

Akira Shimada

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# Early Buddhist Architecture in Context

*The Great Stūpa at Amarāvati  
(ca. 300 BCE–300 CE)*



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## Early Buddhist Architecture in Context

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*Cover Illustration:* A *stūpa* slab from Amarāvati at Chennai Government Museum. Photo by Takashi Koezuka.

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*For my family*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ARDAM	<i>Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh</i>
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ARASI	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
BL	The British Library
BM	The British Museum
Burgess 1882	James Burgess, <i>Notes on the Amaravati Stupa</i> , Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Madras, 1882, rpt. Varanasi, 1972
Burgess 1887	James Burgess, <i>The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta</i> , London, 1887, rpt., New Delhi, 1996
Chanda	Ramaprasad Chanda, 'Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions', <i>EI</i> , 15 (1919-20): 258-75
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
Fergusson 1873	James Fergusson, <i>Tree and Serpent Worship</i> , 2nd edition, London, 1873
Ghosh 1979	A. Ghosh, 'The Early Phase of the Stupa at Amaravati, South East India', <i>Ancient Ceylon</i> , 3 (1979): 97-103
Ghosh and Sarkar	A. Ghosh and H. Sarkar, 'Beginning of Sculptural Art in South-east India: A Stele from Amaravati', <i>Ancient India</i> , 20-21 (1964-65): 168-77
IAR	<i>Indian Archaeology, a Review</i>
IESHR	<i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i>
IOR	India Office Records
JAOS	<i>Journal of American Oriental Society</i>
JBBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>
Knox	R. Knox, <i>Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stūpa</i> , London, 1992

- Lüders H. Lüders, 'A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about AD 400 with the Exception of those of Aśoka', Appendix to *EI*, 10 (1912)
- MASI* *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
- Sarma 1975 I.K. Sarma: 'Some More Inscriptions from Amarāvati Excavations and the Chronology of the Mahāstūpa'. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, 1 (1975): 60-74
- Sarma 1980 I.K. Sarma, 'More Prakrit Inscriptions from Amaravati', *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, 7 (1980): 18-21
- Sarkar 1971 'Some Early Inscriptions in the Amaravati Museum', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 4 (1970-71): 1-13
- SAS* *South Asian Studies*
- Sewell 1880 Robert Sewell, *Report on the Amaravati Tōpe* (London, 1880, rpt., Varanasi, 1973)
- Sivaramamurti C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras, 1942
- Taisho* *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*
- Tsukamoto K. Tsukamoto, *Indo Bukkyo Himei no Kenkyu (A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions)*, 2 vols., Kyoto, 1998

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND CITATION OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The transliteration employed for words in Indic and other languages follow, as far as possible, the standard modern scholarly system. The spelling of archaeological sites follows R Stroobandt, *Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae* (Part I, Epigraphical Find Spots) (Gent: N.F.W.O., 1974). In the case of the sites which are not listed in the above publication, I follow the spelling in the Survey of India maps. In terms of proper names and various technical terms mentioned in the historical texts and inscriptions, I use spelling in original documents rather than Sanskritized versions. Thus, for example, I spell the king Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi rather than Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, since inscriptions spell in the former way. If inscriptions record multiple spellings for one term (e.g. *nigama* or *negama*), I keep to the most common one. The only exception for this rule is king Aśoka, whom I call by the common name Aśoka rather than his epigraphic name Priya Dasi. The citation of primary sources in footnotes does not include publication information, as in some cases I consulted multiple editions and translations. References to Pāli texts are normally to the volume and page numbers of the Pāli Text Society editions, as almost all English translations give the pagination of these editions. Suttanipāta, however, is cited to the verse number and Visuddhimagga is cited to the chapter and section. As for the epigraphic sources, I list the all consulted sources for each inscription. If multiple transliterations and translations are available, I usually follow the latest study by Tsukamoto (1998).



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60. Miscellaneous slab depicting Buddhas and *stūpa*-s from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.
61. Third-type drum slab depicting *stūpa*, from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati.
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63. Dome slab from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. National Museum, New Delhi.
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66. Memorial stone from the Sannati. Government Museum, Gulbarga.
67. Necklaces made from casts of roman coins. Ter. Ter Museum.
68. Urn burials found under a *stūpa* at Amarāvati. (After Rea 1908-09, fig. 1.)
69. Tārā from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati.

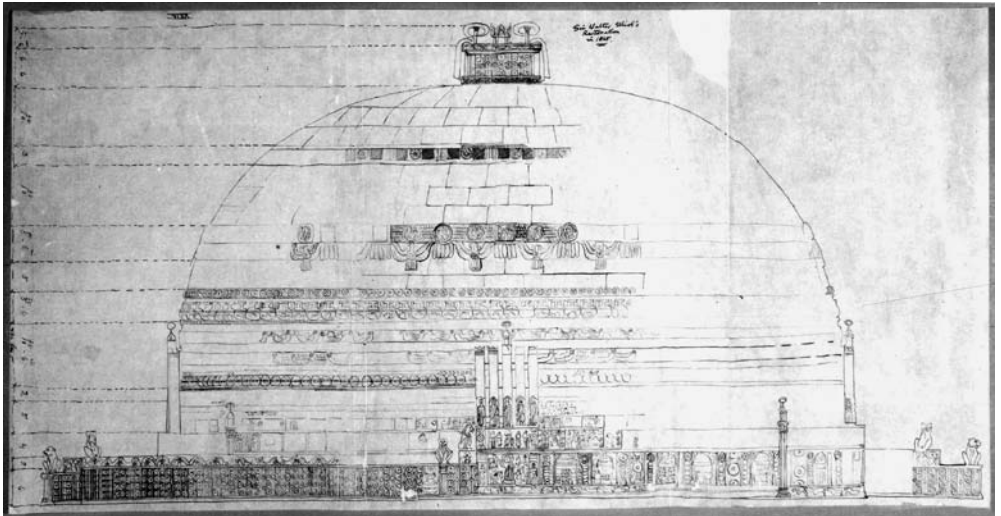


## PLATES





Pