so that they attracted pilgrims/donors in such large numbers.

#### *4.3 The Message of the Monuments*

The obvious problem faced in attempting to ascertain the message of the monument on the basis of the sculptural representation was the lack of an exhaustive database. As is already known, two thirds of the Amaravati stupa was devastated, after which the rest of the surviving slabs were salvaged. These slabs are now housed in the British Museum (BM), the Chennai Government Museum (CGM), and the Amaravati Site Museum; while a few odd slabs were transported

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*: 37, 51-53

<sup>18</sup> According to Dehejia, the donor's role ended at suggesting what s/he wanted depicted, the choice of the style of presentation depended on the artisan.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*: 6

to other museums. The site of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa did not suffer such destruction, but the slabs discovered upon the excavation of the site are now housed in galleries of several museums around the world.

The source base then for the present work is mostly the secondary sources which give a comprehensive detail of the slabs and their contents. We thus make use of the *Amaravati Sculptures in the Chennai Government Museum* by C. Savaramamurti, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa* by Knox who lists the sculpted artifacts in the Royal British Museum. The works of Anamika Roy, Vidya Dehejia and Amita Ray have also been made use of. For Nagarjunakonda, we have made use of Elizabeth Rosen Stone's study, as also H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra eds., *Nāgārjunakōṇḍa*, mostly; as also other articles; references to which shall be made as we make use of those.

It would have been of much help, if we had been able to actually quantify the number of slabs depicting one theme or narrating one story. We think it would have been useful because in terms of sheer numbers if a particular *Jātaka* story has been depicted the maximum number of times on the structure, we could conjecture that it was the teaching of that particular *Jātaka* which the monument tried to propagate to its viewers. It may be noted that in such an exercise, the mode of depiction of the tale would be rendered irrelevant. The only point of significance would be what ideals/virtue the monument tried to project as evidenced from the depiction of the tale. Since our database is not complete, we cannot come to an accurate result if such an exercise were undertaken. The sculptural reliefs which are available to us, also cannot be used for the quantifying

exercise, since our source base is secondary in nature, we are not in position to identify a particular slab discussed at one place and an identical slab discussed elsewhere, which may not be the same.

However, on the basis of material available, we try to see what were the themes depicted on the two monuments of our concern here.

The extant remains may be categorized in sculptures depicting the scenes from the Buddha's life, the scenes from the previous lives of the Buddha, representations of auspicious symbols such as the *pūrṇaḥaṭa*, the *buddhapāda* other representations such as that of the Yakṣa, Śri, Gaṇeśa, the dwarfs etc.

The other major representations are those of the Buddha image, the *Cakravartin* image, and the *mithuna* couples, which shall be discussed here. Memorial pillars, which come up at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, shall also be discussed. It may be noted that the stylistic evolution or periodization of reliefs does not form a part of this study and consequently shall not be discussed.

Several scenes from Buddha's life starting from the dream of Maya where she sees herself bathed by the water of lake *Anotatta*<sup>20</sup> by her attendants are depicted. However, so far we know of only this slab in CGM, where we see one event depicted. Several other slabs both from Amaravati and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa depict the episode in which Māyā dreams of an elephant entering her right side. The birth of the Buddha is one of the very common scenes depicted. Here, we see Maya holding a branch of the Śāl tree and attendants holding a swaddling cloth by her (right) side. Infant footprints on the cloth show the first seven steps at

---

<sup>20</sup> Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Chennai Government Museum*, Chennai, 1998: 164

Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. The nativity scene is always represented in such a manner that the baby is depicted indexically. It is only in one scene at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa where a naturalistic baby is shown resting on its mother's hip<sup>21</sup>. Stone gives the possible reason for such a depiction the detail of which we need not go into here. The scene of casting the horoscope or the interpretation of Māyā's dream, which falls in between the two episodes of her dream and the nativity, is also depicted often. Infact, out of the four scenes of Buddha's birth, i.e., the dream of Māyā, the interpretation of the dream, the birth, and Māyā taking the baby to the Śākya clan *ṛṣi*, the first three episodes are represented most often, while the last one is depicted on only one slab in the BM<sup>22</sup>. The seven steps of Buddha are shown several times at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa but not even once at Amarāvati. The episode of Suddhodana's visit to the Aśoka grove to see Māyā occurs once among the available Amarāvati slabs<sup>23</sup>.

The other often-repeated depiction is the scenes relating to the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* or the Great Departure. Thus, several slabs depict Prince Siddhartha in the pleasure garden, his departure, his handing down of his horse, his leave taking with Channa. Incidentally, we have not come across slabs showing prince Siddhartha's viewing of disease, old age, death and a monk, which induced him to renounce the world, except for one slab depicting the event, placed in the Nāgārjunakonda Site Museum. The transportation of Siddhartha's headdress is also depicted at Amarāvati.

---

<sup>21</sup> ER. Stone, *Op.cit*: 28

<sup>22</sup> R. Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa* London, 1992: 119

<sup>23</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, *Op.cit*: 176

The Enlightenment of Buddha, his First Sermon and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* are favourite scenes of depiction at both sites. It is suggested that the dome of the stupa at Amarāvati was encased with slabs depicting these three themes in three registers from bottom to top<sup>24</sup>. However, Dehejia's interpretation of the depictions in the three registers is different<sup>25</sup>.

The other events from the life of the Buddha include the Birth of Rahula, the Temptation by Mara, Buddha with Nāga Mucalinda, Performance of Miracles by the Buddha, the Translation of Buddha's bowl, the Conversions of the Kaśyapa-s, the Nanda, the story of Angulimāla, the Subjugation of Nalagiri, the mad elephant, Buddha with Nāga Mucalinda, the Quarrel over the division of the Relics of the Buddha, Rupānanda's Story, the Story of Uḍayana and his queens, the Monkey's offering to the Buddha, Ajātaśatru's visit to Buddha, the story of Sumana, the Gardener, the Rāmagrāma *Stūpa* etc..

Several *Jātaka*-s have been depicted on the rail pillars, copings, cross-bars and uprights. The *Jātaka* tales seem to be represented on the railing at Amarāvati. The main monument was adorned with slabs depicting *stūpa* motifs. These *stūpa*-s were elaborately carved with *Jātaka* stories and other events of Buddha's life, as also other motifs as the *pūrṇaḡhaṭa* etc. Such also seems to be the case at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. As Stone points out, the occurrence of the transportation of relics, the Sibi *Jātaka*, Mara's Assault, the Mandhātu *Jātaka*, and the *Nāga* King Āpalāla subdued by Buddha, have been depicted from right to left in the order of

---

<sup>24</sup> V. Dehejia, *Op. cit.*: 153-154

<sup>25</sup> Dehejia considers the three scenes to imply visual reiteration of the triple refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṃgha, *Op.cit.*: 154

*pradakṣiṇa*<sup>26</sup>. These, depictions have to fall to the right of person doing the *pradakṣiṇa* if the reading of the depiction has to be done from right to left. These depictions must then have adorned the drum of the stūpa or the dome of the stūpa. In any case the Nāgārjunakōṇḍa stūpa-s did not have a railing. We shall discuss this issue later in the chapter.

Of the *Jātaka* stories depicted on the stupa at Amaravati we see the Ahigundika Jātaka, the Bhuridatta Jātaka, the Chaḍḍanta Jātaka, the Culla Bodhi Jātaka, the Mahilamukha Jātaka, the Māndhata Jātaka, Mātanga Jātaka, Mōra Jātaka, Rohini Khattiya Kanna Jātaka, Sarvamdadāvādāna, Somanassa Jātaka, Suruci Jātaka, Vessantara Jātaka, Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka. At Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, we see the Vessantara Jātaka, the Sibi Jataka, the Mandhāta Jātaka, Śāśa Jātaka, Śrikinnari Jātaka, Champeyya Jātaka, etc. Scenes of Śāśa Jataka, Sibi Jataka are carved on to the stūpa depictions encasing the drum (?) of the Amaravati stūpa.

The Ahigundika Jātaka teaches that all beings must be treated well, one of the main tenets of Buddhism. We see in this tale that the monkey, which belonged to the snake charmer, runs away after the snake charmer beat him up, under the influence of liquor. Śibi Jātaka teaches compassion towards animals. We see in this tale that in order to save a pigeon from a hawk, Prince Śibi is ready to give up his own life<sup>27</sup>. Dehejia has us believe that Chaḍḍanta and Vessantara Jātaka were popular tales. These have been presented in all of the modes of visual narration that she discusses in her study<sup>28</sup>. While we do not know how many times exactly

---

<sup>26</sup> ER. Stone, *Op.cit*: 73

<sup>27</sup> N. Ramesan, *Glimpses of Buddhism*, Hyderabad, 1961: 54-55

<sup>28</sup> V. Dehejia, *Op.cit*: 5

these tales were depicted at the two sites of our study, we know that two *Jātaka*-s were represented at Amarāvati at least once. Vessantra *Jātaka* was represented at Nāgārjunakonda too. Both these stories show the merit attached to *dana* or giving away of not only loved objects, people, but also of one's own life. Chaddanta, the six-tusked elephant helped Sonuttara, the hunter, sent by Chaddanta's younger wife, who was now the queen of Benaras, in sawing off his tusks, which the queen demanded and thus laid his life. Chanddanta thought that by making the gift of the tusks, he valued so highly, he would acquire merit as a consequence of which he would gain the tusks of Omniscience<sup>29</sup>. Similarly, when put to test, Vessantara gave away his elephant, his two children and his wife. In the Śāśa *Jātaka*, we see the little hare jumping into the fire to be able to feed the hungry Brahmin, who was none other than Sakra, who had come to test the truth of his vow<sup>30</sup>.

In the Champeyya *Jātaka*<sup>31</sup> we see that the serpent king yielded to the *brāhmaṇa* who threw a charm to catch him. In spite of knowing that his poison was lethal enough to kill the *brāhmaṇa*, the serpent did not do so for in so doing, his virtue would have been violated. The snake had to suffer various forms of torture at the hands of the snake charmer before he was freed by the snake charmer, after he realized that this act would bring him merit. Virtue is emphasized in the Mahāpaduma *Jātaka* as well. His father sentenced Prince Mahāpaduma to death, when his stepmother made false complains regarding him to his father, the King. Mahāpaduma was miraculously saved even as he was

---

<sup>29</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, *Op.cit:* 209

<sup>30</sup> N. Ramesan, *Op. cit:* 63

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid:* 55-56

thrown from the cliff. Mahāpaduma then renounced the world. When his father learnt of his mistake, he asked him to come back, and he preached to his father the essence of righteousness<sup>32</sup>.

Suruci Jātaka shows that a virtue is rewarded. It was because of the queen's virtue that she gave birth to a child after a long time had passed since her marriage. The Prince Suruci became famous as King Mahā-pananda 'did good and gave alms'<sup>33</sup>. Greed and desire are shown as causes for downfall in the Mandhātu Jātaka. Mandhātu rises to share Śakra's throne but when he becomes greedy to have the entire throne for himself, he falls to the earth, old and feeble and conveyed to the world through his ministers a lesson against avarice<sup>34</sup>. The moral of the story was that he who acquires, should offer sacrificial gifts in order to obtain happiness in this life and next<sup>35</sup>. Greed and jealousy put one in a constant cycle of birth and rebirth is evident in the story of Mittavindaka, the unfortunate one or the Lośaka Jātaka<sup>36</sup>. While the Mandhata Jataka and most other *Jātaka*-s emphasize gift giving, Mātanga Jātaka shows that gift should be given to deserving<sup>37</sup>. The Mōra Jātaka shows that good deeds are rewarded which is why the peacock in the story has acquired golden plumes. The peacock preaches this law to the King of Benaras, Brahmadata<sup>38</sup>. That good deeds are

---

<sup>32</sup> C. Sivaramamurti: *Op.cit*: 220-221

<sup>33</sup> N. Ramesan, *Op. cit*: 69

<sup>34</sup> C. Sivaramamurti: *Op.cit*: 223

<sup>35</sup> N. Ramesan, *Op. cit*: 60

<sup>36</sup> C. Sivaramamurti: *Op.cit*: 219

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*: 225

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*: 226-227



rewarded is also evidenced in the story of King Bandhuma's daughters<sup>39</sup>, who upon giving away the expensive presents their father gave to them, to the sage, make wishes. One of the daughters desired to be mother of Buddha and the other desired sainthood. Both attained their wishes. This story is seen as an introduction to the Vessanantara Jātaka and teaches not only good deeds but also making of gifts. The Mahilamukha Jataka shows that upon hearing of good utterances, good virtues can be imbibed as happened in the case of the elephant *Mahilamukha*<sup>40</sup>. Somanassa Jātaka teaches right conduct. Here we see that the young Prince Somanassakumara refuses to salute the sham ascetic because the ascetic was engaged in pursuits that did not behove him<sup>41</sup>.

Having discussed the *Jātaka*-s, it appears that these stories carved onto stone preached the basic tenets of Buddhism. We see that most *Jātaka*-s depicted preach against greed, and things earthly, they teach righteousness and virtue. The Lossa or the Mitta vindaka Jātaka has not been portrayed at places other than Amarāvati. It remained one of the lesser known *Jātaka*-s. Similarly, the Vaiśāli episodes appear only at Amarāvati. These events probably had a more regional appeal and were therefore represented at Amaravati and not so much at other centres.

The other important figures that occur on the monuments are the *Cakravartin* images, the *mithuna* couple and the Buddha image. The *Cakravartin* was depicted with all his seven jewels on the dome slab (?) of Amarāvati stūpa.

---

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*: 234

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*: 218

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*: 230-231

Very often the *Cakravartin* had an entire slab to him or else shared it with some other depiction. In the story representing the Mandhāta Jātaka at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, Mandhāta is represented as *Cakravartin*, which he truly was in the story, the Universal Monarch. What purpose the *Cakravartin* image served on the monument is not known. We do not even know as to why he was depicted here on the monument of Andhra. The figure does not occur on Buddhist monuments outside Āndhradeśa. The *Cakravartin* image began to be depicted on the monuments from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD onwards. This was also the period of Sātavāhana domination in the region. But we have already seen in the previous chapter that it does not appear as if the Sātavāhana-s had any role to play in the direct flourishing of Amarāvati. We do not come across any donation of Sātavāhana-s to the monument, so it does not even appear that the *Cakravartin* may have been represented in return for the imperial ruler's donations. If these images were meant for viewing by pilgrims and donors what they were supposed to convey to them is in the realms of darkness. Surely the monuments may not have the image depicted for nothing in return from the *Cakravartin's* counterpart, the imperial ruler. We already know that there does not seem to have existed any relationship what-so-ever between the royalty and the monastic establishment at both the sites except for the association of the royal ladies at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, of course. If we believe that all depictions on the structure carried a message for the viewer, what this representation would be is not really known.

It could however be conjectured that since the *Cakravartin* represents the conqueror of all directions and shows utmost power the figure was depicted on

the monument. But on a monument of religious significance where the Buddha himself a *Cakravartin*, is depicted anthropomorphically, indexially and symbolically, what purpose an earthly *Cakravartin* would serve is not known. Besides, as stated earlier, the image appears on its own. It does not show a worldly *Cakravartin* changing into Buddha. Thus, this does not even relate with Siddhartha's renunciation of the world. In any case Siddhartha was only a royal personality and not a *Cakravartin*. Could it then be possible that this figure was used only for purpose of embellishment of the *stūpa*? Or perhaps, do we need to analyze the representation within the larger context of the contacts with Sri Lankan Buddhist communities? The literary sources from Sri Lanka, especially the *Mahavaṃsa* indicate a coalescing of the notion of the *Cakravartin* with that of the king. This is a topic that will be analyzed in greater detail in subsequent research.

The reason for introduction of the Buddha image in the carvings is sought in the doctrinal changes in the faith. Stone shows how the Buddha image was gradually introduced at Nāgārjūnkōṇḍa<sup>42</sup>. At Amarāvati, the image seems to have been introduced in the last two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD<sup>43</sup>. The religious sects, in order to satisfy the personal adoration or bhakti of the common laity, may have introduced the Buddha image<sup>44</sup>. The standing image of the Buddha has been shown to be the original conception of the Amarāvati sculptor, which provided a model to south India and Ceylon<sup>45</sup>. The standing and seated Buddha images at

---

<sup>42</sup> ER. Stone, *Op. cit.*: 16-17

<sup>43</sup> D. Barret, *Op. cit.*: 63

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*: 64

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*: 65

Nāgārjunakōṇḍa are repetitions of the well-defined patterns formulated at Amarāvati<sup>46</sup>. Indeed the Nāgārjunakōṇḍa artists borrowed themes almost *verbatim*, freely from the Amarāvati sculptures. They did take pains however to transform the style into an idiom entirely of their own<sup>47</sup>.

It is indeed surprising to see *mithuna* figures on the religious monuments of the Buddhists. However the reason as to why these figures appeared there is not difficult to seek. These figures appeared at Amarāvati around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The depiction of *mithuna*-s was considered to be auspicious and was permitted in religious art<sup>48</sup>. The *mithuna*-s of Amarāvati are sometimes shown to perform useful jobs, such as help set up garlands or at other instances, they step forward to render offerings to the Buddha depicted on a contiguous panel<sup>49</sup>. The number of *mithuna* depictions is many more at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa than at Amarāvati, and these were introduced at the site in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. There have been attempts to identify in these depictions works of literature as well. Stone has shown that these amorous pairs appear on the drum friezes at Amarāvati and on the *āyaka* panels at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa<sup>50</sup>. She suggests that these motifs are symbolically not considered to be a part of the *stūpa* proper, as these are found only on those parts of the *stūpa*, which indicate the idea of leave-taking from the secular world<sup>51</sup>. While we have no means to test the veracity of Stone's

---

<sup>46</sup> OC. Ganguly, *Andhra Sculptures*, Hyderabad, 1994: 76

<sup>47</sup> ER. Stone, *Op. cit.*: 21

<sup>48</sup> D. Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India: A Socio-cultural Study*, 1985: 28

<sup>49</sup> OC. Ganguly, *Op. cit.*: 58

<sup>50</sup> ER. Stone, *Op. cit.*: 41

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*

contention, we can say with conviction that these *mithuna* pairs were auspicious symbols, and may have therefore, appeared on the monuments.

Attempts have been made to identify the *mithuna* figures with literature. The lady with a parrot perched on her left wrist, looking abashed and trying to offer something to the bird as her lover looks at her smiling within himself has been identified with verse in *Amarasataka* which describes the plight of the bride of the house at the indiscreet utterance of the parrot, repeating the amorous talk of herself and her lover during the night in presence of elders, to avoid which she stops its beak with her ruby decked earring as if offering her pomegranate seeds<sup>52</sup>. In another *mithuna* representation, the lady being offered a cup of wine turns her face away. This has been identified as an episode from Kalidasa's *Meghadutam*, where Yakṣi is described as having given wine during her lover's absence and her brows having forgotten the coquettish grace<sup>53</sup>. While it cannot be said with certainty that the artists may have borrowed these representations from the texts, it is possible that they may have been aware of the stories which got transmitted orally.

The *pūrṇaghāṭa* or the vase of plenty was another of the auspicious symbols to appear on the monuments. It appears that slabs with *pūrṇaghāṭa* motif were placed on the dome, above the slabs representing the Enlightenment, the First Sermon, and the Great Decease, at Amarāvati<sup>54</sup>. The *Buddhapāda*-s or the footprints of the Buddha were used as indexical signs for the depiction of the

---

<sup>52</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, 'Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol. IX, No.2, 1955-70

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>54</sup> R. Knox, *Op. cit.*: 29

Buddha in various scenes from his life. However, from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC –1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards, the *Buddhapāda* began to be depicted on small rectangular slabs. The *Buddhapāda*-s appear with the *Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* i.e., the *dharmacakra*, the *triratna* and the *swāstika* motifs.

In case of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, we see the setting up of an innovative architectural component i.e., memorial pillars. Several clusters of memorial pillars, erected in memory of dead persons were found at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. At Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, memorial pillars were raised in honour of royal personalities such as king or queens, or chieftains or generals, religious personage and even an artisan<sup>55</sup>. The pillars seem to represent some important biographical events of the dead, though not always. The earliest memorial pillar found at Site 9 was erected in honour of king Cāṁtamūla I. This pillar<sup>56</sup> depicts a corpulent man who seems to be donating a mound of gold. This figure appears to have been of the king himself. This action of the king is referred to in the inscription where he is called the *hiranyakoṭidāna*, ‘the giver of gold’<sup>57</sup>. Stone believes two more memorial pillars were dedicated to Cāṁtamūla. Another memorial pillar was installed in memory of Queen Varmabhaṭṭa. This pillar shows the queen dressed as Venus. She is shown to be holding a mirror into which she sees herself. This pillar was erected in a votive *stūpa* opposite a *caityagrha*. Its placement there suggests that the queen may have been sympathetic to Buddhism<sup>58</sup>, although concrete evidence

---

<sup>55</sup> *EI*:XXXV: 13-17

<sup>56</sup> H. Sarkar, BN. Misra ed, *Nagarjunakonda*, Delhi, 1966: 44

ER. Stone, *Op. cit*: 34

<sup>57</sup> *EI*, Vol. XXXV: 13-17

<sup>58</sup> ER. Stone, *Op. cit*: 77

regarding her faith is not known. This has been concluded on the basis of the fact that most royal ladies of the Ikṣvāku dynasty followed Buddhism. It is possible that Varmabhaṭṭa also had faith in the religion. The pillar's placement there, also perhaps suggests the complete subordination of the Buddhist church of the time to the royal family<sup>59</sup>.

From the above discussion it may appear that the monument involved the viewers – the monastics and the patrons – in a discourse. The stories depicted on the stone carried messages to be understood and imbibed by the viewers. The royal ladies of the Ikṣvāku family donated the āyaka pillars at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. We see in the inscriptions of Cāntīśiri, who donated most of the āyaka pillars at the *mahācetiya* of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, that she wishes to attain for herself the bliss of Nirvana and the attainment of welfare and happiness of the world<sup>60</sup>. The inscriptions at Amarāvati only record the object of donation and not what the donors desired in return. However, from the Nāgārjunakōṇḍa evidence, it is clear that donors may have aspired for *Nirvāṇa* in accordance with the Buddhist ideals, or else may have made donations to acquire merit as is abundantly clear from the *Jātaka* stories. Art then appears to have been a part of the overall religious discourse. This hypothesis, however, is not problem free and it is this aspect that we shall examine in the following section.

---

<sup>59</sup> H. Sarkar, BN. Misra eds., *Op. cit.*: 37-38

<sup>60</sup> *EI*, Vol. XX: 17

#### 4.4 Problems of Interpretation

The major problem in the above hypothesis is the interpretation of the sculptural reliefs depicted on the slabs encasing the monument, by the visitors. To begin with, this would imply that the visitors were well versed in the Buddhist texts to be able to identify scenes depicted on the *stūpa*. It would further mean that the visitors be also well versed in all the Buddhist texts to be able to identify the narrative even if variations occur in the depiction depending on the textual sources used. For instance, the scene of the Great Departure on one of the slabs of the dome of *Stūpa 2* at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, shows Kanṭhaka nuzzling the feet of Yaśōdhara in sympathy, after the event. Dehejia points out that the textual source for the representation is the *Lalitavistara* and not the Pali *Nidāna Katha*, where the horse dies of a broken heart and never returns to the palace<sup>61</sup>. Another scene of the Great Departure does not show the dwarfs that usually hold the hooves of Kanthaka. For those visitors who may have known that the hooves of the horse were held by the dwarfs at the time of the departure of Siddhartha, this depiction would have been confusing. In this scene, the ground below the horse's hooves is rocky. Such variations in representation of this theme have never been shown before. The identification of this scene even by modern scholars still remains inconclusive<sup>62</sup>.

Still other episodes are represented in a tacit manner. Such representations make us wonder if all who came to visit the monument could have easily

---

<sup>61</sup> V. Dehejia, *Op. cit.*: 173

<sup>62</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, *Op. cit.*: 178



identified these. One example that may be cited is of the crossbar which shows an empty throne and feet on a footrest under the Bodhi tree, being adored by thirty noble looking turbaned youths, some standing waving *cauries*, others in the act of adoration, approaching or moving away from the object of veneration, and yet others seated with their hands joined and some others kneeling reverently<sup>63</sup>. One wonders if viewers instantly identified this scene as belonging to the episode of the Conversion of the Bhaddavaggiya youths. There is nothing to denote the happenings prior to this particular event represented. The story goes that thirty princes went to a place called Kappāsika, with their wives to enjoy themselves. One of them took along a courtesan, as he had no wife to accompany him. The courtesan fled with the youth's ornaments. The youths went in search of her and happened to meet the Buddha. They enquired from the Buddha if he had seen the woman. Buddha, in reply asked them whether it was not more profitable to seek oneself than others. The princes then were converted. The depiction mentioned above is an episode after their conversion. This story is from the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka*<sup>64</sup>. The only give away to identify the story in this representation is the number of the youths, which is thirty. For a person, not aware of this story, the slab may only depict the veneration of the Buddha.

There are other representations which modern scholars, who have gone through all the texts, have found difficult to identify. Thus we see that the representation at Amaravati, which Rene Grousset has tentatively identified as the

---

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*: 182-183

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*: 183

Vessantara Jātaka, Sivaramamurti has identified as the Losaka Jātaka<sup>65</sup>. Another such instance is where a representation, which Foucher has identified as Śivi Jātaka, Sivaramamurti, has identified as the *Sarvamdālāvadavadana*<sup>66</sup>.

In the depiction of Rohini Khattiyakana, we see four men quarelling for a woman and attempting to carry her away by force. The story occurs in the *Dhammapada-atthakatha* where these four men are none other but the Śakra and the other deities. In this representation on stone, these four men are bereft of their turbans. Sivaramamurti suggests that such a depiction was to depict that these deities are behaving in no better manner than the ordinary men. What is important, however, is whether the viewers would have observed these little detail. Would s/he have realized that the reason for these men being without their turban is in accordance with the conjecture made by Sivaramamurti or would it have escaped the viewer's notice altogether?

We also see that the artist to make representations used different modes of narrative<sup>67</sup>. In the case of the Amarāvati rail pillars, Dehejia shows that some narratives commenced in the upper fluted area and moved through the central medallion to the bottom; other had the movement reversed. Artists even concluded or started the narrative in the central medallion<sup>68</sup>. Such variations in the movement occur on the slabs of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa as well. In such a case whether the lay viewer would have been able to follow the direction of the movement, without prior knowledge of the scene depicted, is suspect. This is an issue that

---

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*: 219

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*: 229

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*: 228

<sup>68</sup> V. Dehejia, *Op. cit*: 157-159

needs to be analyzed within the larger context of the role of *bhānaka*-s or preachers in the spread of the tenets of Buddhism in lay society.

Yet another question that can be raised here is how much of the embellishments carried out on the *stūpa*-s were actually visible to the viewers at close quarters. The railing pillars at Amarāvati were ten feet high. While the early railing pillars merely had lotus roundels carved onto them. In the later period, narratives began to appear on the medallion in the centre and also on the fluted space above and below the medallion. The representations in these spaces were closely packed and followed a direction of movement, which was not the same on other such pillars. In such a case, when viewing these depictions, which were definitely much higher than the average height of a human being, how much of the representations could be properly made out is not known. Besides, the mode of representation in the medallion may have been synoptic or conflated; in which case, identification from a distance, by a lay viewer would have been difficult. The coping stones measured two feet nine inches in height, which were placed on these rail pillars, were thus, at an even greater height. The rail had a brick support, which ran along the line of the base, about a foot high. The rail thus measured about 14 feet high<sup>69</sup> These were carved with the *Jātaka* stories or scenes from the Buddha's life on the inner side. We doubt whether these scenes were clearly visible to the naked eye.

It is only on the basis of the miniature representations of the *stupa* that we have reconstructed the appearance of the monuments onto which these miniature

---

<sup>69</sup> VA.Smith et. al., *India: Its Epigraphy, Antiquities, Archaeology, Numismatics and Architecture*, Delhi, 1975: 116

representations were attached. On the basis of these representations, it has been suggested that the dome of the Amarāvati *stūpa* was encased with slabs depicting the Enlightenment, the First Sermon, and the Great Demise in three registers moving from bottom to top. There were yet other depictions of the *Cakravartin* or the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* etc. These slabs were 11 feet high and rested on the vertical portion of the dome, which was 12 feet high<sup>70</sup>. Above them may have been slabs with *pūrṇaḥaṭa* motifs<sup>71</sup>.

If these slabs were actually placed where they have been suggested, the question that arises is how would these have been seen, as the drum of the *stupa* is 6 feet high. There is no staircase leading up to the *āyaka* platform. The difference between the diameters of the drum and the dome is about 22 feet. This area was definitely not being used as a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. So it turns out that the viewer could not see the representations on the dome slabs closely. Even if a viewer had stood right against the railing and tried to see the dome slabs, s/he would have definitely not been able to see the depiction on the lowermost register of the slab, given the height of the drum and also the 22 feet wide area between the drum and the dome. The curved portion of the dome has been reconstructed on the basis of the representation of the *stūpa* and it appears that the area was plastered with lime and was draped with a complex pattern of swags and hanging garlands, thick ropes, large fringed medallions with narrative scenes and sometimes mythical human and animal figures holding up or perched upon parts of the decorative

---

<sup>70</sup> V. Dehejia, *Op. cit.*: 153

<sup>71</sup> R. Knox, *Op. cit.*: 29

system<sup>72</sup>. If this was actually how the dome looked, again the narrative scenes in the medallions may not have been visible to those visiting the site.

The *stūpa* representations will have us believe that the drum was decorated with slabs representing the *stūpa* alternated with pilasters. These *stūpa*s depicted here were elaborately carved with the reliefs depending on the period they were carved in. These were topped with drum frieze panels some of which showed ornamentation with railing pattern with only lotus medallions carved in low relief or with narrative scenes from the Buddha's life. However, one comes across a problem here. While the rail coping slabs show events unfolding from left to right, as it should be, considering the *pradakṣiṇā* that one takes in the clockwise direction, the drum frieze panels also show events unfolding from left to the right. Some of these panels depict unrelated narratives, such as Plate 5, which shows the *Śibi Jātaka* in the first register from the left, then the Subjugation of Nalagiri and finally the *Śāśa Jātaka*. In such cases the sequence in which they are represented does not matter, but in case of Plate 6, which shows, starting from the left, the Elevation of the head dress of Siddhartha, then a *mithuna* pair, then prince Siddhartha taking leave of Channa and Kanthaka, then another richly dressed couple and finally the worship of Vidhurapaṇḍita (the Bodhisattva), poses a problem. Since a person was moving in the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* in the clockwise direction, it is alright to have scenes unfolding from the left to right on the coping slabs which fall on his/her left, but for events depicted on the drum frieze panel, the unfolding should be from the right to the left. This is not the case in these panels.

---

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*: 30

In the case of the *stūpa*-s that have been represented, and are said to have embellished the drum, the *Jātaka* stories that unfold in them are from the left to right. Unless a person stood directly opposite the depiction, facing it, s/he may not have had a problem reading it in any direction; it would have been difficult for the people to follow the unfolding of the events while carrying on with the *pradakṣiṇā*.

However, as mentioned before these placements of slabs are tentative as it is done only on the basis of representations of the *stūpa*-s on the monument itself. It is possible, as mentioned in the previous chapter as well, that these may have been the idealized renditions of the *stūpa*. Just because the slabs were placed in a particular manner on these representations does not imply that this was also the reality.

It is clear from the above discussion that we do not really know how much of what was depicted was actually understood by the viewers and how much could actually be seen by them. The style of depiction of several events assumes a certain amount of before hand knowledge of the event concerned, on the part of the viewer, which need not have been the case, necessarily. It is possible that the story would have been narrated to the laity by preachers on special and auspicious occasions. Again, since it has been shown that many of the representations were not really visible and still others did not unfold the narratives the way they should have, despite the fact that so many visitors came to the sites and other than carrying out their prayers may have also viewed the stories represented, could it be possible that the embellishment carried out on the *stūpa* was only a necessary

criterion to add to the importance of the *stūpa* and not for involving the viewer into a religious discourse? However, we cannot say that with embellishment the *stūpa* became more important than the others, for we know that the Amarāvati *Mahācetiya*, and also the site of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa had simple origins. The artistic depictions show evolution from the simple to complex. It is then possible that with the efflorescence in trade in the region, more money was available at the disposal of the commoners, who may then have thought it appropriate to use a part of it for making religious donations.

Thus the suggestion that these structures stood as religious texts for the viewers and sent messages of faith to them needs to be examined against religious practices and non-canonical literature. For example, we do know that the anonymous text in Sanskrit titled *The Lion's Roar of Queen Srimālā* was probably written during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD for one of the latter Mahāsāṅghika sub-sects at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa <sup>73</sup>. Our subsequent research should then focus on an analysis of the Buddhist sculptures and architecture of Āndhradeśa within the ambit of the inscriptions and the literary sources.

---

<sup>73</sup> ER. Stone, *Op. cit.*: 14

## *Chapter 5*

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Resumē**

In the above study we have attempted to look at how the Buddhist centres emerged and expanded in the lower Krishna valley. We began our study with a discussion of urban centres in Āndhradeśa – the reason for coming up of urbanism in the region and the forms they acquired. We attempted to place the urban centres of the lower Krishna valley in a functional lattice. The religious centres were then looked at. Their relationship vis-à-vis the urban centres was a matter of enquiry. On the basis of the data available to us, we found that the two kinds of centres were not tied in a relationship of mutual interdependence. We also came to the conclusion that the Buddhist religious site gained prominence mostly because of the ‘sanctity’ it was able to create for itself and project to the masses. No doubt the location of these sites along the major trade routes is significant. Once established, it was upto the particular site as to how it commanded resources from the pilgrims. The role of the patronage of the royalty was also examined and the conclusion arrived at was that there is no evidence to prove the royalty’s connection with the Buddhist monuments except in the case of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa where we see the royal ladies of the Ikṣvaku dynasty making active donations to the religious site. Mahātalavāri Chāmṭiśiri, who was an aunt of Virapuriṣadāṭṭa



gifted several *āyaka* pillars to the *mahācetiya* (Site 1)<sup>1</sup>. Gifts of *āyaka* pillars at the same site were also made by Mahātalavāri Aḍavi Chaṁtiśiri, sister of Virapurisaḍatta and wife of Mahāsenapati Khamdavisakhannaka<sup>2</sup>, Cula Cāṁtiśiri<sup>3</sup>, Mahādevi Rudrabhaṭṭārika<sup>4</sup>, Māhādevi Bapśirīnikā<sup>5</sup>, who was the daughter of Virapurisadatta, and Mahadevi Chatiśiri<sup>6</sup>, who was the daughter of Hammaśriṅikā. The role of royalty's connection with religious aspects came under question even in the case of the belief that the Ikṣvāku men followed Brahmanism. As has been stated in chapter 3, we only have inscriptional evidence regarding the same. There is no means to prove, for instance that he performed the *aśvamedha* the *Agniṣṭōma*, *Vājapeya* and the *Agnihotra yājñā-s*<sup>7</sup>, and also that he was a devotee of Mahāsenā<sup>8</sup>. The Ikṣvāku-s appear to have been a dynasty with a limited territory under their command. Cāṁtamūla's inscriptions were found only at Renṭala and Kesanapalli<sup>9</sup>. His coins were found only from Ongole and Nāgārjunakōṇḍa<sup>10</sup>, which suggests the local character of his dynasty. The Kesanapalli record of Cāṁtamūla is dated in own regal year, i.e., 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year but in the record he is not referred to as 'Mahārāja'. He is referred to only with his matronymic. Kesanapalli fell in the domain of Vijaya Sātakarṇi<sup>11</sup>. It is possible that the Sātavāhana Empire had weakened and Vijaya Sātakarṇi was not strong

---

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, Vol. XX: 13-14

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*: 18

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*: 18-19

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*: 19

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*: 19-20

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*: 20

<sup>7</sup> *EI*, Vol. XXXIV: 21-22

<sup>8</sup> *EI*, XX: 6

<sup>9</sup> *EA*, Vol. 1: 146-49

<sup>10</sup> ER. Stone: *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, ~~New~~ Delhi 1994: 5

<sup>11</sup> *EA*, Vol. 1: 148

enough to contend against this ambitious vassal. Cāntamūla must have seized the opportunity to carve out his own kingdom in the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In this context, when we find inscriptions carved out in his son's reign extolling his father's virtues as a 'true' Brahmin, such contentions cannot be accepted at face value.

Similarly, whether the Sātavāhana-s, who also claimed to be *brāhmaṇa*-s, were in fact devout Brāhmaṇa-s or not is not known. Again we have only inscriptional evidence to fall back on which do suggest the same. Gautami Balaśri's Nasik Cave inscription<sup>12</sup> describes her son Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi as 'ekabrāhmaṇa'. No Sātavāhana ruler has issued an inscription suggesting he was a brāhmaṇa or that he patronized the faith. The inscription again only extols the virtues of the king as a true brāhmaṇa. All these attempts may be only to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the people. However, it may be pointed out here that the Nasik inscription of Gautami Balaśri appears in a Buddhist rock cut cave. As Amita Ray<sup>13</sup> has pointed out Buddhism had made considerable inroads in that section of society, which was in control of wealth, namely, the *gahapati*-s, artisans and craftsmen, bankers, caravan-leaders, traders and merchants. In such a situation, it is strange that the Sātavāhana rulers did not openly adopt Buddhism or even patronized it by giving active donations to the Buddhist monastic units. It is unfortunate that the issue of the personal faith of the rulers cannot be resolved.

However, even if we agree that the Sātavāhana-s and the Ikṣvāku-s had brahmanical leanings, and then given the political and economic exigencies of the

---

<sup>12</sup> *EI*, Vol. VIII: 60

<sup>13</sup> A. Ray, *Life and Art of Early Andhradesa*, Delhi, 1983: 61

times, they did display a tolerant attitude towards the Buddhist faith. In order to not antagonize the masses, the Sātavāhana-s probably did not even issue any inscription suggesting their belief in brahmanical faith<sup>14</sup>.

Since we cannot be sure of the royalty's position as far as providing the patronage or support of the faith, we argued for the 'holiness' as the prime cause, by which the site that may have gained prominence. The worshippers' donations testified to this possibility, which may be subsequently explored. Terracotta objects, votive *stūpa*-s, elaborate relic caskets were some of the objects of donations. The popularity of the site is also attested by the fact that an attempt at reconsecration of relic caskets was made at Amarāvati. In connection with 'image' building, we examined the two most important sites of Amarāvati and Nāgārajunakōṇḍa and saw that the *Jātaka*-s chosen corroborate the Buddhist virtues as laid down in the cannon, which may have been the reason why the laity got attracted to these sites.

### *5.2 Multiplicity of Faiths*

As we have already seen, the Andhra region witnessed a vibrant Buddhist tradition in the early historic period. Scholars have been so preoccupied with Buddhism as being the faith of the masses that an attempt to look at other faiths that may also have existed along with Buddhism, has not occurred. Scholars are content to make mention of the fact that the Sātavāhana-s, and it was only with

---

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*

the Ikṣvāku-s of Nāgārajunakōṇḍa that Brahmanism received a spurt in Andhra.

Available data shows that even in the early times, Brahmanism existed side-by-side with Buddhism although it is true that Brahmanism may not have had a presence as strong as Buddhism.

In Kalahasti taluk of Chittoor district is the famous *Saiva* site of Guḍimallam. The first phase of this temple site is dated at 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC on the basis of the associated remains such as punch marked coins of the early Mauryan series etc. Inscriptions attest to the survival of the site upto the times of Rājā Dameravenkatappa Nayanimgaru, a local chief in AD 1801. The temple housed a Śiva *liṅga* made of dark brown hard igneous rock, brittle but compact. The rock takes high polish and is locally available in Tirupati hills<sup>15</sup>. The *liṅgam* is 1.68 metres high; seven sided in the middle and nut-shaped at the top. The main body of the shaft has a fine figure of Śiva, symmetrically set in bold relief, 80 cms high, standing on the shoulders of a crouching dwarf 46 cms high, perhaps a *guhya* or *Muyālagan*<sup>16</sup> set up within two circular *arghapitha*-s. The *liṅga* of Guḍimallam was renowned as the earliest example of Śiva *liṅga* in the country, although its date remained a matter of considerable debate. However, with the associated finds of the silver punch marked coin of early Mauryan series, and black and red, red slipped pottery within sanctum provides us with the date of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was in this period that the *liṅga* with the *vedika* around it was installed. The *liṅga* in this period was worshipped in the open. It appears that the ritual involved the

---

<sup>15</sup> IK. Sarma, *The Development of Early Saiva Art and Architecture with Special Reference to Andhra*, Delhi, 1982: 50

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*: 51

sacrifice of animals like bull and goats, as their cut bones were recorded from the contemporary strata.

In the next phase i.e., circa 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, we find the occurrence of Russet coated painted ware, besides the pottery of an apsidal temple was built around the *liṅga* unit. The *liṅga*, its *pītha* and the rail were not moved, although limestone flooring was laid.

An interregnum was witnessed from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD to about the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD for which no cognizable evidence is forthcoming. However, it is likely that the shrine continued to be worshipped in the period<sup>17</sup>. Major alterations and additions occurred in the next phase beginning from the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD during the late Pallava/Bāṇa and Coḷa periods. The complex was elaborated with the addition of *prākāra*, *gopura*, *gopura-dvāra*, and other subsidiary shrines housing the images of Devi, Saḍānana and Sūrya.

Evidence of Brahmanical religion existing in the Andhradesa is also forthcoming in the form of the *caturmukhalinga* from Amarāvati<sup>18</sup>, in greenish Palnad limestone, measuring seven cms high and six cms maximum width. It bears the stamp of Sātavāhana workmanship and its four faces vividly display the expressive and subtle features of the mature Amarāvati art<sup>19</sup>. The *iṣṭa-liṅga* is the lone example, in the earliest specimen of its class, known from peninsular India<sup>20</sup> during the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*: 48

<sup>18</sup> *IAR*, 19

<sup>19</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 74-75

<sup>20</sup> IK. Sarma, 'Brahmanical Architecture During the Satvahana Period in Andhra', NRV. Prasad ed, *Journal of Archaeology: Satvahana Special*, Hyderabad, 1995: 93

The mastery of Sātavāhana craftsmanship is evident in the nearly life-size (1.30 m high) bull-figure (Nandi) found from the Amareśvara temple complex<sup>21</sup>. The image must have stood at the threshold of an elaborate temple of Śiva, although no relics of such a temple has survived.

The temple of Chejerla<sup>22</sup> is dated to the times of the later Sātavāhana-s. It consisted of an *upāna* of two bricks (15 cms), a high *jagāti* (20 cms), *kampa* (12 ½ cms), *kaṅṭha* recess with *kampa*-s, a flat *paṭṭika* and *prati* of a single brick projection, over which the wall of the shrine rose. No *pranāla* arrangement or *varimārga* was found in this period, but in phase 2, these features were added on. The *liṅga* is made of limestone and has a squarish mortise hole at the top.

Excavations at Virapuram revealed a group of brick temples at the crowning part of the mound overlooking the River Krishna. All the fourteen shrines discovered are square in plan and are enclosed within a two-metre dry stone *prākāra* wall of poor foundation<sup>23</sup>. The *liṅga* in each case is a rolled river pebble of quartzite fixed into the floor cella. Right from the Phase 1 onwards, the *varimārga* is provided with. The *pranāla*-s though present did not correspond to a single direction but were variously placed during this phase<sup>24</sup>. In the next phase, 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, the floor level was raised and a square brick pedestal added at the centre with a stone slab *piṭha*. The *prākāra* wall was also added in this

---

<sup>21</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 78

<sup>22</sup> IK Sarma, *Op. cit*: 94-95

<sup>23</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 88

<sup>24</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 96-97

period<sup>25</sup>. After 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, the *kṣetra* seems to have shifted to Vellala, 200 metres north of Virapuram.

Gumakonda (Mahbubnagar district) showed the origins of a brick temple from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. No *pranāla* arrangement was found in this phase but was added on in the next phase. The sanctum housed a *Śivaliṅga* over a slab *pītha*. Kudavellisangamesvaram (Mahbubnagar district) and Siddheśwaram (Kurnool district) showed the origins of the temples in 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Siddheśwaram showed the most impressive brick temples built in the Cālukyan times.

Thus, we see from the above examples, the early beginnings of Brahmanism in Andhra. However, the relationship between the royal patronage and the emergence of temples is not clear. Most of the inscripational records at the temples of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa only record the regnal years of the rulers during which they were constructed. No active involvement of the ruler in making donations for the construction of the temple is evident. In the case of the Ikṣvāku-s a dichotomy is revealed in the donations made by the queens who actively made donations to the Buddhist structures and sects, and the kings' donations to any faith or structure is not recorded except in the case of the Noḍaḡiśvarasvāmin temple. As mentioned above, the inscriptions mention only the regnal years of the rulers.

We have already examined the problems in attributing the Ikṣvāku-s to have been the followers of brahmanical faith. However, vigorous temple construction activities have been witnessed in the period of their reign.

---

<sup>25</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit.*: 88-89

Nāgārjunakōṇḍa has a concentration of Brahmanical temples around the citadel and the banks of the river Krishna. Here, it may be pointed out that the Buddhist units were physically separated from the main habitation area. Most of the temples in the region were meant for either Śiva or Kārttikeya or Devasenā, the consort of Kārttikeya<sup>26</sup>. However, the first Brahmanical temple in the region was the Aṣṭabhujasvāmi temple (site 29)<sup>27</sup>, dedicated to Viṣṇu, which was constructed during the Ābhira interregnum by an Ābhira King Vāśiṣṭhiputra Vasusena. This evidence has been provided by slab which bears an inscription dated in the 9<sup>th</sup> regnal year of this King (278 AD) and records the construction of a wooden image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmi and mentions the names of others who have been, in one way or the other, associated with the erection of the temple<sup>28</sup>.

While scholars working on ancient history have often to cull out evidences from epigraphs, we need to remember that a lot of care has to be taken while depending on inscriptional evidence when being used in association with art evidences. We need to take into account the position of the inscription and other contextual factors<sup>29</sup>. For instance, in the case of the Kumāranandin panel, from Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, the inscription records the donation of a stone image of Buddha. This panel, on the other hand, on which the donation is recorded is a flat slab depicting scenes from Buddha's life. This panel was a casing slab of a platform belonging to an apsidal structure. It is possible that this inscription was recording

---

<sup>26</sup> H. Sarkar, BN. Misra ed., *Nagarjunakonda*, Delhi, 1966: 25

<sup>27</sup> H. Sarkar, *Ibid* - Site 29, IK. Sarma, *Op. cit*- Site 22

<sup>28</sup> *EI*, XXXIV:

<sup>29</sup> R. Subrahmanyam, 'On the Utilisation of Epigraphs for Art History: Some Andhra Examples', F.Asher and GS. Gai ed., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, Delhi, 1985: 26



the installation of the stone image of the Buddha and though the date (24<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ehuvala Cāntamūla) appeared on the Kumāranandin panel, the date did not apply to the panel itself which appears to have been carved in relief in a style alien to Ikṣvāku age and which was fairly common in Āmarāvati possibly in the pre-Ikṣvāku age<sup>30</sup>.

No such contradiction, however, occurs in the inscription of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Vasusena and the image that he may have installed, which obviously, being of wood has perished.

The Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi temple is a structural complex of three units and is enclosed within a brick wall<sup>31</sup>. The three structural units are a 36 pillared hall in rows of three bounded by a brick wall, another rectangular brick enclosure, with rooms and a backyard, a kitchen and troughs for storing water. This *maṇḍapa* may have served as a resort to pilgrims for bathing, cooking, and other religious acts<sup>32</sup>. The last of the three units is a huge temple complex 'B' consisting of a rectangular shrine chamber measuring 16.51 x 9.75<sup>33</sup>, fronted by a pillared hall consisting of 28 pillars. To the north of this hall lay, temple 'C' which was an apsidal shrine measuring 6.09 x 2.74 fronted by a sixteen-pillared *mukhamaṇḍapa* (8.83 x 7.93). Moon stones were placed in on either side of the entrance of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* with, *pūrṇa-kalaśa* motifs which must have been an auspicious symbol as in Buddhist art.

---

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*: 27

<sup>31</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op. cit*: 110

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*: 111

<sup>33</sup> The measurements of all the structures are taken from IK. Sarma, *Ibid*. The unit of measurements has not been provided with in the same.

Site 127 shows the shrine of Nodagiśvarasvāmi, possibly a form of Śiva. This site is said to be associated with the Burning Ghat (Site 126) of the Ikṣvaku-s. The shrine (3.05 x 15.25) is brick built and rectangular in shape. The inscription on the *dhvaja stambha* (3.75 in height) says that the *devakula* came up during the rule of Ehuvala Cāmtamula (AD 333). The deity housed inside the oblong cella is not mentioned<sup>34</sup>. A Śiva *liṅga*, in a badly preserved state and dislodged from its original position was found<sup>35</sup>. Site 126 i.e., the Burning Ghat shows two sculptures, one of which, has been identified as depicting Sati<sup>36</sup> and the other as Mother Goddess<sup>37</sup>. The Burning Ghat has been described as a huge pillared hall with seating arrangements, fixed *Baṅgaliṅga*-s at the corner and a screened *maṇḍapa*<sup>38</sup>. It has been identified as the royal cremation ground<sup>39</sup>.

The Bathing Ghat (site 34) was entirely encased with Cuddapah slabs appears to have a religious character for reasons of its closeness to the Puṣpabhadrasvāmi temple and an oblong Kārttikeya shrine. The inscription on the *dhvaja stambha* is in chaste Sanskrit and refers to the consecration of this temple called *devakula*, for Mahādeva, Puṣpabhadrasvāmi. The *liṅga* installed was of limestone and was finely executed. A seated Bull was discovered from the site. Mahāsenapati Kumara Virapurīṣadāṭṭa issued the inscription, in the 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Śri Ehuvala Cāmtamula<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> H. Sarkar, BN. Misra, *Op.cit*: 26

<sup>35</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 111

<sup>36</sup> DC. Sircar has identified the sculpture as representing a *tapasvini*, *Ibid*: 112

<sup>37</sup> H. Sarkar, BN. Misra, *Op.cit*: 26

Note: IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 112, states the two sculptures as belonging to site 125 which was a Pillared Hall, slightly west of the Burning Ghat.

<sup>38</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit*: 112

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*: 114

The Puspabhadrasvami temple is the earliest example of a structural temple with a mature, well laid out plan comprising the *garbhagrha*, *mukhamandapa*, a *dhvajastambha* well integrated with each other and within a *prākāra* having four *dvāra*-s or gateways<sup>41</sup>. The *garbhagrha* was apsidal in plan and had stucco decorations on the exterior ridge. There was a provision for collection of *abhiṣeka* water. Rooms for storage purposes have also been provided with. The Kārttikeya temple was suggested by Sarkar to have formed a single unit with the Puṣpabhadrasvāmi temple<sup>42</sup>. A mutilated icon of Kārttikeya was found from here.

Site 122 is a stepped masonry-tank situated close to the Sarvadeva temple, the Puspabhadrasvamin temple and the Kārttikeya temples. It has been suggested that the annual floating-festival of gods - *teppakulam* must have taken place here<sup>43</sup>. The tank measures 94.18 x 78.94 and is 4.57 deep.

Site numbers 98-99, belong to the Sarvādevādhivāsa complex or the 'abode of all gods' or supposed to be of the God of Gods<sup>44</sup> was constructed by commander Elisri in the 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ehuvala, who made it a class of storeyed building with pavilion and *bhadra* or front porch<sup>45</sup>. The king's grandfather Anikke built the first two units and the multi-storied (*talavaravaram*)

---

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>42</sup> H. Sarkar, BN. Misra, ed; *Op.cit*

Note: IK. Sarma, *Op.cit* does not consider it to be a part of the Burning Ghat-Puspabhadrasvamin unit. He numbers the site as Site 123.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid: 27*

<sup>44</sup> A. Ray: *Op. cit: 63*

<sup>45</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit: 115*

set up at the Kārttikeya *prasāda* was by the son of Gandi, before Eliśri commenced his construction<sup>46</sup>.

At site 97, two apsidal shrines were found. We do not know which deity was housed within these, but pilgrim records in the third phase of structural activity when votive pedestals were added inside the mandapa suggest to it being a temple dedicated for the patron-deity of the Ikṣvāku-s viz., Kārttikeya, on the basis of the names of the pilgrims, which sound Śaivite<sup>47</sup>.

Site 82 is a Kārttikeya temple with residential apartments close by. These may have belonged to the servants administering the temple. The layout of this complex is like that of a *vihāra*.

Site 83 shows rectangular shrines, Site 84 shows temples with *Maṇḍapa*, Site 77 is again a Kārttikeya temple and Site 78 may have been a Navagraha temple suggested on the basis of the fact that these structures were nine in number, Site 64 is a Yakṣa-Kubera temple complex, Site 39 is a temple dedicated to Devasena, Site 57 is again a Kārttikeya Temple. Site 35, located on the south-eastern slopes of Nagarjunakonda hill on which the Mahiśasaka *Vihāra* is situated, must have housed a guardian deity. Site 31 and Site 110 is a Śiva temple. Site 56 and site 17 are temples dedicated to Hārīti.

With so many Brahmanical complexes coming up at Nāgārajunakōṇḍa, their being situated close to the citadel area and the inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku rulers associated with the complexes, scholars concluded that it was with the rule of the Ikṣvāku-s that Brahmanism began to assert itself in the Āndhradeśa.

---

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*: 117

Thus, Amita Ray points out that at the time of the Ikṣvāku ascendancy, Brahmanism, Brahmanical institutions and rituals were slowly gaining a new momentum all over northern India and upper Deccan. Finding the time to be propitious the Ikṣvāku-s came out in the open to act as champions of Brahminism in spite of the challenge that Buddhism posed to it<sup>48</sup>. No doubt that the maximum concentration of these structures was at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, but to say that Ikṣvāku-s heralded active faith in Brahmanism in Andhra is not free of problems.

### 5.3 Problems

The above evidence reveals the existence of Brahmanical faith alongside Buddhist faith. The *caturmukhalinga* of Amarāvati stands testimony to the prevalence of at least personal worship of Siva, more specifically of Sadāśiva<sup>49</sup>. We have already examined the role of the Sātavāḥna and Ikṣvāku support of the Brahmanical faith and the problems lying therein, viz., the dependence on inscriptions to establish the faith of the rulers.

Another problem that remains concerns the identification of the deity installed in the shrines of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. While all the shrines at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa near the citadel area have been by-and-large attributed to Brahmanical faith, evidence is not very forthcoming so far as the deity enshrined in the temple is concerned except in the case of a few, such as the Noḍaḡisvarasvāmi temple or the Pushpabhadrasvāmi temple, both of which

---

<sup>48</sup> A. Ray, *Op.cit.*: 62

<sup>49</sup> IK. Sarma, *Op.cit.*: 79

belonged to Śiva. A Śivaliṅga, dislodged from its original position was found in the Noḍagiśvarasvāmi temple. A limestone *liṅga* and small seated Nandi bull was found from the Puṣpabhadrasvāmi temple complex. The *dhvaja stambha* inscription in chaste Sanskrit refers to the consecration of this temple called *devakula*, for the God described therein as Mahādeva, Puṣpabhadrasvāmi (also *Bhagavān* Puṣpabhadrasvāmi).

As far as other sites are concerned our evidence is inconclusive in nature. For instance Site 123 showed only a head part of Kārttikeya in limestone. To conclude on the basis of merely this evidence that the temple may have belonged to Karttikeya is not problem free. Exactly which deity was enshrined in the apsidal temple of Site 97 is also not known. On the basis of the Śaivite sounding names of pilgrims it has been conjectured that the temple may have belonged to Śiva or Kārttikeya and since the structure is located within the citadel it has been suggested that the temple was evidently dedicated for the patron-deity of the Ikṣvāku-s, viz., Kārttikeya<sup>50</sup>. In this context we may point out that Bhattiprolu casket inscription which contains the name of a person called Śiva<sup>51</sup>. This instance makes it amply clear that personal names cannot be taken to be indicators of the religious affiliation of the structures. Site 77 has also been suggested to be dedicated to Kārttikeya. However, all we have available to come to attribute the temple to Karttikeya is a head portion, with fine *usnisa* type head-dress, in limestone. This piece was recovered outside the compound<sup>52</sup>. This evidence is

---

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*: 117

<sup>51</sup> *EI*, II: 326

<sup>52</sup>IK. Sarma, *Op. cit.*: 120

only partial. We cannot conclusively assign this temple to have belonged to Kārttikeya. Sites 17 and 56 have been believed to belong to Goddess Hārīti. The torso of the limestone image from Site 17 is missing. All that has been found is a seated figure with her legs suspended. This temple and the image are taken to be of post-Ikṣvāku period. However, we have no evidence to corroborate it. It has also been suggested that this image may have been that of the consort of the God housed in the main unit, whose traces are not found<sup>53</sup>.

We thus cannot really identify the structures discovered at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa. If they were temples indeed, we do not know the character of the deities enshrined in the structures. The evidence of these shrines was taken to corroborate the inscriptional evidence of the Ikṣvāku-s, which gave us the impression that the Ikṣvāku-s were Brahmins.

The temple at Guḍimallam is known as the Paraśurameśvara temple on the basis of the deity housed in the shrine, who is the *Īśvara* holding an axe (Parasu), dark and charming (Rāma) and not in any case the sixth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu<sup>54</sup>. Here again, we do not even have epigraphical information as regards the circumstances, which led to the choice of the name of the main deity. How a problem lies in using the epigraphical evidence at face value is also evident in the case of the copper-plate records of Vikramāditya II Prabhumeru, AD 910-916, of the Bāna dynasty, which contained a lengthy eulogy addressed to the main deity but the description hardly tallied with the form of the figure carved on the *liṅga*. It

---

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*: 126

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*: 41

appears that the composer of the record was not fully aware of the characteristic form of Śiva<sup>55</sup>.

A lacuna also exists in using present day evidences for identification of sites. Site 122<sup>56</sup>, which is a vast rectangular tank measuring 94.18 x 78.94 and 4.57 deep has been suggested to serve a ceremonial purpose, perhaps it was a *teppakulam* used for annual floating festival of the Gods. An obvious problem exists in this kind of conclusion arrived at. Linking up present day festivals to mute archaeological evidences so much separated by time does not lead us to right conclusions.

#### *5.4 Negotiations between Faiths*

Although, we have raised questions regarding the identification of temples, the deity enshrined in those structures,, there is no denying that the brahmanical faith existed in the times when Buddhism was the dominant faith in the region. The early dates of the shrine at Guḍimallam, the *caturmukhalingam* from Amarāvati, are testimonies to the fact.

Our evidence is meagre because of which we are unable to draw out the nature of the relationship between the two faiths. The Brahmanical temples and the Buddhistic shrines at Nāgārajunakōṇḍa were spatially separated. The Brahmanical temples are concentrated near the citadel area while the Buddhistic sites were spread throughout the valley, except the river bank with an early

---

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*: 42

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*: 115, also H. Sarkar, BN. Misra, *Op.cit*: 27



concentration around the Cūla-Dhammagiri . However, Site 35 was located on the south-eastern slopes of Nāgārajunakōṇḍa hill on which Mahiśāsaka *Vihāra* was situated. This is the only instance other than the one at Site 84, which is located in close proximity to the hill monastery at foot of Peddakundellagutta hill, wherein the Brahmanical and Buddhist structures are located near each other.

Site 84 has also been identified with certainty but it may have housed some guardian deity<sup>57</sup>. In the centre of this rectangular chamber, there is a pedestal with a moon-stone step. The pillared hall consists of pillars bearing half-lotus medallions. The moonstone step and the half lotus medallion embellished pillars are Buddhistic architectural features. This shows the borrowing of features from Buddhistic shrines. However, a point to bear in mind is fact that the shrine has not been identified for sure as housing a Brahmanical divinity.

On the basis of the constructional details, it has been argued that Buddhism influenced the construction of the Brahmanical temples. Brahmanical temples show apsidal construction, which was supposed to be Buddhistic constructional details. One of the three units of the Aṣṭabhujasvāmi temple, the *garbhagrha* of the Puṣpabhadrasvāmi temple and many other structures are apsidal in plan at Nāgārajunakōṇḍa. At Guḍimallam, in the second phase (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) an apsidal structure was built around the *liṅga-vedikā* unit.

The *vedikā* was constructed 50 cms away from the *liṅga* and was of 1.35 m length on each side. It was an architectural evidence first of its kind in a Brahmanical shrine. The uprights possess fluted shafts interspersed by lotus

---

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*: 119

medallions and half-medallions at the terminal ends. The *śuci*-s are lenticular in section linked to the verticals. The date assigned to this rail is the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. It may be remembered that the railing around the Amaravati *stūpa* had also stood with high embellishment in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC onwards. We cannot be sure if the railing at Guḍimallam had taken inspiration from Buddhist architectural pattern. In the Āndhradesā, the evidence of a railing comes only from Amaravati. In the earliest phase the railing at Amarāvati was executed in granite stone. In the later period, limestone was used. The *vedikā* at Guḍimallam measured only 60 cms above ground level and was made of the same igneous rock of which the *liṅga* was made. The constructional pattern of the *vedikā*-s of Amarāvati and Guḍimallam are similar but we cannot prove conclusively that one influenced the other, although the granite railing did exist at Amarāvati before the Guḍimallam railing was made.

The Buddhist reliefs at both Amarāvati and Nāgarjunakōṇḍa show Brahmanical deities such as Ganeṣa, Śri, etc. Śri was depicted as seated on the calyx of a lotus flower on a coping stone at Amarāvati<sup>58</sup>. Another coping fragment shows a dwarf with an elephant's head but without its proboscis and tusks. Çoomaraswamy has pointed out that this was the earliest approach towards the form of Ganeṣa<sup>59</sup>. These gods are shown as helping in carrying the flower garland, which emerged from a *makara*'s mouth. These figures were depicted from the earliest period onwards.

---

<sup>58</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the CGM*, Chennai, 1998: 158

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*

Available evidence thus shows coexistence of the two faiths and perhaps some amount of borrowing of constructional features by the Brahmanical structures from Buddhist ones. The Buddhist reliefs not only show Brahmanical deities like Sri and Ganesa, but also *Jātaka*-s such as the Daśaratha Jātaka, show similarities with the Rāmāyana. Nāga Mucalinda was a favourite theme of the Nagarjunakonda artists. Naga-s are shown as encircling the dome of the *stūpa* or providing protection to the Buddha by their taut hoods. The single nāga headdress worn by them, helps identify Nāgā women.

The existence of different faiths and practices is evident in the Andhra region in our period of consideration. The religious history of the Deccan has been viewed as centring around the triumph of north Indian creeds over the local primitive forms of worship and rituals<sup>60</sup>. However, there existed the cults of Lajjā Gauri and the Mother Goddess also. We have made a reference to the Nāga cult. In view of such evidences, the above position appears to be very narrow.

### *5.5 Future Research Strategy*

The Buddhist faith enjoyed enormous support from the masses. It is a well corroborated statement in light of numerous donations that the Buddhist sites received from people belonging to all sections of the society including the royalty, the ascetics, ladies, perfumers, garlanders, *mahāsenapati*-s etc. we see no such donations being made to the Brahmanical structures in our period, except for a

---

<sup>60</sup> G. Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan*, New Delhi, 1982: 140

few records at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa which mention the date of the structure concerned by referring to the regnal years of the rulers. Lay people are not shown as making donations. In this context, the changing nature of patronage in the emerging Brahmanical temples will have to be looked at subsequently.

In the present study we have been unable to look at the social base of the faiths. An examination of the backgrounds of the lay supporters and the dynamics of their relationship with the monastic order will bring up new details. This issue falls out of the scope of the present study and may be taken up for further research. Another aspect that has not been dealt with in this study is the relationship of Āndhradeśa with Sri Lanka and South East Asia. The nature of the contacts with Sri Lanka would be an interesting issue to examine. At Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, we have the existence of the Siṅhala *Vihāra*. This is enough evidence to show a relationship between the two regions.

We have already seen that Andhra was well connected with foreign trade networks, in the preceding chapters. Ideas travelled with traders to distant lands and ideas from distant lands filtered in. Amarāvati type images of the Buddha have been discovered in Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka, Dong Duong (Hanoi Museum), Khorat in Thailand and Sempaga in Celebes. Dong Duong Buddha is unmistakably inspired by Amarāvati art. A special symbolic form evolved for the depiction of Buddha in which he was depicted as a Flaming pillar, feet on lotus and topped by wheel surmounted by the *trīśūla* that has no parallel anywhere in

India, in the Krishna valley. This representation was adopted and represented within a couple of centuries in far off central Asia<sup>61</sup>.

The Buddhist circuit also within the Indian subcontinent needs to be examined and Andhra Pradesh's relations with the Deccan and then with the subcontinent, is also an issue that needs to be researched. In this context, we shall need to examine the changing nature of the Buddha's biography and how the literary sources reflect the changing geographical horizon of Buddhism, and the places considered to be sacred by the Buddhists.

At Anurādhapura, there is ample evidence of the coalescence of the royalty and the religious activities. The monasteries were located immediately beyond the city wall. From about the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards, in order to enhance the importance of the city and, in particular the palace grounds in the ritual life of the Buddhist, the tooth relic brought to the country in this century was housed in a shrine located within the palace grounds. The relic was taken to Abhayagiri monastery for annual festival and was brought back with great ceremony to its original location<sup>62</sup>. The rituals, performed in the inner city added a religious aura to the political authority, and were symbolic devices that helped legitimize the political power in ancient Sri Lankan society<sup>63</sup>. An active and a direct relationship is witnessed between the royalty and the monastic order at Anurādhapura. Monasteries enjoyed immunities from royal intervention, and any infringement of rights was resisted by the monks, who rejected alms and donations or moved out

---

<sup>61</sup> C. Sivaramamurti, *Early Andhra Art and Iconography*, Chennai, 1979: 7

<sup>62</sup> RALH. Gunawardana, 'Anuradhapura: Ritual, Power and Resistance in a Precolonial South Asian City', Miller, et. al. eds, *Domination and Resistance*, London, 1989: 160-61

<sup>63</sup> Ibid: 162

of the capital. Such protests sometimes also led to violence<sup>64</sup>. The other aspects of the city Anurādhapura is also well known. It was a commercial centre, though not totally divorced from agriculture. The hinterland in the Malvatu river basin supplied its basic requirement of food<sup>65</sup>. In addition to being a seat of the royalty, and a religious centre, Anurādhapura was a consumer city and an agricultural producer, as well, as is corroborated by diversion of resources for improvement of irrigation facilities for its hinterland. The city, over and above all this, was also the foremost centre of cultural and intellectual activity of the time. The clergy involved themselves in creative and intellectual pursuits. Scholars from distant places like Kashmir, South India, the Bihar-Bengal area and China visited Anurādhapura, attracted by the standards of Buddhist scholarship for which the monasteries of Anuradhapura were renowned, and also by the rare manuscripts their libraries housed<sup>66</sup>.

Such a study so as to reveal all the facets of a city would be interesting to undertake for the urban centres of the Andhra region. So far we do not have much data available for doing the same, but such a study may be taken up in future by piecing together all the scattered and reticent data available.

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid: 174

<sup>65</sup> Ibid: 169

<sup>66</sup> Ibid: 171

## APPENDIX

### TABLE 1: MEGALITHIC SITES

| Site                      | Reference                                | Chronology | Material culture<br>/Antiquities  | Structures  | Remark         |
|---------------------------|--|------------|---|---|----------------|
| <i>Adilabad District</i>  |  |            |   |   |                |
| Pochampad                 | IAR, 1963-64:1<br>1964-65:1<br>1966-67:1 | Meg.       | B&RW, iron implements, terracotta figurines, all black, all red wares-dishes, stands, pots, bowls, etc. | Cairn circles, cists & a rectangular platform for exposing the dead body perhaps, double circle of stones |                |
| <i>Anantapur District</i> |  |            |   |   |                |
| Akkamma-konda             | IAR, 1979-80:1                           | Meg.       |   | Stone circles-group stones for circles & cairns packing   |                |
| Andepalli                 | IAR, 1965-66:1                           | Meg.       | All black and brown and red wares   |   |                |
| Gulapalyam-hill           | IAR, 1965-66:1                           | Meg.       | All black and brown and red wares   |   |                |
| Hullikally                | IAR, 1978-79:62-63                       | Meg.       | B&RW, unburnished grey or black, burnished grey wares, burials, polished stone tools, ash mounds        | Not specified   | Neo-Chalco-Meg |
| Kalyandrug                | IAR, 1962-63:65                          | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW & all black wares   | Dolmen & some menhirs   |                |
| Mudigal                   | IAR, 1978-79:62-63<br>1980-81:89         | Meg.       | All black and brown and red wares   | Megalith and menhir, svastika cist burial   |                |
| <i>Chittoor District</i>  |  |            |   |   |                |
| Basinikonda               | IAR, 1962-63:1                           | Meg.       | Not specified   | Not specified   |                |

| Site                          | Reference                 | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities | Structures              | Remark                         |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Chittoor Distt. contd.</i> |                           |            |                               |                         |                                |
| Bodigutta                     | IAR, 1963-64:86           | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |
| Ellampalle                    | IAR, 1962-63:1            | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Dolmens                 | Early & middle stone age tools |
| Madankonda                    | IAR, 1962-63:1            | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Dolmenoid cists         |                                |
| Mushtur                       | IAR, 1963-64:86           | Meg        | Not specified                 | Dolmens                 |                                |
| Tavalam                       | IAR, 1963-64:86           | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Stone circles & dolmens |                                |
| <i>Cuddappah District</i>     |                           |            |                               |                         |                                |
| Akkireddipalli                | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |
| Balijapalli                   | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           | EH-Meg                         |
| Balireddigari palli           | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |
| Chinnakudala                  | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |
| Dappalli                      | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |
| Gangaperuru                   | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |
| Gangayapalli                  | Puratattva 18, 1987-88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                 | Not specified           |                                |



| Site                              | Reference                        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                  | Structures    | Remark                         |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|--|---------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Cuddappah<br/>Dist. contd.</i> |                                  |            |  |               |                                |
| Gundlapalli                       | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Joukulapalli                      | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Kanyatirtham                      | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Koduru                            | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Mylavaram                         | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Nekanapuram                       | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Palagiri                          | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Peddamu-<br>diyam                 | IAR, 1991-<br>92:96              | Meg.       | Black painted red<br>ware & megalithic<br>B&RW |               | Severael<br>stone age<br>sites |
| Pendlimarri                       | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Sankhavaram                       | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |
| Timmasamu-<br>dram                | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified                                  | Not specified |                                |

| Site                                  | Reference                        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                                       | Structures   | Remark  |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|---|--|---|
| <i>Cuddappah<br/>Distt. contd.</i>    |                                  |            |   |  |   |
| Vellaturu                             | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified   | Not specified  |   |
| Vontimitta                            | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified   | Not specified  |   |
| Yamaturu                              | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified   | Not specified  |   |
| Yerraballa                            | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified   | Not specified  |   |
| Yerraguntla                           | Puratattva<br>18, 1987-<br>88:84 | Meg.       | Not specified   | Not specified  |   |
| <i>East<br/>Godavari<br/>District</i> |                                  |            |   |  |   |
| Adurru                                | IAR, 1962-<br>63:65              | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW   |  | EH-Meg,<br>Sherds<br>found near<br>the<br>Buddhist<br>stupa |
| Gudimellanka                          | IAR, 1962-<br>63:65              | Meg.       |   |  |   |
| Moral                                 | IAR, 1972-<br>73:1               | Meg        | B&RW  |  |   |
| Vemagiri-<br>gutta                    | IAR, 1989-<br>90:1               | Meg.       | Coarse gritty RW,<br>red & black ware,<br>buff ware & black<br>ware |  | Meso-neo-<br>megalithic                                     |
| <i>Guntur<br/>District</i>            |                                  |            |   |  |   |
| Amaravati                             | IAR, 1958-<br>59:5<br>1971-72:5  | Meg.       | B&RW sherds.<br>Period I- pits                                      | Megalithic in a<br>cluster to the<br>southeast of the<br>Iksavaku wall | EH-Meg<br>Stupa<br>complex                                  |

| Site                        | Reference                                     | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures                            | Remark                     |
|-----------------------------|---|------------|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>Guntur Distt. contd.</i> |   |            |  |                                       |                            |
| Chityalta                   | IAR, 1987-88:1                                | Meg.       |  |                                       |                            |
| Dharanikota                 | IAR, 1962-63:1-2<br>1963-64:2-3               | Meg        | Megalithic B&RW  |                                       | EH-Meg                     |
| Gandluru                    | IAR, 1982-83:1-2                              | Meg.       | B&RW, megalithic Black, no iron objects  | Two houses of mud brick walls         | Neo                        |
| Gokinakonda                 | IAR, 1980-81:1-2                              | Meg.       |  |                                       | EH-Meg                     |
| Lam                         | IAR, 1960-61:1                                | Meg.       | RW, B&RW   | Circles with trimmed granite boulders |                            |
| Le Malle                    | IAR, 1962-63:                                 | Meg.       |  |                                       |                            |
| Mallavaram                  | IAR, 1963-64:86                               | Meg.       |  |                                       | EH-Meg                     |
| Mallepadu                   | IAR, 1966-67:2                                | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW, all red wares, semi precious stone beads-jasper, carnelian etc. |                                       |                            |
| Mallipadu                   | IAR, 1987-88:1                                | Meg        | B&RW   |                                       | EH-Meg                     |
| Manchikallu                 | IAR, 1962-63:66                               | Meg        | Megalithic B&RW  |                                       |                            |
| Motadaka                    | IAR, 1962-63:                                 | Meg.       |  |                                       |                            |
| Nagarjuna-konda             | IAR, 1957-58:<br>1958-59:5-10<br>1959-60:5-10 | Meg.       | Pottery, iron implements   | Cairn circles, period circles         | Palaeo-<br>neo- EH-<br>Meg |
| Symarajapuram               | IAR, 1961-62                                  | Meg.       |  |                                       |                            |

| Site                        | Reference                                  | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remark             |
|-----------------------------|--|------------|---|---|--------------------|
| <i>Guntur Distt. contd.</i> |  |            |   |   |                    |
| Yedlapadu                   | IAR, 1962-63:                              | Meg.       |   |   |                    |
| Hyderabad District          |  |            |   |   |                    |
| Balajigutta                 | IAR, 1958-59:68                            | Meg.       |   | 35 circles  |                    |
| Hashmatpet                  | IAR, 1970-71:1-2                           | Meg.       | B&RW, all black, all red, funnel shaped lids, ring stands, bowls & dishes   |   |                    |
| Koisaram                    | IAR, 1958-59:68                            | Meg.       |   | 21 stone circles  |                    |
| <i>Karimnagar District</i>  |  |            |   |   |                    |
| Bajgir Sharif               | IAR, 1991-92:123                           | Meg.       |   |   | Megalithic burials |
| Budigepally                 | IAR, 1976-77:3-4                           | Meg.       | B&RW & associated wares   |   |                    |
| Dhudikota                   | IAR, 1973-74:5                             | Meg.       | B&RW, red slipped & decorated wares, beads.   | Megalithic stone circles in the vicinity                            | EH-Meg             |
| Kadambapur                  | IAR, 1974-75:3-4                           | Meg.       | Red slipped ware with incised decorated dull red ware, conical bowls & coarse B&RW  | Double stone circles, cairns packing, pit-burials, port-holed cists |                    |
| Peddabunkur                 | IAR, 1968-69:1-2<br>1970-71:2<br>1971-72:2 | Meg.       | Iron objects, copper beads, bangles, terracotta figurines, beads of jasper, agate, carnelian, hoard of pmc, B&RW, RW, coarse B&RW |   | EH-Meg             |

| Site                    | Reference                   | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                | Structures   | Remark          |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|--|--|-----------------|
| <i>Khammam District</i> |                             |            |  |  |                 |
| Khammam                 | IAR, 1989-90:2              | Meg        |  | Dolmen, dolmenoid cists burials with or without stone circles  |                 |
| Pasara-Tanduvvari       | IAR, 1986-87:               | Meg.       | Iron weapons, megalithic pottery, sacrophagi |  | On hill tops    |
| Viradharannavaram       | IAR, 1987-88:3              | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW                              | Urn burials  | EH-Meg          |
| <i>Krishna District</i> |                             |            |  |  |                 |
| Agiripalli              | IAR, 1976-77:5<br>1969-70:1 | Meg.       | B&RW, red slipped ware, pale red ware        | Cist burials with cairn package, circle stones either missing or not provided, sarcophagi, urn burials |                 |
| Akkanna-Madanna         | IAR, 1962-63:67             | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW & all black ware             |  |                 |
| Anasagaram              | IAR, 1977-78:2              | Meg.       |  |  |                 |
| Donabanda               | IAR, 1961-62:1              | Meg.       |  |  | Chalco-EH-Meg   |
| Gangalamma              | IAR, 1975-76                | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW                              |  | Habitation site |
| Kanukollu               | IAR, 1962-63:66             | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW & all black ware             | Ancient mud foot   | EH-Meg          |
| Kesarapalli             | IAR, 1961-62:1              | Meg.       | Iron, B&RW, black slipped ware               |  | Chalco-EH-Meg   |
| Kolavennue              | IAR, 1986-87:9              | Meg.       | B&RW, vertical stone slabs or orthostats     |  |                 |

| Site                         | Reference        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                                | Structures  | Remark |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------|--|---|--------|
| <i>Krishna Distt. contd.</i> |                  |            |  |   |        |
| Lam                          | IAR, 1987-88:3   | Meg.       |  | Megalithic cist burials   | EH-Meg |
| Muktyala                     | IAR, 1973-74:5-6 | Meg.       |  | Cist burials bounded by cairn-circles (occasionally multi-chambered cists also) |        |
| <i>Kurnool District</i>      |                  |            |  |   |        |
| Alluru                       | IAR, 1976-77:7   | Meg.       |  |   |        |
| Bastipadu                    | IAR, 1962-63:2   | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW  |   |        |
| Bugganipali                  | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       |  |   |        |
| Diguvametta                  | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       |  |   |        |
| Dornal                       | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       | Lithic tools, cement factory & megaliths close to each other |   |        |
| Dronachalam                  | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       |  |   |        |
| Giddaluru                    | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       |  |   |        |
| Hattibellagallu              | IAR, 1958-59:11  | Meg.       | Few pieces of megalithic RW                                  |   |        |
| Jonnagiri                    | IAR, 1957-58:64  | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW  |   |        |
| Kalagotla                    | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       |  |   |        |
| Kuppagallu                   | IAR, 1958-59:11  | Meg.       | Megalithic RW & black polished ware                          |   |        |

| Site                             | Reference                                      | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures                                       | Remark  |
|----------------------------------|--|------------|--|--|---|
| <i>Kurnool<br/>Distt. contd.</i> |  |            |  |  |   |
| Markapur                         | IAR, 1959-60:11                                | Meg.       |  |  |   |
| Metupalle                        | IAR, 1963-64:4                                 | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW & black painted RW   |  | Neo- EH-Meg   |
| Miriampalli                      | IAR, 1959-60:11                                | Meg.       |  |  |   |
| Miriapuram                       | IAR, 1962-63:2                                 | Meg.       | B&RW   | Dolmenoid cists with port holes                  | Orthostats arranged in Svastika pattern                 |
| Nilugonda                        | IAR, 1963-64:4<br>1981-82:8                    | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW, black painted RW  |  | EH-Meg  |
| Owk                              | IAR, 1981-82:8                                 | Meg.       |  |  | EH-Meg  |
| Panyam                           | IAR, 1959-60:11                                | Meg.       |  |  |   |
| Patapadu                         | IAR, 1959-60:11                                | Meg.       |  |  | EH-Meg  |
| Pratakota                        | IAR, 1972-73:2                                 | Meg.       | B&RW   |  |   |
| Pusalpadu                        | IAR, 1962-63:67                                | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW, steatite discular beads   |  | Neo-megalithic -Early historic                          |
| Ramapuram                        | IAR, 1980-81:3-7<br>1981-82:3-8<br>1982-83:3-6 | Meg.       | Iron objects, B&RW, terracotta, steatite, red & black wares, shell, bone, copper objects | Single urn, double urn, cists, oblong, pit, etc. | Meso-chalco-megalithic burials in habitation areas only |
| Ravipadu                         | IAR, 1959-60:11                                | Meg.       |  |  |   |
| Satanikota                       | IAR, 1976-77:7                                 | Meg.       |  |  | EH-Meg  |

| Site                | Reference        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                                | Structures               | Remark           |
|---------------------|------------------|------------|--|--------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Kurnool</i>      |                  |            |  |                          |                  |
| <i>Distt. contd</i> |                  |            |  |                          |                  |
| Sivavaram           | IAR, 1963-64:4   | Meg.       | Black painted RW, burnished grey ware, megalithic B&RW       |                          | Neo-megalithic   |
| Srisailam           | IAR, 1982-83:132 | Meg.       |  | Megalithic cairn circles |                  |
| Taticherla          | IAR, 1965-66:3-4 | Meg.       | B&RW   |                          |                  |
| Timmapuram          | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW  |                          | Stone age-EH-Meg |
| Tokapalli           | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       |  |                          | EH-Meg           |
| Ummadi-varam        | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       | Lithic tools, cement factory & megaliths close to each other |                          |                  |
| Vemulapadu          | IAR, 1963-64:4   | Meg.       | Megalithic B&RW, black painted RW                            |                          | Neo-EH-Meg       |
| Yeguvacher-lopalli  | IAR, 1959-60:11  | Meg.       | Lithic tools, cement factory & megaliths close to each other |                          |                  |
| Yerragonda-palem    | IAR, 1959-60     | Meg.       |  |                          |                  |
| <i>Mahbub-nagar</i> |                  |            |  |                          |                  |
| <i>District</i>     |                  |            |  |                          |                  |
| Ayyawari-palle      | IAR, 1979-80:7   | Meg.       |  |                          |                  |
| Bijjiawaram         | IAR, 1982-83:8   | Meg.       |  |                          |                  |
| Budidapadu          | IAR, 1979-80:8   | Mrg.       | B&RW   | Megalithic burials       |                  |



| Site                              | Reference                       | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures                     | Remark  |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Mahbub-nagar Distt. contd.</i> |                                 |            |   |                                |   |
| Chagatur                          | IAR, 1965-66:4<br>1977-78:11-12 | Meg.       | Red & black ware, B&RW, beads of terracotta, shell, stone discs or spindle whorls of stone, ornaments | Dolmenoid cists, stone circles | EH-Meg  |
| Chellapadu                        | IAR, 1976-77:8                  | Meg.       |   |                                | EH-Meg  |
| Chellapahad                       | IAR, 1979-80:7                  | Meg.       |   |                                |   |
| Chellipad                         | IAR, 1967-68:5                  | Meg.       | B&RW  | Cairn circles                  |   |
| Chinnamarur                       | IAR, 1979-80                    | Meg        | Iron objects, B&RW, RW  | Cists burials                  | Chalco. Cemetery habitation parallel with megalithic people |
| Dhapur                            | IAR, 1980-81:8                  | Meg.       |   |                                |   |
| Dharur                            | IAR, 1982-83:8                  | Meg.       |   |                                |   |
| Dasarapalle                       | IAR, 1982-83:8                  | Meg.       |   |                                |   |
| Erladinne                         | IAR, 1986-87:11<br>1989-90:122  | Meg.       |   | Cairn circles                  | Stone age-beginnings -EH-Meg                                |
| Gondimalla                        | IAR, 1965-66:4<br>1977-78:11-12 | Meg.       |   | Stone circles                  |   |
| Gonpad                            | IAR, 1982-83:8                  | Meg.       |   |                                |   |
| Jammichedu                        | IAR, 1982-83:8                  | Meg.       |   |                                |   |

| Site                             | Reference          | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures   | Remark                      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------|---|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>Mahbub-nagar Distt. contd</i> |                    |            |   |  |                             |
| Jannichedu                       | IAR, 1980-81:8     | Meg.       |   |  |                             |
| Kalvakurti                       | IAR, 1982-83:7     | Meg.       |   | Stone circles, menhirs & dolmen  |                             |
| Kandur                           | IAR, 1982-83:8     | Meg.       |   | Stone circles & cairn circles with or without cists                      | Megalithic - early historic |
| Karapakala                       | IAR, 1979-80:8-9   | Meg.       | Copper bell with bone tongue crude B&RW & coarse RW   | Pit circles with cairns circles  | EH-Meg                      |
| Kondapalli                       | IAR, 1982-83:8     | Meg.       |   |  |                             |
| Kondur                           | IAR, 1979-80:7     | Meg.       |   |  | EH-Meg                      |
| Kudavelli                        | IAR, 1976-77:8     | Meg.       |   |  | EH-Meg                      |
| Mahbubnagar                      | IAR, 1982-83:7     | Meg.       |   | Megalithic cairn circles, rectangular cists                              |                             |
| Mallesvaram                      | IAR, 1979-80:6-8   | Meg.       |   | Cairn circle with unhewd boulders as circles stones                      |                             |
| Manchupalle                      | IAR, 1979-80:7     | Meg.       |   |  |                             |
| Nandimalla                       | IAR, 1982-83:7     | Meg.       | Cairn circles   |  |                             |
| Peddamaru                        | IAR, 1977-78:12-13 | Meg.       | B&RW, black polished ware, red polished ware, buff wares, beads-terracotta, jasper, carnelian | Port- holed cists with passage, stone circles, cist burials, pit burials | EH-Meg                      |

| Site                             | Reference                    | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities         | Structures  | Remark                 |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| <i>Mahbub-nagar Distt. contd</i> |                              |            |                                       |   |                        |
| Polkampalli                      | IAR, 1982-83:7               | Meg.       |                                       | Cairn circles with post-holed rectangular cists                 | Meso-megalithic        |
| Sangala                          | IAR, 1982-83:8               | Meg.       |                                       |   |                        |
| Tadikonda                        | IAR, 1982-83:8               | Meg.       |                                       | Cairns circles with north - south orientation rectangular cists | Meso-chalco-megalithic |
| Timmaipalli                      | IAR, 1982-83:7               | Meg.       |                                       | Megalithic crain circles  |                        |
| Tirmalaipalli                    | IAR, 1982-83:8               | Meg.       |                                       | Cairn circles   |                        |
| Uppair                           | IAR, 1980-81:8               | Meg.       |                                       |   |                        |
| Uppalapadu                       | IAR, 1976-77:8<br>1977-78:12 | Meg.       | B&RW, red & black wares, iron objects | Cairn circles with rectangular pits, port- holed cists          | EH-Meg                 |
| Upperu                           | IAR, 1984-85:6               | Meg.       |                                       |   |                        |
| Urkonda                          | IAR, 1982-83:7               | Meg.       |                                       | Cairn circles with rectangular cists                            | EH-Meg                 |
| Urukonda                         | IAR, 1980-81:8               | Meg.       |                                       |   |                        |
| Vattem                           | IAR, 1988-89:2               | Meg.       |                                       |   |                        |
| <i>Medak District</i>            |                              |            |                                       |   |                        |
| Akkannapalli                     | IAR, 1961-62:2               | Meg.       |                                       | Stone circles   |                        |
| Gonepalli                        | IAR, 1988-89:2               | Meg.       |                                       |   | Burials found          |

| Site                       | Reference       | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remark              |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------|---|---|---------------------|
| <i>Medak Distt. contd.</i> |                 |            |   |   |                     |
| Ismailkhanpet              | IAR, 1958-59:11 | Meg.       | Sherds of megalithic B&RW etched carnelian beads  |   | Stone age           |
| Kohir                      | IAR, 1987-88:6  | Meg.       | Red, black, B&RW, chocolate red wares, figureins of terracotta, glass bangles & pieces of unidentified iron objects |   |                     |
| Malial                     | IAR, 1961-62:2  | Meg.       |   | Stone circles   |                     |
| Siddipat                   | IAR, 1961-62:2  | Meg.       |   | Stone circles   |                     |
| Venkatarao-pet             | IAR, 1961-62:2  | Meg.       |   | Stone circles   |                     |
| Verareddipalli             | IAR, 1961-62:2  | Meg.       | B&RW sherds   | Stone circles   |                     |
| <i>Nalgonda District</i>   |                 |            |   |   |                     |
| Chandryya fields           | IAR,            | Meg.       | Crude furnace with iron slag. Megalithic B&RW, iron objects-sickles, draggers, javelins etc                         | Stone circles dolmenoid cists, urn burials, cairn circles | Stone age beginning |
| Hazurnagar                 | IAR, 1983-84:5  |            | Cist with svastika plan, skeletal remains, faceted carnelian bead, B&RW   |   |                     |
| Narasapur                  | IAR, 1987-88:6  | Meg.       |   | Megalithic cairn circles                                  |                     |

| Site                     | Reference       | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures               | Remark |
|--------------------------|-----------------|------------|--|--------------------------|--------|
| <i>Nellore District</i>  |                 |            |  |                          |        |
| Dachur                   | IAR, 1976-77:9  | Meg.       | Habitation site  |                          |        |
| Jonnavada                | IAR, 1976-77:9  | Meg.       | B&RW, funnel shaped lids, BE, big vases in RW, semi precious stones, terracotta sacrophagi | Burials                  | EH-Meg |
| Kallur                   | IAR, 1988-89:2  | Meg.       |  | Cist circle type burials |        |
| <i>Prakasam District</i> |                 |            |  |                          |        |
| Darmavaram               | IAR, 1977-78:2  | Meg.       |  |                          | EH-Meg |
| Goguladinne              | IAR, 1979-80:10 | Meg.       |  |                          |        |
| Gundlapalem              | IAR, 1982-83:13 | Meg.       |  |                          |        |
| Guntupalle               | IAR, 1977-78:2  | Meg.       |  |                          |        |
| Gurizepalle              | IAR, 1978-79:4  | Meg.       |  |                          | EH-Meg |
| Janagamahe-swarapuram    | IAR, 1977-78:2  | Meg.       |  |                          |        |
| Manikes-waram            | IAR, 1977-78:2  | Meg.       |  |                          | EH-Meg |
| Naidupalem               | IAR, 1978-78:4  | Meg.       |  |                          |        |
| Seethanagu-lavaram       | IAR, 1979-80:10 | Meg.       |  |                          |        |

| Site                       | Reference        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                                  | Structures                                     | Remark  |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------|--|--|---|
| <i>Rangareddy District</i> |                  |            |  |  |   |
| Manneguda                  | IAR, 1987-88:7   | Meg.       |  | Cairn circles                                  | Extensive on low lateritic hillocks                                       |
| <i>Warangal District</i>   |                  |            |  |  |   |
| Mettigutta                 | IAR, 1976-77:5   | Meg.       |  | Cairn circles                                  |   |
| Polakonda                  | IAR, 1975-76:5-6 | Meg.       | Iron objects, B&RW, hand made brown & black burnished ware, RW | Potter's kiln with Neolithic hand made pottery | Neo-Meg- EH EH coeval with Meg.. Discontinuity noticed in 2 trenches only |

**TABLE 2: EARLY HISTORIC and BUDDHIST SITES**

*EH: Early historic, B&RW: Black-and -Red Ware, RPW: Red Polished Ware, BPW: Black Polished Ware, RW: Red Ware, NBPW: Northern Black Polished Ware, PMC: Punch Marked Coins, Ins.: Inscription*

| Site                      | Reference                      | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                                       | Structures | Remarks                             |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|---|------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Anantapur District</i> |                                |            |   |            |                                     |
| Gadikal                   | IAR, 1965-66: 1                | EH         | Early Historic pottery  |            |                                     |
| Gulapalayanm              | - do -                         | EH         | - do -  |            |                                     |
| Kambaduru                 | IAR, 1962-63: 65               | EH         | Rouletted ware, Russet coated painted ware, Megalithic B&RW         |            |                                     |
| Kunduripi                 | IAR, 1965-66:                  | EH         | Early Historic pottery  |            |                                     |
| Sasanakota                | IAR, 1957-58: 64               | EH         | B&RW, Russet coated painted ware, Rouletted ware                    |            |                                     |
| <i>Chittoor District</i>  |                                |            |   |            |                                     |
| Gudimallam                | IAR, 1973-74: 1                | EH         | Early Historic B&RW, Russet coated white painted ware, baked bricks |            | Influence of Buddhism on Brahminism |
| <i>Cuddappah District</i> |                                |            |   |            |                                     |
| Achhavelli                | Puratattava , 18, 1987-88 : 84 | EH         |   |            |                                     |
| Annaluru                  | - do -                         | EH         |   |            |                                     |
| Balijapalli               | - do -                         | EH         |   |            | Meg - EH                            |
| Bayanavandla-Ppalli       | - do -                         | EH         |   |            |                                     |
| Budidagunta-Palli         | - do -                         | EH         |   |            |                                     |

| Site  | Reference                   | Chronology  | Material culture /Antiquities          | Structures | Remarks      |
|---|-----------------------------|---|--|------------|--------------|
| <i>Cuddappah Distt. contd.</i><br>Budidapalli | Puratattva, 18,1987-88: 84  | EH  |  |            |              |
| Buddayapalli                                  | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Chennuru                                      | -do -                       | EH  |  |            |              |
| Chilamakaru                                   | IAR, 1961-63: 65            | EH  | Black painted RW, also megalithic B&RW |            |              |
| Chintakunta                                   | Puratattva, 18, 1987-88: 84 | EH  |  |            |              |
| Chinnakomerla                                 | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Devaraguttapalli                              | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Gandikovuru                                   | Puratattva, 18, 1987-88: 84 | EH  |  |            |              |
| Golapalli                                     | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Illuru  | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Kottapeta                                     | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Koppulu                                       | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Kuchupapa                                     | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Lanjakanumala-gutta                           | IAR, 1979-80: 1             | EH, Buddhist 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.-3 <sup>rd</sup> -4 <sup>th</sup> c. A.D. |  | Stupas     | On a hillock |
| Lebaka  | Puratattva, 18, 1987-88: 84 | EH  |  |            |              |
| Letapalli                                     | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |
| Lomada  | - do -                      | EH  |  |            |              |



| Site                           | Reference                   | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities                                 | Structures               | Remark  |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|--------------------------|---|
| <i>Cuddappah Distt. contd.</i> | - do -                      | EH   |   |                          |   |
| Machanuru                      |                             |  |   |                          |   |
| Moyillakalava                  | - do -                      | EH   |   |                          |   |
| Nemalladinne                   | - do -                      | EH   |   |                          |   |
| Peddamudiyam                   | - do -                      | EH   |   |                          | Meg-EH  |
| Penukanchi-Prolu               | IAR, 1975-76: 75            | EH, Buddhist, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.-3 <sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. | Limestone sculptures of Buddha                                |                          |   |
| Ramapuram                      | Puratattva, 18, 1987-88: 84 |  |   |                          |   |
| Tallapaka                      | IAR, 1980-81                | EH, Buddhist   | BW & B&RW, lotus medallion                                    | Several brick structures | Two mounds  |
| Tallaproduddatur               | Puratattva, 18, 1987-88: 84 | EH   |   |                          |   |
| Tippaluru                      | - do -                      | EH   |   |                          |   |
| Tonduru                        | - do -                      | EH   |   |                          |   |
| <i>East Godavari district</i>  |                             |  |   |                          |   |
| Adurru                         | IAR, 1985-86: 1             | EH, Buddhist 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. -3 <sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. | Red & Kaolin pottery  | Stupa/monastic complex   | Meg-EH  |
| Gogana-matham                  | IAR, 1962-63: 6             | EH   | Amaravati limestone found in the structure                    | Brick structure          |   |
| Rajahmundry                    | IAR, 1979-80: 1             | EH, Buddhist 2 <sup>nd</sup> c.-4 <sup>th</sup> c. A.D.  | RWP & Arretine ware, baked bricks (55x22x7 cms) (45x22x7 cms) | Stupa, monastery         | Mesolithic-18 <sup>th</sup> c. A.D. IAR, 1980-81: 1 IAR, 1989-90: 1 |

| Site                     | Reference                                   | Chronology  | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures         | Remark        |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>Godavari District</i> |   |   |   |                    |               |
| Kantamaneni-varigudem    | IAR, 1976-77: 10                            | EH  | Baked brick structures, sculptures of Jaina Tirthankara, sherds of B&RW & red slipped wares   |                    | EH - Medieval |
| <i>Guntur District</i>   |   |   |   |                    |               |
| Amaravati                | IAR, 1958-59: 5<br>1971-72: 1<br>1973-74: 1 | EH, Buddhist site<br>3 <sup>rd</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> BC-9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. AD, | Crystal caskets, slabs with reliefs, NBPW, limestone sculpture, celadon ware, tantric images.   |                    | Meg-EH        |
| Attaluru                 | IAR, 1987-88: 2                             | EH  |   |                    |               |
| Bhattipolu               | IAR, 1969-70: 1                             | EH, Buddhist  | Bricks, B&RW & RPW, relic caskets with inscriptions   | Stupa, vihara      |               |
| Chandavaram              | IAR, 1987-88: 2                             | EH  |   |                    |               |
| Chebrolu                 | IAR, 1960-61: 1<br>1962-63: 66              | EH  | NBWP, B&RW & black slipped ware, large number of terracotta figurines, & Satavahana coins, beads, inscribed sealings, toys, limestone sculptures of Iksvaku period. |                    |               |
| Dachepally               | IAR, 1964-65: 2                             | EH, Buddhist site   |   | Remains of a stupa |               |
| Dharanikota              | IAR, 1964-65: 2                             | EH, Buddhist site,<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC   | Glass bangles, goldsmith's mould, Rouletted ware, Arretine ware   | Remains of a stupa | Meg-EH        |

| Site                        | Reference        | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remarks               |
|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------|---|---|-----------------------|
| <i>Guntur distt. contd.</i> |                  |              |   |   |                       |
| Dupadu                      | IAR, 1976-77: 3  | EH, Buddhist | Baked bricks  | Stupa with ayaka platforms, drums, ins.-1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> c. AD. |                       |
| Elchuru                     | IAR, 1987-88: 2  | EH           |   |   |                       |
| Etravaripalem               | IAR, 1986-87: 9  | EH, Buddhist | RW, Red-slipped, BW, B&WR, torso of Buddha, mother goddess etc.                                     |   |                       |
| Garapadu                    | IAR, 1987-88: 2  | EH           |   |   |                       |
| Garikapadu                  | IAR, 1987-88: 2  | EH           |   |   |                       |
| Gokanakonda                 | IAR, 1984-85: 4  | EH           | Early historic remains  |   | Neolithic, megalithic |
| Gokinakonda                 | IAR, 1980-81: 2  | EH           | B&RW, BW, rouletted ware, red slipped   |   | Meg-EH                |
| Gummadiduru                 | IAR, 1977-78: 60 | EH, Buddhist |   | Rail with inscription   |                       |
| Gutlikonda                  | IAR, 1981-82: 1  | EH, Iksavaku | RW, B&RW, BW, lead coins, terracotta objects- caparisoned horse & elephant                          |   |                       |
| Jalalapuram                 | IAR, 1987-88: 2  | EH           |   |   |                       |
| Jonnalagadda                | IAR, 1987-88: 2  | EH           |   |   |                       |
| Juna-Chundur                | IAR, 1974-75: 2  | EH           | Bricks, B& RW, red slipped, black slipped, bone pieces lead, copper coins of late Satavahana period |   |                       |

| Site                        | Reference                                | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remark                           |
|-----------------------------|--|--|---|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>Guntur Distt. contd.</i> |  |  |   |   |                                  |
| Kesanapalli                 | IAR, 1965-66: 1964-65: 54                | EH, Buddhist site, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. or 1 <sup>st</sup> c. B.C. |   | Vestiges of a stupa   |                                  |
| Kundamotu                   | IAR, 1963-64: 2                          | EH   | Oblong carved panel   | Brick shrine  | Could be a Buddhist site as well |
| Madduru                     | IAR, 1987-88: 2                          | EH   |   |   |                                  |
| Mallavaram                  | IAR, 1987-88: 2                          | EH   |   |   | Meg-EH                           |
| Mallipadu                   | IAR, 1987-88: 1                          | EH   | Rouletted ware coins of Satavahana , beads & terracotta, figurines  |   | Meg-EH                           |
| Mukkellapadu                | IAR, 1985-86: 2                          | EH   |   |   |                                  |
| Mulakalura                  | IAR, 1984-85: 4                          | EH   | Pottery   |   |                                  |
| Nagarjunakonda              | IAR, 1957-58 1958-59: 5-10 1959-60: 5-10 | EH, Buddhist   | Pottery of Ikshvaku period, Roman amphoral, bas-reliefs, coin (lead) of 1 <sup>st</sup> 3 Ikshvaku kings, sealing, terracotta bangles, 900 Ikshvaku coins | Citadel with fortification wall, ditch, oblong stadium, Buddhist viharas, stupas, votive stupas, Brahmanical structures, burning ghat, bathing ghat | Meg-EH                           |
| Nemalipuram                 | IAR, 1961-62: 1                          | EH   | Rouletted ware  |   |                                  |
| Pasuvemula-Sivaru           | IAR, 1973-74: 2-5                        | EH   | EH pottery  | Limestone pillared hall, brick walls of Ikshvaku period   |                                  |
| Peddakodamagundla           | IAR, 1981-82: 1                          | EH, Buddhist site  |   |   |                                  |

| Site                       | Reference   | Chronology  | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures | Remarks |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|------------|---------|
| <i>Guntur Distt. contd</i> |   |   |   |            |         |
| Pondugula                  | IAR, 1987-88: 2                                   | EH  |   |            |         |
| Uppugunduru                |   |   |   |            |         |
|                            | IAR, 1959-60: 67                                  | EH, Buddhist  | Buddhist antiquities, statues of B & sculptured panels  |            |         |
| Vaddamanu                  | IAR, 1981-82: 1-2<br>1982-83: 2-3<br>1984-85: 3-4 | EH, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. onwards – 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. | Coins of Ikshvaku period, B&RW, NBPW, bricks, iron objects, pmc   |            |         |
| Vaikunthapuram             | IAR, 1960-61: 1<br>1974-75: 2                     | EH  | Rouletted ware, B&RW, black slipped, RW   |            |         |
| Vinukonda                  | IAR, 1986-87: 9                                   | EH  | Pottery   |            |         |
| Vipparala                  | IAR, 1962-63: 66<br>1987-88: 2                    | EH  | Sherds of megalithic B&RW, few fragments of burnished grey ware   |            |         |
| <i>Hyderabad District</i>  |   |   |   |            |         |
| Keesaragutta hill          | IAR, 1975-76: 1<br>1976-77: 3                     | EH (Vishnukundin period)                                      | Red polished, brown polished, dull RW, grey ware, Vishnukundin coins, stucco figurines- animals, human, shell bangles, beads of semi-precious stones like jasper crystal etc. |            |         |

| Site                       | Reference   | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures  | Remarks        |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|---|----------------|
| <i>Karimnagar District</i> |   |  |  |   |                |
| Dhudikota                  | IAR, 1973-74: 5   | EH   | B&RW, red slipped & decorated wares, beads, terracotta figurines & tiles & Satavahana lead coins   | Ruins of squarish fort with ruined brick structures   | Meg-EH         |
| Dhulikatta                 | IAR, 1974-75: 3<br>1975-76: 2-3<br>1976-77: 4-5                         | EH, Buddhist site                                    | B&RW, dark red & RW, two Satavahana coins, carenelian bead, iron knife etc..<br>Terracotta figurine of Roman trader, beads of semi precious stones | Baked brick wall built over rubble wall, cistern, fort, residential complex.<br>Buddhist stupa, last quarter of 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. | Lithic origins |
| Kampalli                   | IAR, 1986-87: 9-10  | Buddhist site  |  | Pillared hall, brick vihara, stupa, 8 spoked wheel shaped stupa   | On hillocks    |
| Kotilingala                | IAR, 1980-81: 2   | EH, Buddhist site                                    | Beads of semi precious stones, iron objects, copper coins of Satavahana period   | Brick built structures, platform drains, soak pits  |                |
| Pashgaon on hill top       | IAR, 1986-87: 9-10  | EH, Buddhist site                                    |  | Circular caitya, apsidal shrine, vihara complex   |                |
| Peddabunkur                | IAR, 1967-68: 2<br>1970-71: 2<br>1971-72: 2<br>1972-73: 2<br>1974-75: 5 | EH, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.- 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. | B&RW, red polished ware, Satavahana coins of Satakarni, Satavahana potin coins, hoard of pmc, seal with a legend black polished                    | Mandapas, circular wells, square brick structures, cistern  | Meg-EH         |

| Site                    | Reference  | Chronology        | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remarks   |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------|---|---|---|
| <i>Khammam District</i> |  |                   |   |   |   |
| Bhumikonda              | IAR, 1989-90: 2  | EH, Buddhist site |   |   | Four rock cut caves perhaps with Buddhist affiliation |
| Gopalapatnam            | IAR, 1989-90: 2  | EH, Buddhist site |   | Votive stupa chhatra etc  |   |
| Nelakondapally          | IAR, 1976-77: 5<br>1977-78: 3<br>1989-87: 10<br>1987-88: 2<br>1988-89: 1<br>1990-91: 2 | EH, Buddhist site | Pottery, coins-Iksvaku period, RW, bricks, Vishnukurdin coins, terracotta beads, semi precious stones, Tan ware | Stupa, Mahastupa, pradakshinapatha, drainage channel & other structures in the habitated area |   |
| Veeralametta            | IAR, 1989-90: 2  | EH, Buddhist site |   | Foundations of a Mahastupa  |   |
| Viradharanavaram        | IAR, 1987-88: 3  | EH                | Megalithic B&RW & early historic B&RW in both plain & slipped varieties   |   | Meg-EH  |
| <i>Krishna District</i> |  |                   |   |   |   |
| Adaviravulapadu         | IAR, 1977-78:2   | EH                | Rouletted ware  |   |   |
| Aitavaram               | IAR, 1978-79:2   |                   |   |   |   |
| Akulamannadu            | IAR, 1978-79:1   | EH                |   |   |   |
| Alluru                  | IAR, 1975-76:61,<br>1976-77:57,<br>1957-58:64  | EH, Buddhist      | Inscriptions on the ayaka pillar, Buddhist images of Iksvaku period   | Stupa   |   |

| Site                         | Reference        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities | Structures | Remark               |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| <i>Krishna Distt. contd.</i> |                  |            |                               |            |                      |
| Amarevaram                   | IAR, 1978-79:2   |            |                               |            |                      |
| Angandlapadu                 | IAR, 1979-80:2   |            |                               |            |                      |
| Arthamur                     | IAR, 1979-80:2   |            |                               |            |                      |
| Balliparru                   | IAR, 1978-79:1   | EH         |                               |            |                      |
| Bandipalem                   | IAR, 1978-79:2   |            |                               |            |                      |
| Bathenapadu                  | IAR, 1978-79:2   |            |                               |            |                      |
| Bhogalapadu                  | IAR, 1973-74:5-6 | EH         | Satvahana, Iksvaku vestiges   |            | Early historic mound |
| Bellamkondapalem             | IAR, 1978-79:2   |            |                               |            |                      |
| Bobbellapadu                 | IAR, 1977-78:2   | EH         | B&RW, rouletted ware, BW      |            |                      |
| Bodavada                     | IAR, 1978-79:2   | EH         |                               |            |                      |
| Chennarao-palem              | IAR, 1978-79:2   | EH         |                               |            |                      |
| Chevitikallu                 | IAR, 1978-79:2   | EH         |                               |            |                      |
| Chilukur                     | IAR, 1978-79: 2  | EH         |                               |            |                      |
| Chintalapadu                 | IAR, 1977-78     | EH         | B&RW                          |            |                      |



| Site                        | Reference                     | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures                  | Remark   |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>Krishna Distt. contd</i> |                               |              |   |                             |  |
| Chittela                    | IAR, 1982-83:6                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Chittiguduru                | IAR, 1978-79:1                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Chodavaram                  | IAR, 1978-79:1                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Dachavaram                  | IAR, 1979-80:1                | EH           | Early historic pottery & B&RW   |                             |  |
| Damuluru                    | IAR, 1979-80:1                | EH           | Early historic pottery & B&RW   |                             |  |
| Devarapalle                 | IAR, 1979-80:2                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Doddadevarapadu             | IAR, 1979-80:2                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Donabanda                   | IAR, 1961-62:1                | EH           | Pottery types comparable with those found in the historical levels of Nagarjunakonda                      |                             | Neo.-Meg-EH  |
| Dugirallapadu               | IAR, 1978-79:2                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Eturu                       | IAR, 1978-79:2                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Gandepalle                  | IAR, 1978-79:2                | EH           |   |                             |  |
| Ghantasala                  | IAR, 1984-85:5-6<br>1989-90:2 | EH, Buddhist | B&RW fragment of a deep bowl with 1 <sup>st</sup> c. A.D. inc., circular copper coin, RW, B&RW, grey ware | Caityagriha, brick platform | Period 1- Satavahana<br>2-Iksavaku,<br>3-Post Iksavaku |
| Gollamudi                   | IAR, 1982-83:6                | EH           |   |                             |  |

| Site                             | Reference            | Chronology           | Material culture<br>Antiquities  | Structures       | Remark  |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|------------------|---|
| <i>Krishna Distt.<br/>contd.</i> |                      |                      |  |                  |   |
| Gottukukkala                     | IAR, 1978-<br>79:2   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Jaggayyapeta                     | IAR, 1957-<br>58:54  | EH, Buddhist<br>site | Prakrit ins. of 2 <sup>nd</sup> –<br>3 <sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.               | Stupa            |   |
| Jinjeru                          | IAR, 1978-<br>79:1   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Jujjuru                          | IAR, 1978-<br>79:2   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Kadavakollu                      | IAR, 1989-<br>90:2   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Kmmavari-<br>Palem               | IAR, 1977-<br>78:2   | EH                   | Rouletted ware   |                  |   |
| Kanchala                         | IAR, 1979-<br>80:2   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Kandarapadu                      | IAR, 1977-<br>78:2   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Kankata                          | IAR, 1979-<br>80:1   | EH                   | Early historic<br>pottery & B&RW   |                  |   |
| Kanukollu                        | IAR, 1962-<br>63:66  | EH                   |  |                  | Meg-<br>EH, 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.<br>A.D.<br>Salanka-<br>yana ins. |
| Kesarapalli                      | IAR, 1961-<br>62:1-2 | EH                   | Rouletted ware,<br>terracotta, glass,<br>stone beads,<br>Iksvaku lead coin | Brick structures | Meg-EH  |
| Kethaveeruni-<br>padu            | IAR, 1978-<br>79:2   | EH                   |  |                  |   |
| Kisara                           | IAR, 1961-<br>62:1   | EH                   | Early historic<br>pottery  |                  |   |

| Site                         | Reference      | Chronology                                      | Material culture /Antiquities      | Structures | Remark |
|------------------------------|----------------|---|------------------------------------|------------|--------|
| <i>Krishna Distt. contd.</i> |                |   |                                    |            |        |
| Kodavatikallu                | IAR, 1978-79:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Kolikulla                    | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Konakanchi                   | IAR, 1978-79:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Kondapet                     | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Kondrapadu                   | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Korlapadu                    | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Kummalapudi                  | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Kunikanapadu                 | IAR, 1978-79:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Lakshmipuram                 | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Lam                          | IAR, 1987-88:3 | EH -1 <sup>st</sup> c.- 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. |                                    |            | Meg-EH |
| Madaka                       | IAR, 1977-78:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Magallu                      | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Meduru                       | IAR, 1989-90:2 | EH  |                                    |            |        |
| Mogul Rajapuram              | IAR, 1975-76:3 | EH, Buddhist site                               | Row of stupas carved in bas-relief |            |        |
| Moguluru                     | IAR, 78-79:2   | EH  |                                    |            |        |

| Site                         | Reference                                 | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities | Structures                          | Remark   |
|------------------------------|---|------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Krishna Distt. contd.</i> |   |            |                               |                                     |  |
| Mukkolu                      | IAR, 19-66-67:2<br>1978-79:1<br>1979-80:1 | EH         | Early historic pottery & B&RW | Enclosure wall-east- west direction |  |
| Munagacherla                 | IAR, 1964-65:73                           | EH         |                               |                                     | Continuous occupation 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.-16 <sup>th</sup> c. A.D. |
| Mundlapadu                   | IAR, 1982-83:6                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Mungasala                    | IAR, 1961-62:1                            | EH         | Early historic pottery        |                                     |  |
| Muppalla                     | IAR, 1977-78:2                            | EH         | Rouletted ware                |                                     |  |
| Muttarasu-Kona               | IAR, 1979-80:2                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Nagavaram                    | IAR, 1979-80:2                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Nandaluru                    | IAR, 1982-83:6                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Nidumolu                     | IAR, 1979-80:2                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Nawabpeta                    | IAR, 1961-62:1                            | EH         | Early historic pottery        |                                     |  |
| Pallagiri                    | IAR, 1982-83:6                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Pallempalle                  | IAR, 1978-79:2                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |
| Paritala                     | IAR, 1961-62:1                            | EH         | Rouletted ware                |                                     |  |
| Pallempalle                  | IAR, 1978-79:2                            | EH         |                               |                                     |  |

| Site                         | Reference      | Chronology  | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures | Remarks.           |
|------------------------------|----------------|---|---|------------|--------------------|
| <i>Krishna Distt. contd.</i> |                |   |   |            |                    |
| Punnavalli                   | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Ramapuram                    | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Ramireddipalle               | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Saidapuram                   | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Sanegapadu                   | IAR, 1982-82:6 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Sangapadu                    | IAR, 1978-79:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Satyavaram                   | IAR, 1977-78:2 | EH  | Rouletted ware  |            |                    |
| Singavaram                   | IAR, 1982-83:6 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Takkelapadu                  | IAR, 1987-88:3 | EH, Buddhist site – 1 <sup>st</sup> c.- 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. | Brick, limestone pieces of pedestal fragments, red slipped ware, RW, B&RW |            | Habitata-tion site |
| Tarakatur                    | IAR, 1977-78:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Thadigummi                   | IAR, 1978-79:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Thotacherla                  | IAR, 1978-79:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Uppalalavagunta              | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |
| Urivi                        | IAR, 1979-80:2 | EH  |   |            |                    |

| Site                             | Reference          | Chronology | Material culture<br>/Antiquities | Structures | Remark                         |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------|----------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Krishna Distt.<br/>contd.</i> |                    |            |                                  |            |                                |
| Vadlamannadu                     | IAR, 1978-<br>79:1 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Valamaunada                      | IAR, 1979-<br>80:1 | EH         | Early historic<br>pottery & B&RW |            |                                |
| Veerlapadu                       | IAR, 1979-<br>80:2 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Vellanki                         | IAR, 1978-<br>79:2 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Vibharatapadu                    | IAR, 1982-<br>83:6 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Vicinity of<br>Allur             | IAR, 1974-<br>75:5 | EH         | B&RW, Rouletted<br>wares         |            | Stone age<br>early<br>historic |
| Yenganaya-<br>kunipalem          | IAR, 1978-<br>79:2 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Yetura                           | IAR, 1987-<br>88:3 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| <i>Kurnool<br/>Dictrict</i>      |                    |            |                                  |            |                                |
| Akumalla                         | IAR, 1981-<br>82:8 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Alavakonda                       | IAR, 1981-<br>82:8 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Bannuru                          | IAR, 1976-<br>77:7 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Bijinavemula                     | IAR, 1964-<br>65:3 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Bollavaram                       | IAR, 1976-<br>77:7 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |
| Bondeladinna                     | IAR, 1981-<br>82:8 | EH         |                                  |            |                                |

| Site                         | Reference                     | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures | Remarks               |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|---|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Kurnool Distt. contd.</i> |                               |            |   |            |                       |
| Edurupadu                    | IAR, 1976-77:7                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Giddalur                     | IAR, 1965-66:3-4<br>1981-82:8 | EH         | Black slipped & RW sherds   |            |                       |
| Jonnagiri                    | IAR, 1957-58:64               | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Kalagatla                    | IAR, 1959-60:11               | EH         | Red polished ware, early historic B&RW                                    |            |                       |
| Kalvatala                    | IAR, 1981-82:8                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Kammavari-Palle              | IAR, 1981-82:8                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Koilkuntla                   | IAR, 1966-67:2-3              | EH         | Red & red slipped wares   |            |                       |
| Kokanur                      | IAR, 1959-60:11               | EH         | Red polished ware, early historic B&RW, B&R polished ware & russet coated |            | Early stone age tools |
| Kolimigundla                 | IAR, 1964-65:3                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Kotapadu                     | IAR, 1981-82:8                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Maddigatla                   | IAR, 1976-77:7                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Mayaluru                     | IAR, 1964-65:3                | EH         |   |            |                       |
| Metupalle                    | IAR, 1981-82:8                | EH         |   |            | Meg-EH                |

| Site                             | Reference                   | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities               | Structures | Remark |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|---|------------|--------|
| <i>Kurnool Distt.<br/>Contd.</i> |                             |            |   |            |        |
| Mitapalli                        | IAR, 1963-64:4              | EH         | Rouletted & russet coated painted ware      |            |        |
| Mudigodu                         | IAR, 1964-65:3              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Nandyal Taluk                    | IAR, 1973-74:6              | EH         | Brick structures & early historic relics    |            |        |
| Nichchenametla                   | IAR, 1981-82:8              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Nilugonda                        | IAR, 1963-64:4<br>1981-82:8 | EH         | Russet coated painted ware & rouletted ware |            | Meg-EH |
| Owk                              | IAR, 1981-82:8              | EH         |   |            | Meg-EH |
| Pamulapadu                       | IAR, 1976-77:7              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Patapadu                         | IAR, 1959-60:11             | EH         | Red polished ware, early historic, B&RW     |            | Meg-EH |
| Potireddipadu                    | IAR, 1976-77:7              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Rupanagudi                       | IAR, 1964-65:3              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Sanjimula                        | IAR, 1964-65:3              | EH         |   |            |        |



| Site                             | Reference  | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remark           |
|----------------------------------|--|------------|---|---|------------------|
| <i>Kurnool Distt.<br/>contd.</i> |  |            |   |   |                  |
| Satanikota                       | IAR, 1974-75:5-6<br>1977-78:3-11<br>1979-80:2-6<br>1976-77:7 | EH         | B&RW, rouletted ware, russet coated, painted ware, chocolate slipped ware, burnished, urbanished fabric of B&RW, lead coins-Satavahna period, B&RW dishes | Fortification wall-Cuddappah slabs, elaborate gateway, parapet walls of stone & brick | Meg-EH           |
| Siddhirajalingapuram             | IAR, 1976-77:7   | EH         | Rouletted ware  |   |                  |
| Timmapuram                       | IAR, 1959-60:11  | EH         | Red polished ware, early historic B&RW  |   | Stone age-Meg-EH |
| Tokapalli                        | IAR, 1959-60:11  | EH         | Red polished ware, early historic B&RW  |   | Meg-EH           |
| Vamulapadu                       | IAR, 1976-77:7   | EH         | Rouletted ware  |   |                  |
| Vasantapuram                     | IAR, 1981-82:8   | EH         |   |   |                  |
| Vemulapadu                       | IAR, 1981-82:8   | EH         | Russet coated painted ware  |   | Meg-EH           |
| Veslala                          | IAR, 1976-77:7   | EH         |   |   |                  |
| <i>Mahbubnagar District</i>      |  |            |   |   |                  |
| Aburidipad                       | IAR, 1978-79:3<br>1979-80:3                                  | EH         | Early historic pottery  |   |                  |

| Site                                | Reference                  | Chronology                                       | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures       | Remark          |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Mahbubnagar<br/>Distt. contd</i> |                            |  |   |                  |                 |
| Alampur                             | IAR, 1986-87:11            | EH- 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>- 5 <sup>th</sup> c. A.D. | Terracotta tiles, early historic wares, red slipped, red polished, black slipped & black polished ware, well fired bricks |                  |                 |
| Bhumavaram                          | IAR, 1978-79:3             | EH   |   |                  |                 |
| Chagatur                            | IAR, 1976-77:8             | EH   | Rouletted ware  |                  | Meg-EH          |
| Chandragupta-Patna                  | IAR, 1972-73               | EH   |   | Brick structures |                 |
| Chellapadu                          | IAR, 1976-77:8             | EH   |   |                  | Meg-EH          |
| Chinnamaruru                        | IAR, 1976-77:8             | EH   |   |                  |                 |
| Dharmawaram                         | IAR, 1978-79:3             | EH, megalithic                                   |   |                  |                 |
| Erladinne                           | IAR, 1986-87:11            | EH   |   |                  | Meg-EH          |
| Garlapahad                          | IAR, 1976-77:8             | EH   |   |                  |                 |
| Garlapalle                          | 1976-77:8                  | EH   |   |                  |                 |
| Gumakonda                           | 1976-77:8                  | EH   |   |                  |                 |
| Jallapur                            | IAR, 1978-79:3<br>1979-80: | EH   |   |                  |                 |
| Kandur                              | IAR, 1982-83:8             | EH   |   |                  | Habitation site |

| Site                                 | Reference                   | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures | Remark |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|---|------------|--------|
| <i>Mahbubnagar<br/>Distt. contd.</i> |                             |            |   |            |        |
| Karpakala                            | IAR, 1976-77:8              | EH         | Rouletted ware  |            | Meg-EH |
| Kondur                               | IAR, 1979-80:8              | EH         |   |            | Meg-EH |
| Kundavelli                           | IAR, 1976-77:8              | EH         |   |            | Meg-EH |
| Kutukunuru                           | IAR, 1984-85:6              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Lingasanpalle                        | IAR, 1976-77:8<br>1979-80:7 | EH         |   |            |        |
| Peddamarur                           | IAR, 1977-78:12             | EH         | Red polished ware, B&RW, black polished ware, buff ware, bangles of shell.<br>Period II-Satvahana period-red polished & coarse RW, beads of terracotta, jasper, carnelian |            | Meg-EH |
| Possalpad                            | IAR, 1978-79:3<br>1979-80:7 | EH         |   |            |        |
| Pragtur                              | IAR, 1976-77:8              | EH         |   |            |        |
| Pydigutta                            | IAR, 1977-78:11-12          | EH         | B&RW, red polished ware, terracotta beads, glass bangles, iron pieces   |            |        |
| Rajoli                               | IAR, 1978-79:3<br>1979-80:7 | EH         | Early historic pottery  |            |        |
| Seripalli                            | IAR, 76-77:8                | EH         |   |            |        |

| Site                             | Reference       | Chronology  | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures | Remark                    |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|---|--|------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Mahbubnagar Distt. contd.</i> |                 |   |  |            |                           |
| Solipuram                        | IAR, 1979-80:7  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| Someswara-banda                  | IAR, 1987-88:3  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| Timmapuram                       | IAR, 1976-77:8  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| Teletipadu                       | IAR, 1979-80:7  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| Ujjili                           | IAR, 1987-88:3  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| Uppalapadu                       | IAR, 1976-77:8  | EH  |  |            | Meg-EH                    |
| Urkonda                          | IAR, 1982-83:7  | EH  | Satavahana structural remains, pottery, B&RW, black slipped ware                   |            | Megalithic-early historic |
| Utakuru                          | IAR, 1976-77:8  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| Vyaparladevi-Padu                | IAR, 1976-77:8  | EH  | Rouletted ware   |            |                           |
| Yellur                           | IAR, 1976-77:8  | EH  |  |            |                           |
| <i>Medak District</i>            |                 |   |  |            |                           |
| Kondapur                         | IAR, 1973-74:6  | EH, Buddhist site                                 | Unique brick size-53x53x10cms, Conforms to Mauryan ones, B&RW, red slipped ware    |            | Stupa mound discovered    |
| Pandigadda                       | IAR, 1987-88:11 | Late EH – 4 <sup>th</sup> c. – 5 <sup>th</sup> c. | Pottery, beads of jasper, chalcedony, terracotta objects, bangles of shell & glass |            |                           |

| Site                     | Reference  | Chronology        | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures   | Remark                      |
|--------------------------|--|-------------------|--|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>Nalgonda District</i> |  |                   |  |  |                             |
| Bandapalem               | IAR, 1986-87:12  | EH                | Thick RW, black polished dull RW with floral patterns & crisscross lines & medallion designs                     |  |                             |
| Gazulabanda              | IAR, 1970-71:3-4   | EH, Buddhist site | Stucco figures with polished black ware  | Stupa- vihara complex  |                             |
| Yelleswaram              | IAR, 1957-58:9-10<br>1958-59:11<br>1959-60:12<br>1960-61:3<br>1961-62:2-3<br>1962-63:2-3<br>1963-64:4<br>1964-65:4 | EH, Buddhist site | Early historic pottery   | Numerous brick structures, apsidal ends, stupa, bathing ghat |                             |
| <i>Nellore District</i>  |  |                   |  |  |                             |
| Chandavaram              | IAR, 1965-66:4   | EH,, Buddhist     | Walls & heaps of brick debris, megalithic B&RW, plain red variety occasionally bearing stamped & incised designs | Remains of Buddhist stupa, apsidal caitya, loose sculpture   | Middle stone age-megalithic |
| Duggiraj-Patnam          | IAR, 1980-81:8   | EH                | Red polished ware  |  |                             |
| Inalapadu                | IAR, 1974-75:6   | EH                | B&RW, red slipped ware   |  |                             |
| Jonnavaada               | IAR, 1975-76:3   | EH                | Early historic B&RW  |  | Meg-EH                      |
| Kota Dibba               | IAR, 1988-89:3   | EH                | Black on red wares, pmc, Satavahana coins, terracotta figurines  |  |                             |

| Site                         | Reference        | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures                  | Remark |
|------------------------------|------------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|--------|
| <i>Nellore Distt. contd.</i> |                  |              |   |                             |        |
| Pudur                        | IAR, 1973-74:6   | EH           | Brick wall(fortification), moat, pottery, Satavahna-Iksavaku assemblage | Structural remains in brick |        |
| Rudrakota                    | IAR, 1987-88:6-7 | EH, Buddhist | Chattri & lotus stone pieces  |                             |        |
| <i>Prakasam District</i>     |                  |              |   |                             |        |
| Addanki                      | IAR, 1978-79:3   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Aloor                        | IAR, 1978-79:10  | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Annangi                      | IAR, 1977-78     | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Annavaram                    | IAR, 1978-79:3   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Baitamanjular                | IAR, 1977-78:2   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Bevamkonda                   | IAR, 1979-80     | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Bobbepalle                   | IAR, 1978-79:3   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Boddikurapadu                | IAR, 1979-80:9   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Bollapalle                   | IAR, 1978-79:3   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Buddapudi                    | IAR, 1982-83:13  | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |
| Chandavaram                  | IAR, 1978-79:3   | EH           | Not Specified   |                             |        |

| Site                 | Reference       | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities | Structures | Remark |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|
| <i>Prakasam</i>      |                 |            |                               |            |        |
| <i>Distt. contd.</i> |                 |            |                               |            |        |
| Chinavullagallu      | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Darmavaram           | IAR, 1977-78    | EH         | Not Specified                 |            | Meg-EH |
| Darsi                | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Darsiagraharam       | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Dhenukonda           | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Doddukur             | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Dronadula            | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Ganga Devipalle      | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Ganga Donakonda      | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Gopalapuram          | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Govada               | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Gudipadu             | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Gurizepalle          | IAR, 1978-79:3  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            | Meg-EH |
| Ilapavulur           | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Ithamukkala          | IAR, 1978-79:10 | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Jammalamadka         | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |

| Site                 | Reference       | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities | Structures | Remark |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|
| <i>Prakasam</i>      |                 |            |                               |            |        |
| <i>Distt. contd.</i> |                 |            |                               |            |        |
| Kalavakur            | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Kalluru              | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Karavadi             | IAR, 1978-79:10 | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Koniki               | IAR, 1978-79:3  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Kothapalle           | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Kukuthlapalle        | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Kundurru             | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Kurichedu            | IAR, 1978-79:3  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Madanuru             | IAR, 1978-79:10 | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Manikeswaram         | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            | Meg-EH |
| Manginipudi          | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Mannepalle           | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Marella              | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Medarametla          | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Mukteswaram          | IAR, 1977-78:2  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |



| Site                 | Reference       | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities | Structures | Remark |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------|
| <i>Prakasam</i>      |                 |            |                               |            |        |
| <i>Distt. contd.</i> |                 |            |                               |            |        |
| Mundlamuru           | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Muzellapalle         | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Mylavaram            | IAR, 1977-78:3  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Nancharapuram        | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Narasingolu          | IAR, 1982-83:15 | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Nayudupalle          | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Paidipadu            | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Pangulur             | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Pattssava            | IAR, 1982-83:15 | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Pedaravipadu         | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Polavaram            | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Pothakamuru          | IAR, 1979-80:9  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Pulipadu             | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Rajampalle           | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Ramathirtham         | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |
| Rolepalle            | IAR, 1978-79:4  | EH         | Not Specified                 |            |        |

| Site                              | Reference        | Chronology | Material culture /Antiquities                              | Structures | Remark   |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------|--|------------|--|
| <i>Prakasam<br/>Distt. contd.</i> |                  |            |  |            |  |
| Singanapalem                      | IAR, 1979-80:10  | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Talluru                           | IAR, 1979-80:10  | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Tellapadu                         | IAR, 1977-78:2   | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Ulavapadu                         | IAR, 1982-83:15  | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Uppalapadu                        | IAR, 1977-78:3   | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Uppumagalur                       | IAR, 1978-79:4   | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Vaidana                           | IAR, 1977-78:3   | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Vellalacheruvu                    | IAR, 1977-78:3   | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Vempadu                           | IAR, 1979-80:10  | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| Vemparala                         | IAR, 1977-78:3   | EH         | Not Specified  |            |  |
| <i>Srikakulam<br/>District</i>    |                  |            |  |            |  |
| Chintamadi<br>Dibba               | IAR, 1971-72:3-4 | EH         | Rouletted ware   |            |  |
| Dirghasi                          | IAR, 1966-67     | EH         | Large baked bricks, red & red slipped wares, shell bangles |            | Ancient & medieval remains   |
| Itikalamitta                      | IAR, 1979-80:11  | EH         | Vestiges of brick structures                               |            | Plain surface of the hillock strewn with brick bats, dressed sand stone blocks |

| Site                            | Reference  | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities   | Structures  | Remark                                    |
|---------------------------------|--|--|---|---|---|
| <i>Srikakulam Distt. contd.</i> |  |  |   |   |   |
| Jilugubanda Dibba               | IAR, 1971-72:3-4   | EH   |   |   |   |
| Kalingapatnam                   | IAR, 1958-59:68<br>1976-77:10<br>1977-78:14<br>1979-80:11            | EH, Buddhist site  | B&RW, black & grey ware trailed in white (kuoline) painted under a black slip, rouletted ware | Elaborate stupa with ayaka platforms smaller stupas in vicinity |   |
| Kanchiputta                     | IAR, 1971-72:3-4   | EH   |   |   |   |
| Mukhalingam                     | IAR, 1957-58:64<br>1961-61:3   | EH   | Sherds of rouletted ware, B&RW, Satavahana coins  |   |   |
| Nagarlapet                      | IAR, 1976-77:10  | EH   | Red slipped, rouletted ware, baked bricks   |   |   |
| Neredubandagaddu                | IAR, 1976-77:10  | EH   | Rouletted ware  |   |   |
| <i>Vishakhapatnam District</i>  |  |  |   |   |   |
| Bavikonda                       | IAR, 1986-87:15  | EH, Buddhist   |   |   | Mahastupa, votive stupa, tanks & cisterns |
| Gopalapatnam                    | IAR, 1990-91:2<br>1991-92:3  | EH, Buddhist, 1 <sup>st</sup> c. - 4 <sup>th</sup> c. A.D. | Stucco figures, rouletted ware, B&RW, beads of terracotta & semi precious stones              | Brick structure   |   |
| Puvurallakonda                  | IAR, 1991-92:3   | EH, Buddhist, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.                      | B&RW, red slipped ware, BW, decorated pot sherds, bricks                                      | Votive stupas, vihara   |   |
| Thotlakonda                     | IAR, 1987-88:7<br>1988-89:5<br>1989-90:4-8<br>1990-91:2<br>1991-92:3 | EH, Buddhist, 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. - 1 <sup>st</sup> c. A.D. | Roman type amphorae in RW, Satavahana coins, Roman coins, fragmentary iron nail               | Pillared hall, stupas, viharas                                  |   |

| Site                          | Reference  | Chronology   | Material culture /Antiquities  | Structures  | Remark   |
|-------------------------------|--|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Warangal District</i>      |  |  |  |   |  |
| Kotamita                      | IAR, 1980-81:8                                   | EH   | Rouletted ware   |   |  |
| Paidipally                    | IAR, 1976-77:5                                   | EH   |  |   | Habitation site  |
| Polakonda                     | IAR, 1975-76:5-6<br>1976-77:10                   | EH   | Red slipped dull ware, red, tan, pale red, B&RW, hand made brown & black burnished wares, iron objects |   | Neo-megalithic-early historic. EH coeval with Meg.. Discontinuity noticed in 2 trenches only |
| <i>West Godavari District</i> |  |  |  |   |  |
| Peddavegi                     | IAR, 1984-85:7-8<br>1985-86:4-6<br>1986-87:15-22 | EH,<br>4 <sup>th</sup> c.- 5 <sup>th</sup> c.<br>A.D. - 7 <sup>th</sup> c.<br>A.D. | B&RW, BW, terracotta figurines & precious stone beads.   | Stupa (Salankayana, Vishnukundin), brahmanical structures |  |

**TABLE 3: DISTRICTS SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEGALITHIC, EARLY HISTORIC SITES AND THE CONTINUITIES BETWEEN THE TWO**

| <i>DISTRICT</i> | <i>MEGALITHIC SITES</i> | <i>EARLY HISTORIC SITES</i> | <i>CONTINUITY IN SITES</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Adilabad        | 1                       | -                           | -                          |
| Anantapur       | 6                       | 5                           | -                          |
| Chittoor        | 6                       | 1                           | -                          |
| Cuddapah        | 23                      | 32                          | 2                          |
| East Godavari   | 3                       | 4                           | 1                          |
| Godavari        | -                       | 1                           | -                          |
| Guntur          | 15                      | 35                          | 6                          |
| Hyderabad       | 3                       | 1                           | -                          |
| Karimnagar      | 5                       | 7                           | 2                          |
| Khammam         | 3                       | 5                           | 1                          |
| Krishna         | 13                      | 95                          | 4                          |
| Kurnool         | 33                      | 38                          | 8                          |
| Mahbubnagar     | 38                      | 35                          | 9                          |
| Medak           | 8                       | 2                           | -                          |
| Nalgonda        | 3                       | 3                           | -                          |
| Nellore         | 3                       | 7                           | -                          |
| Prakasam        | 9                       | 68                          | 3                          |
| Srikakulam      | -                       | 9                           | -                          |
| Vishakhapatnam  | -                       | 4                           | -                          |
| Warangal        | 2                       | 3                           | 1                          |
| Rangareddy      | 1                       | -                           | -                          |
| West Godavari   | -                       | 1                           | -                          |
|                 |                         |                             |                            |

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barret, D, 1954 *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, Trustees of the British Museum, London
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1956 'Amaravati', *Marg*, Vol. IX, No. 2: 61-66
- Begley, V, 1986 'From Iron Age to Early Historical in South Indian Archaeology', J. Jacobson ed., *Studies in the Archaeology of India and Pakistan*, Oxford and IBH, New Delhi: 297-319
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1992 'Ceramic Evidence for Pre-Periplus Trade on the Indian Coasts', Begley, V and De Puma eds., *Rome and India*, OUP, Delhi: 157-196
- Buhler, G , 1894 'The Bhattiprolu Inscriptions', *EI*, II: 323-328
- Burgess, J, 1970 (reprint) *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapetta in the Krishna District, Madras Prisedency, Surveyed in 1882*, ASSI, ASI, New Imperial Series, Indological Book House, Varanasi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1970 *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, Indological Book House Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1975 *Report on Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions*, Bhartiya Publishing House, Varanasi
- Chakrabarti, DK, 1995 *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, OUP, Delhi
- Champakalakshmi, R, 1997 *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation (300BC-300 AD)*, OUP, Delhi

- Chatterjee, A, 1976 *Socio- Economic Conditon in the Early Andhra (c. 200 BC-300 AD): A Study of the Transition from the Megalithic to the Early Historical Culture*, Ph. D. Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
- Chaudhuri, SB, 1947-1948 'The Andhras', *JAHRS*, Vol. 18: 111-114
- Cowell, EB, ed., 1990 *Jataka Stories*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi
- Darsana, SB, 1998 'Megaliths in the Upper Palar Basin, Tamil Nadu- A New Perspective', *M & E*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2: 51-64
- Dehejia, V, 1972 *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: a Chronological Study*, Thames and Hudson, London
- Dehejia, V, 1997 *Discoveries in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi
- Desai, D, 1985 *Erotic Sculpture of India: a Socio-Cultural Study*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi
- Dikshitar, VRR, 1945 'Buddhism in Andhradesa', DR. Bhandarkar et. al. eds., *BC Law Vol, Part 1*, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta: 346-353
- Dutt, S, 1988 *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi
- Erdosy, G, 1988 *Urbanization in Early Historical India*, BAR International Series, 430.
- Fergusson, J, 1971 (reprint) *Tree and Serpent Worship, Sanchi and Amaravati*, Indological Book House, Varanasi.
- Finucanes, RC, 1975 *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, Macmillan, London
- Foucher, 1934 *On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity*, MASI, No. 46
- Fynes, RCC, 1995 'The Religious Patronage of the Satavahana Dynasty', *SAA* 11:43-50

- Gangoly, OC, 1994 (reprint) *Andhra Sculptures*, Archaeological Series No. 36, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad
- Ghosh, A, 1973 *The City in Early Historical India*, IAS, Shimla
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1989 *Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, 2 Vols, Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, and H. Sarkar, 1964-65 'Beginnings of Sculptural Art in South-East India: A Stele from Amaravati', *AI*, Nos. 20-21:168-177
- Gopalachari, K, Early History of the Andhra country, Madras
- Hanumantha Rao, BSL, 1958-59 'Rise of Buddhism in Andhradesa', *JAHRS*, Vol. 24: 85-93
- Hanumantha Rao, BSL, 1987 'Buddhism in Andhra Desa', VVK. Sastry ed., *Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh*, Dept of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad: 29-32
- \_\_\_\_\_, et. al., 1998 *Buddhist Inscriptions of Andhradesa*, ABVT, Secunderabad
- Hazra, K, 1984 *Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India*, DK Publications, Delhi.
- Heitzman, J, 1984 'Early Buddhism, Trade and Empire, KAR Kennedy, GL Possehl eds., *Studies in the Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology of South Asia*, Oxford and IBH: 121-137
- Jouveau Dubreuil, G, 1979 (reprint) *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Classical Publications, New Delhi
- Kanna Babu, D, 1986 'The date of Bhattiprolu Stupa', *PAPHC*, X: 34-39
- Khan, AW, 1963-64 'Yelleswaram Excavation', *JAHRS*, Vol. 29:1-8
- Knox, R, 1992 *Amaravati : Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*, British Museum Press



- L ahiri, N, 1992 *The Archaeology of Indian Trade Routes. Upto c. 200 BC: Resource Use, Resource Access and Lines of Communication*, OUP, Delhi
- Longhurst, AH, 1938 *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda Madras Presidency*, MASI No. 54, Delhi
- Luders, H, 1909-1910 'A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About 400 AD with the Exception of those of Asoka', Appendix to *EI*, X
- Margabandhu, C, 1985 *Archaeology of the Satavahana-Ksatrapa Times*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi.
- Marsman, M, 1995 'Stupa Representations at Amaravati and Nagarajunakonda', *SAA*, 1995 :589-601
- Mitra, D, 1971 *Buddhist Monuments*, Sahitya Samsad, Calcutta
- Moorti, US, 1994 *Megalithic Culture of South India*, Ganga Kaveri, Varanasi
- Murthy, KK, 1987 'Some Aspects of Buddha Image of Andhra', VVK. Sastry ed., *Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh*, Dept of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad: 27-28
- N. Lahiri, 1993-94 'The Iron Age in India: The Beginnings and Consequences' *Puratattva*, No. 24: 12-32
- Nagaraju, S, 1987 'Buddhist Stupas', VVK. Sastry ed., *Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh*, Dept of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad: 23-26
- Narain, AK, ed., 1985 *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, Kanak Publications, New Delhi
- Padmanabha, K, 1995 'The Buddha Image in Sculptural Arts of India', *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 4:93-98
- Pande, S, 1987-88 'Early Buddhist Architecture as Gleaned from Vinaya Pitaka', *Bharati*, Vol.17: 101-106

- Pant, S, 1976 *The Origin and Development of Stupa Architecture in India*, Bharat Manisha, Varanasi
- Prasad, NRV, 1995 'Urbanisation in Early Andhra', NRV. Prasad ed, *Journal of Archaeology: Satavahana Special*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad: 71-75
- Rajan, K, 1998 'Further Excavations at Kodumanal, Tamil Nadu', *M & E*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2: 65-76
- Ramachandra Murthy, NS, 1995 'Forts Through the Ages', NRV. Prasad, *Journal of Archaeology: Satavahana Special*, Dept of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad: 155-164
- Ramachandra Rao, PR, 1955 'Nagarajunakonda', *East and West*, Vol. VI: 238-243
- Ramachandran, TN, 1929 *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village*, Guntur District, Madras
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1952-54 'Archaeological Finds in Andhradesa', *JAHRS*, Vol. 22: 69-73
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1953 *Nagarajunakonda, 1938*, MASI, Vol. 71, Delhi, 1953,
- Ramasvami, NS, 1975 *Amaravati: Art and History of the Stupa and the Temple*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad
- Ramesan, N, 1961 *Glimpses of Buddhism*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad
- Ray, A, 1965 'Sculptures of Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol. 18, No. 2: 9-40
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1965 'Nagarajunakonda', *Marg* XVIII, No. 2.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1983 *Life and Art of Andhradesa*, Agam Kala
- Ray, HP, 1986 *Monastery and Guild: Commerce Under the Satavahanas*, OUP, Delhi

- \_\_\_\_\_, 1989 'Early Historical Settlements in the Deccan: An Ecological Perspective', *M&E*, XIV: 103-108
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1994 *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*, OUP, Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1994-95 'The Parallel Tradition : Early Buddhist Narrative Sculpture', *Bulletin of the Deccan College*, 54-55: 349-355
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1995 'Trade and Contacts', R. Thapar ed., *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1997 ' Networks of Power: Maritime History and Archaeology of Early Andhra', *PAPHC* , XIII:
- Rea, A, 1905-06 'Excavation at Amaravati', *Annual Report*, ASI, 1905-06: 116-19
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1969 (reprint) *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Indological Book House, Varanasi
- Rosen, E, 1985 'A Dated Memorial Pillar from Nagarajunkonda', F. Asher and GS. Gai eds., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Arts* ,Oxford and IBH, Delhi: 35-40.
- Roy, A, 1994 *Amaravati Stupa*, Agam Kala, Delhi
- Sankaranaryana, S, 1965-66 'Rentala Pillar Inscription of Siri-Chamtamula I, year 5', *EI*, XXXVII: 29-32.
- Sarkar H, 1960 'Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarajunakonda', *AI*, No. 16, 1960: 65-84
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1962 'Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarajunkonda', *AI*, No. 16: 65-85
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1962 'Kesarapalle', *AI*, No. 22: 37-74
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1966 *Studies in early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi

- \_\_\_\_\_, and BN Misra, 1966 *Nagarjunakonda*, ASI, New Delhi
- Sarkar, H, 1982 'The Caya- Stambhas from Nagarjunakonda', S. Settar and Sontheimer eds., *Memorial Stones: A Study of Their Origin, Significance and Variety*, Karnataka, Dharwad University and University of Heidelberg, Germany: 199-207
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1985 'The Nagarjunakonda Phase of the Lower Krishna Valley Art: A Study Based on Epigraphical Data', F Asher and GS Gai ed., *Indian Epigraphy: its Bearing on the History of Art*, Oxford and IBH, New Delhi: 29-34
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1991 'The Stupa as Purusa', K. Vatsyayana ed., *Concepts of Space: Ancient and Modern*, Abhinava, IGNC: 219-222
- Sarkar, H and SP Nainar, 1992(reprint) *Amaravati*, ASI, New Delhi
- Sarma, IK, 1982 *Development of Early Saiva Art and Architecture with Special Reference to Andhra*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1985 'Early Sculptures and Epigraphs from South-East India: New Evidence from Amaravati, F Asher and GS Gai ed., *Indian Epigraphy: its Bearing on the History of Art*, Oxford and IBH, New Delhi: 15-23
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1987 'Buddhist Sites in Andhra Pradesh', VVK. Sastry ed., *Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh*, Dept of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad: 17-22
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1988 *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments and Brahmi inscriptions of Andhradesa*, New Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1993 'Dhamna Kada Caitya: Its Role in the Spread of Buddha's Preachings, Growth of Art and Religion', KK. Mittal and A Agrawal eds., *Buddhist Art and Thought*, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi

- \_\_\_\_\_, 1995 'Brahmanical Architecture During the Satavahana Period in Andhra', NRV. Prasad ed, *Journal of Archaeology: Satavahana Special*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad: 89-103
- Sastry, VVK, 1983 *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
- Satyanarayana, K, 1975 *A Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras*, 2 Vols. PPH, New Delhi.
- Schopen, G, 1988 'On the Buddha and His Bones: The Conception of a Relic in the Inscriptions of Nagarajunakonda', *JAOS* 108.4: 527-536
- Sen, AP, ed., 1993 *Social and Economic History of Early Deccan*, Manohar, Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1994 'Social Structure and Economy of Settlements in the Central Deccan (200 BC-AD 200)' Indu Banga ed., *The City in Indian History*, Manohar, Delhi, 19-46
- Senart, E, 1903-04 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', *EI*, VIII: 59-95
- Seneviratne, S, 1985 *Social Base of Buddhism in South East India and Sri Lanka (c. 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)*, Ph.D Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University. New Delhi
- Seneviratne, S, 1980-81 'Kalinga and Andhra: The Process of Secondary state Formation', *JHR*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2:
- Sewell, R, 1880 *Report on the Amaravati Tope and Excavations on its Site in 1877*, GE. Eyre and W. Spottiswoods for Secretary of State for India
- Sharma, RS, 1983 *Material Culture and Social Formation in Early India*, Macmillan, New Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1994 'Urbanism in Early Historic India', Indu Banga ed., *The City in Indian History*, Manohar, Delhi: 9-18

- Shastri, AM, 1987 *Early History of Deccan: Problems and Perspective*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi.
- Shastri, TVG, 1992 *Vaddamanu Excavations*, BACRI, Hyderabad
- Singh, RL ed., 1990 *India: A Regional Geography*, National Geographic Society of India, Varanasi
- Sircar, DC, 1963-64 'More inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda', *EI*, XXXV: 1-37
- \_\_\_\_\_, and  
KG. Krishnan, 1960-61 'Two Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda', *EI*, Vol. XXXIV: 17-22
- Sita Kumari, I, 1988 'Literary Activity in the Viharas of Andhra' *PAPHC*:48-53
- Sitapati, P and  
VVK. Sastry, 1980 *New Satavahana Sculptures of Andhra Amaravati*, Govt of AP, Hyderabad
- Siva NagiReddy,E, 1994 *Evolution of Building Technology in Early Andhradesa( upto the Fourteenth century AD)*, Ph. D Thesis submitted to Central University, Hyderabad
- Sivaramamurti, C, 1955 'Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol.IX, No. 2:  
\_\_\_\_\_,1998 *Amaravati Sculptures in the Chennai Government Museum*, Bulletin of the Chennai Govt Museum, NS. Vol. IV.
- Smith, VA, et, al., 1975 *India: Its Epigraphy, Antiquities, Archaeology, Numismatics and Architecture*, Ess Ess Publication, Delhi
- South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, ASI, New Imperial Series, Vol. XV, Madras, 1894.
- Stone, ER, 1994, *The Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi
- Subrahmaniam, KR, 1932 *Buddhist remains in Andhra and the History of Andhra between 225 and 610 AD*, Diocesan Press, Madras.

- Subrahmanyam, B, 1997 *Pre, Proto and Early Historic Cultures of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Valley*, Delhi.
- Subrahmanyam, B, 1999 *Buddhist Relic Caskets in Andhradesa*, ABVT, Secunderabad
- Subrahmanyam, BR, 1987 'Iron Age in Andhra Pradesh', VVK. Sastry ed., *Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh*, Dept of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad: 13-16
- Subrahmanyam, R, 1964 *Salihundam: A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh Govt, EI Series No. 3. Hyderabad, Govt of Andhra Pradesh.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1975 *Nagarajunakonda (1954-1960)*, Vol. 1, MASI, Vol. 75, New Delhi
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1985 'On the Utilization of Epigraphs for Art History: Some Andhra Example', F. Asher and GS. Gai eds., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, Oxford and IBH, Delhi: 25-27
- Sundaram, K, 1995 'The Sculpture of Satavahana Period', NRV. Prasad ed, *Journal of Archaeology: Satavahana Special*, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad: 109-112
- Syama Sundaram, K, 1964-65 'Ikshvakus of Andhradesa', *JAHRS*, Vol. 30:131-141
- Vanajakshi, CH,1987 'Antiquity of Nagarjunakonda', *PAPHC*, XI, 55-57
- Venkatachalam, K, 1948-49 'The Origin of Andhras', *JAHRS*, Vol. 19: 154-158
- Venkatesawaralu, M, 1954-55 'Sri Parvata in the Pre- Ikshvaka Period', *JAHRS*, Vol. 20: 1-11
- Vijaya Prakash and K. Gopikrishna, 1998 'The Impact of Geomorphological Changes on the Archaeological Sites: Isunuru, a Vanishing Megalithic site on the Godavari River', *M&E*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2: 45-50

Vogel, J Ph, 1929-30

'Prakrit inscription from a Buddhist site at Nagarajunakonda', *EI*, Vol.XX: 1-37.

Yazdani, 1982,

*The Early History of the Deccan*, 2 Vols. Oriental Reprint, New Delhi.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

*AI*: Ancient India

*EA*: Epigraphia Andhrica

*EI*: Epigraphia Indica

*IAR*: Indian History – A Review

*JAHRS*: Journal of the Andhra Historic Research Society

*JAOS*: Journal of American Oriental Studies

*JHR*: Journal of Historical Research

*M&E*: Man and Environment

*PAPHC*: Proceedings of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress



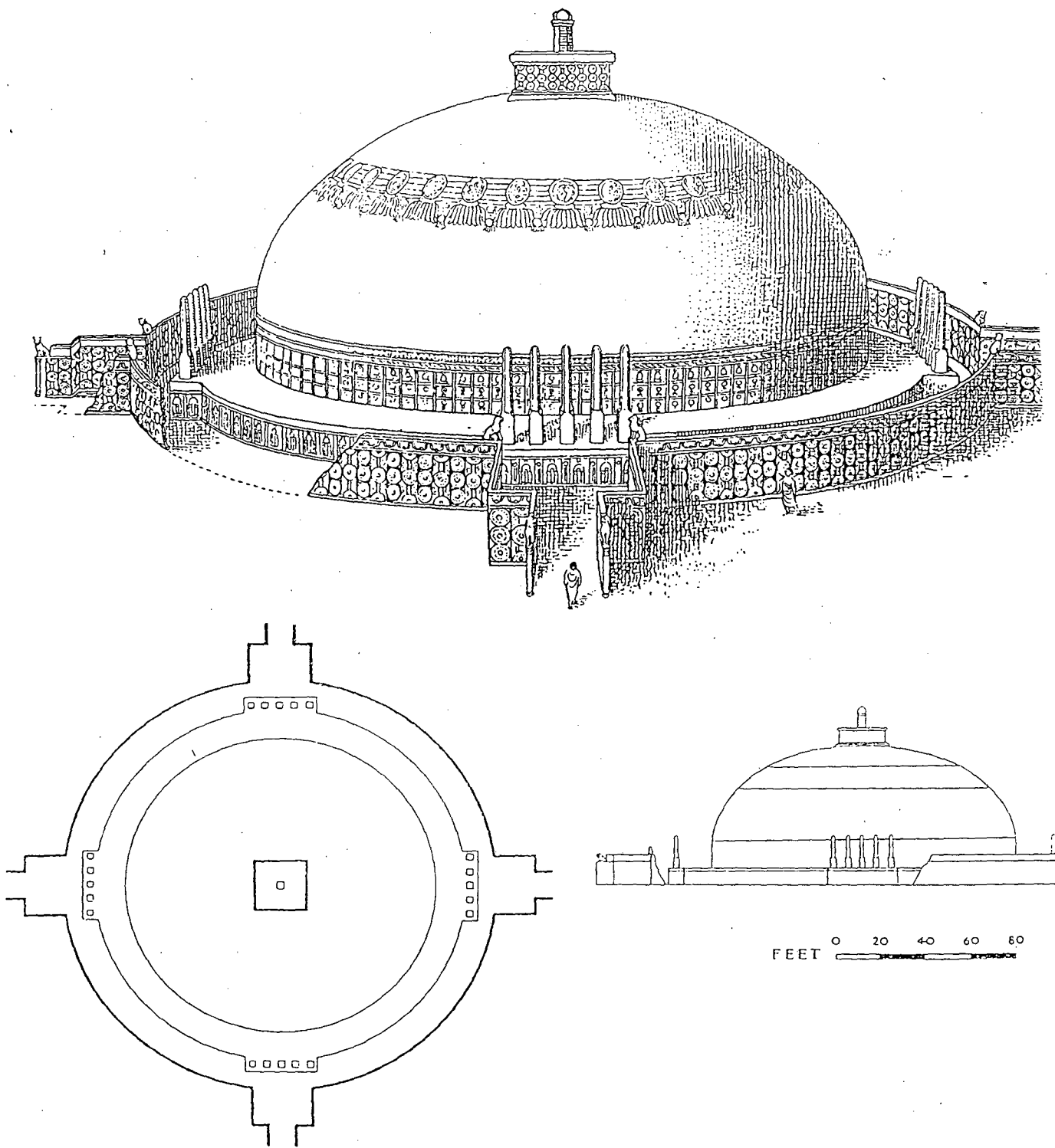


FIG. 1 RECONSTRUCTION AND GROUNDPLAN OF THE STUPA AT AMARAVATI

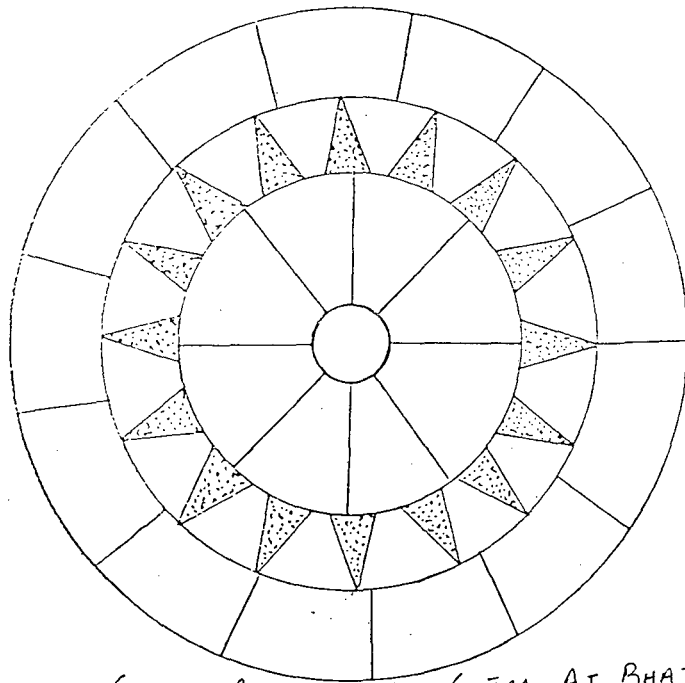


FIG. 2. GROUND PLAN OF THE STŪPA AT BHATTIPROLU

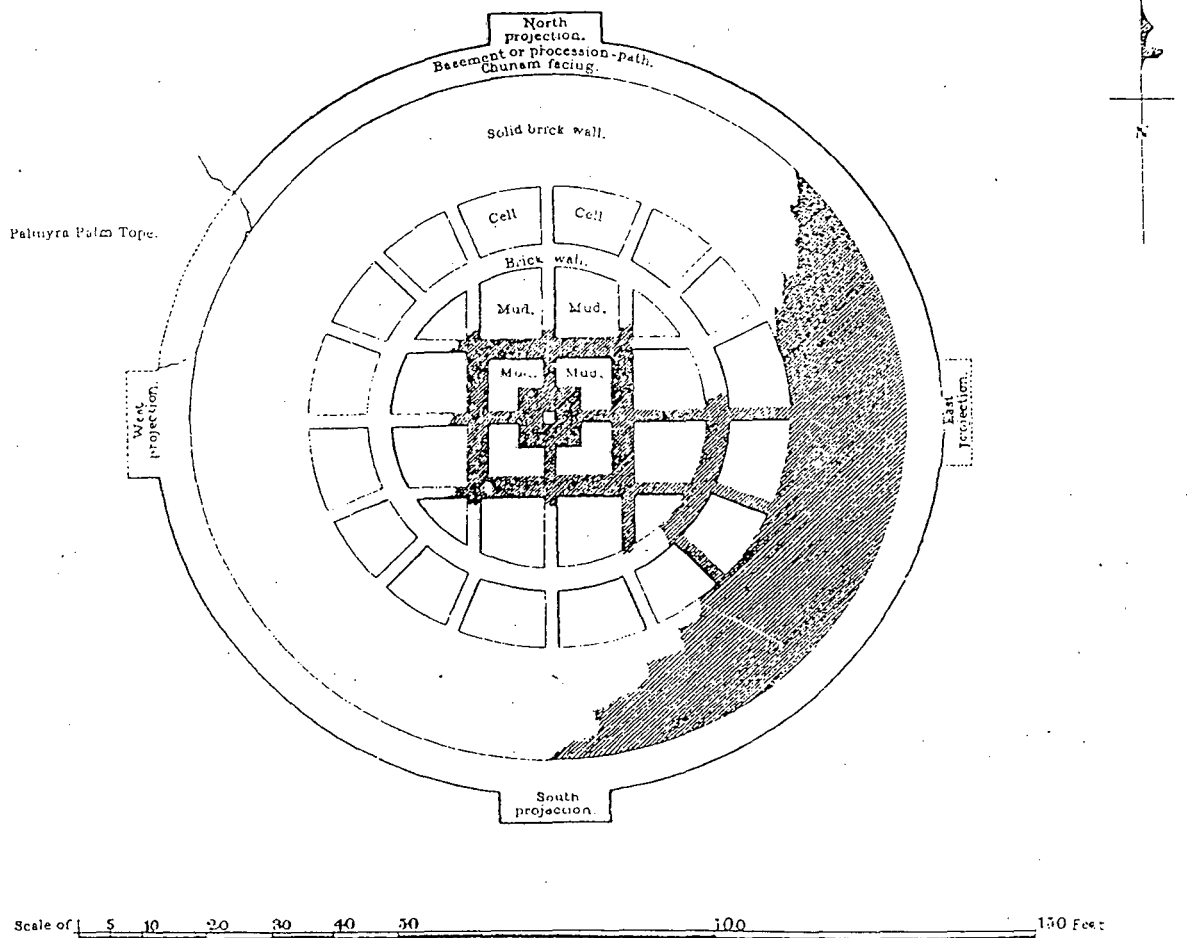


FIG. 3. GROUND PLAN OF THE STŪPA AT GHANTASALA  
 (From A. Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Varanasi, 1969)

# STUPAS & MONASTERIES AT NAGARJUNAKONDA

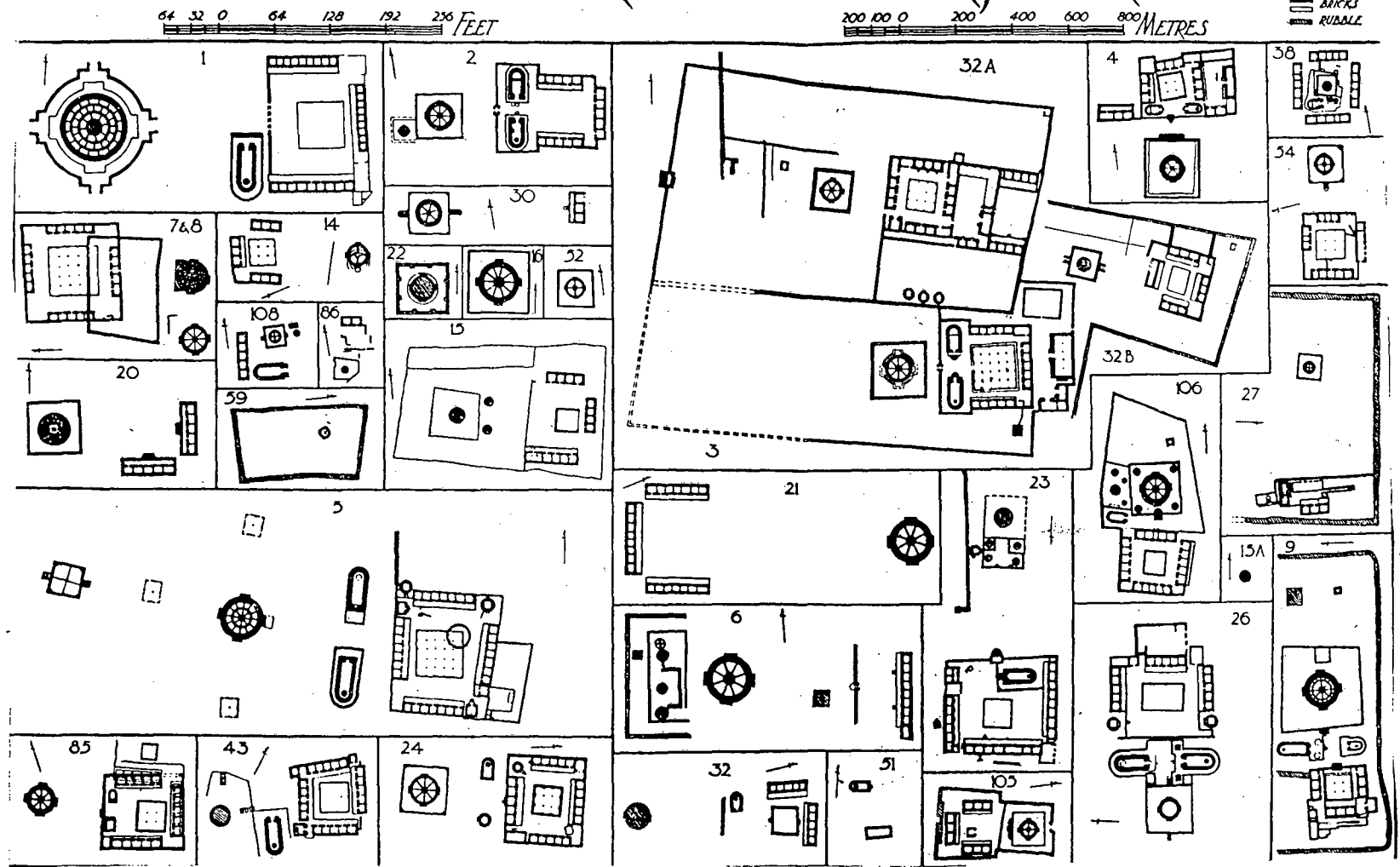


FIG. 1. From H. Sarkar 'Cave Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda'



PLATE I UNADORNED STUPA, Amaravati.

FROM R. KNOX, Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the  
Great Stupa



PLATE 2 ELABORATELY CARVED DRUM SLAB

FROM R. KNOX, *Amravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*

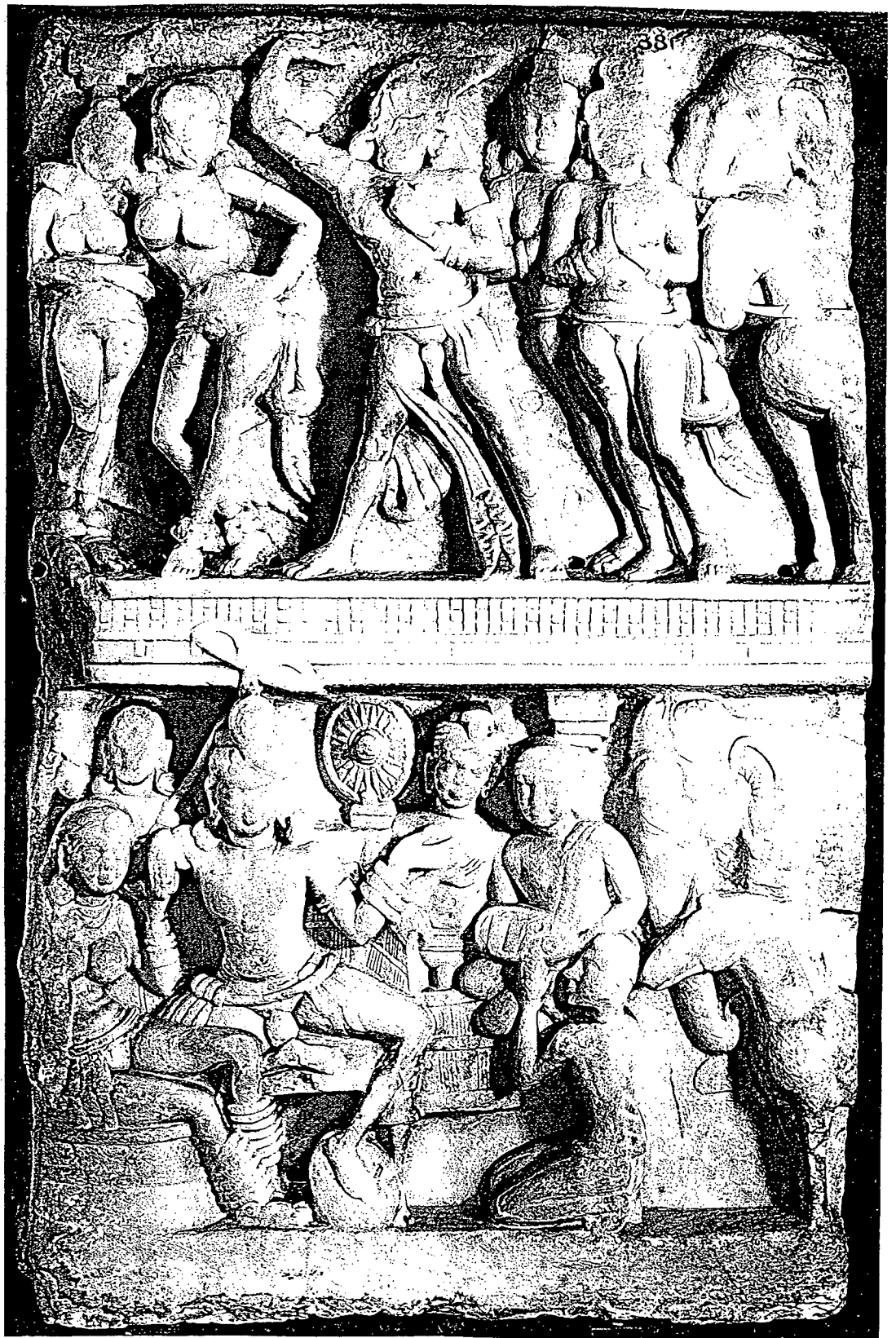


PLATE 3 CAKRAVARTIN,  
FROM R. KNOX, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the  
Great Stupa*

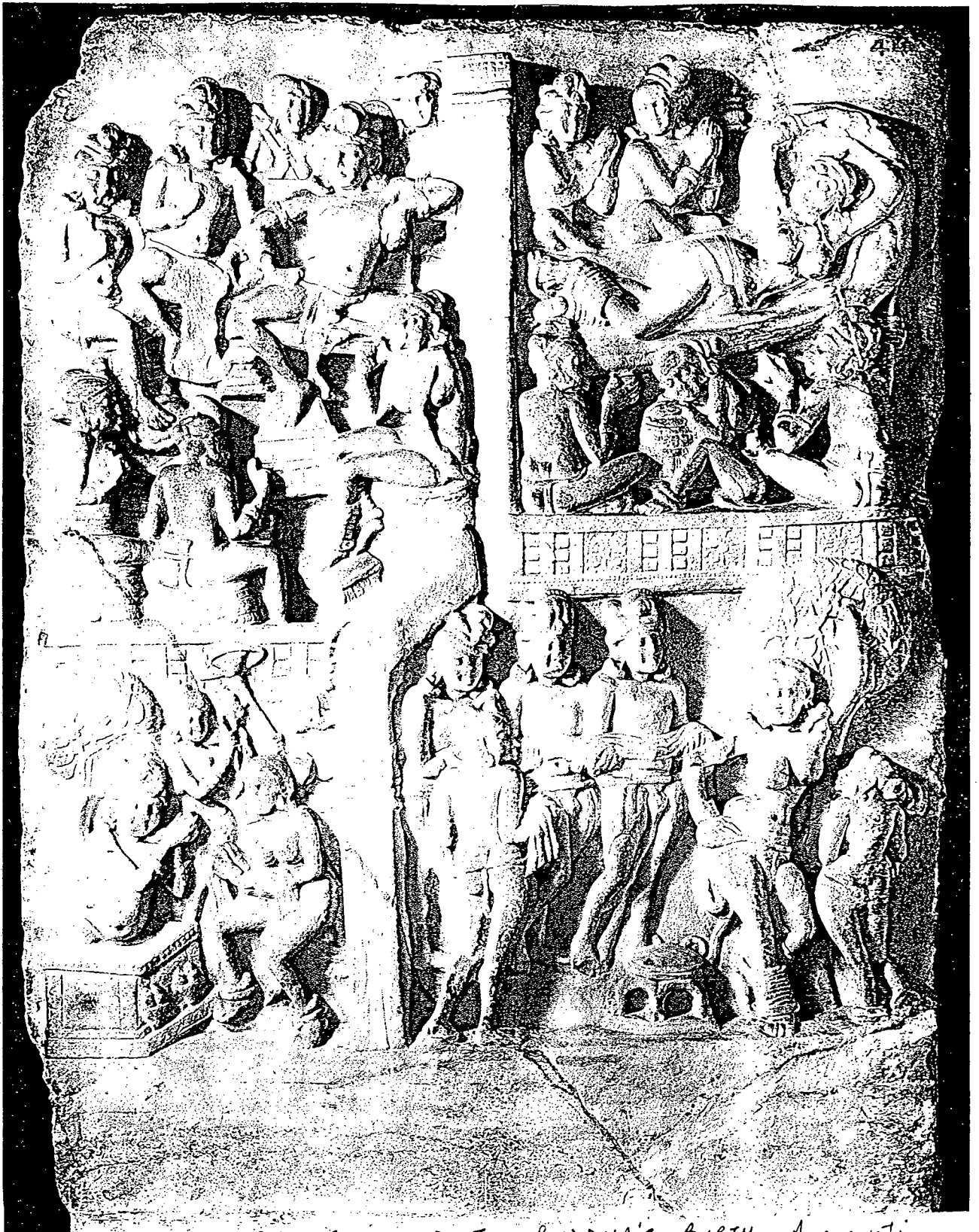


PLATE 4 FOUR SCENES OF THE BUDDHA'S BIRTH, Amaravati  
FROM R. KNOX, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the  
Great Stupa*

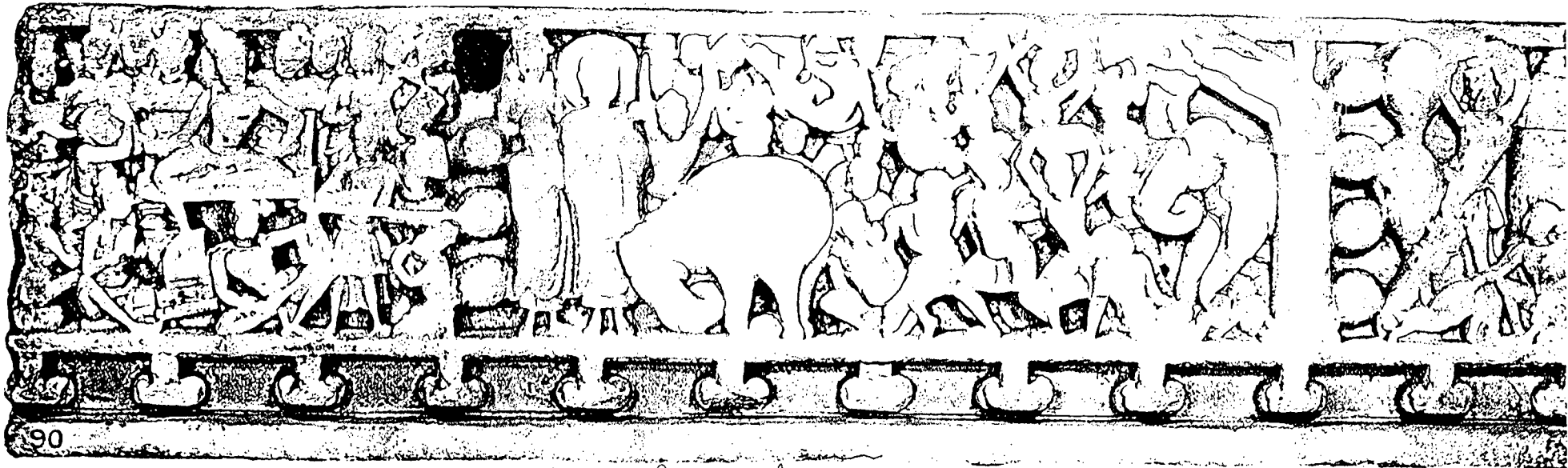


PLATE 5 FRIEZE PANEL, AMARAVATI.

FROM R. KNOX, *AMARAVATI: BUDDHIST SCULPTURE FROM THE GREAT STUPA*



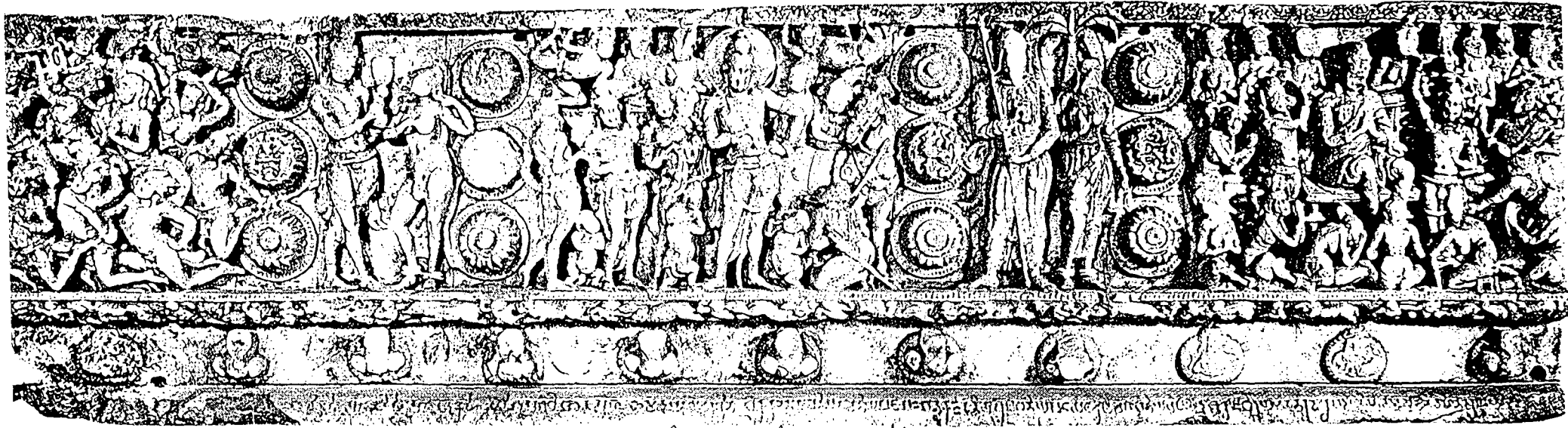


PLATE 6 FRIEZE PANEL, Amaravati

FROM R. KNOX, Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa

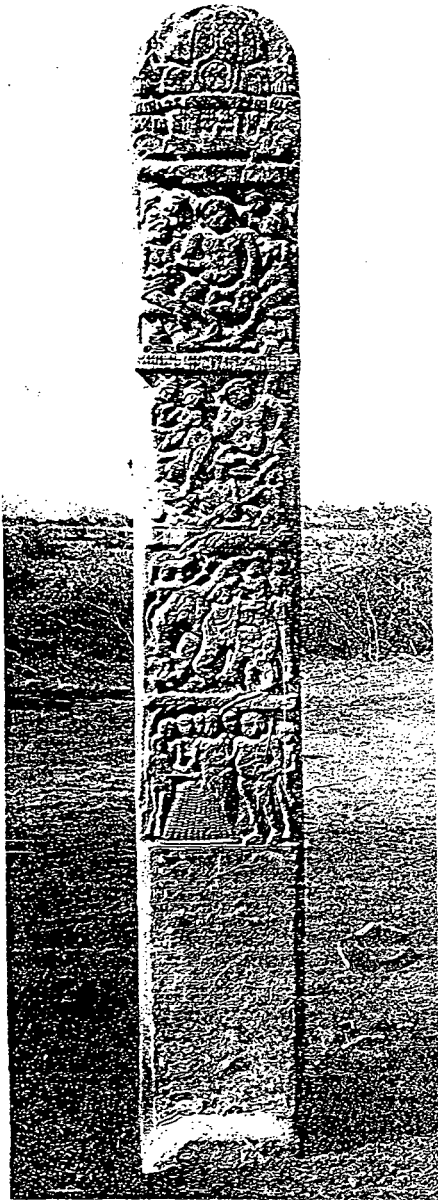


PLATE 7 (i)  
 MEMORIAL PILLAR RAISED  
 IN HONOUR OF CAMTAMULA I,  
 Nagarjunakonda,  
 FROM, E. R. STONE, Buddhist Art of  
 Nagarjunakonda

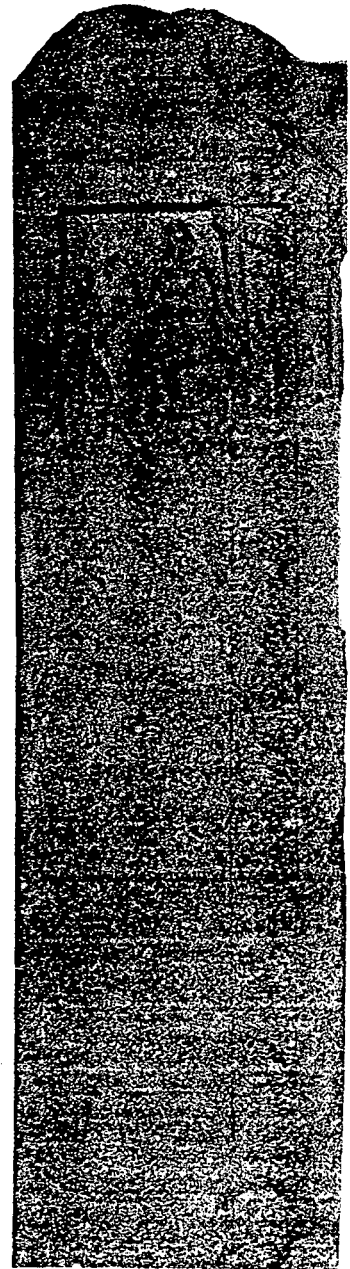


PLATE 7 (ii)  
 MEMORIAL PILLAR RAISED  
 IN HONOUR OF  
 QUEEN VARMA BHATTA,  
 FROM E. R. STONE, Buddhist  
 Art of Nagarjunakonda



PLATE 8 (i) GODDESS HARITI, Nagarjunakonda.  
 FROM ER. STONE, Buddhist Art. of  
 Nagarjunakonda.

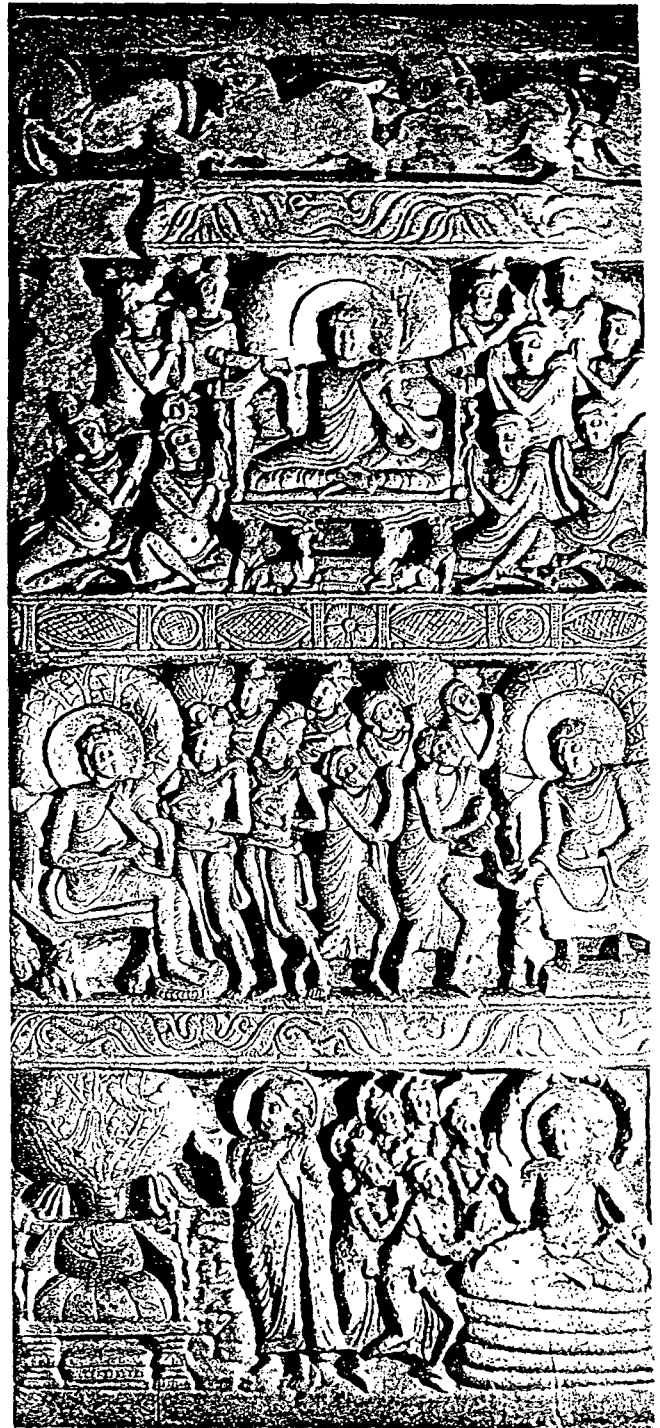


PLATE 8 (ii) DOME SLAB,  
 Nagarjunakonda.  
 FROM ER. STONE, Buddhist Art  
 of Nagarjunakonda.

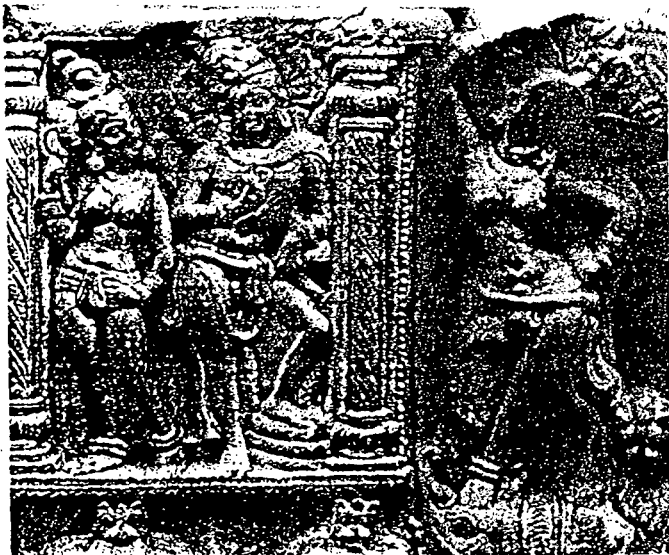


PLATE 9, MITHUNA FIGURES, Nagarjunakonda  
FROM ER. STONE, Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda



PLATE 10, GUDIMALLAM ŚIVALINGA  
FROM IK. SARMA, *Development of Early Saiva Art  
and Architecture, with special reference  
to Andhra*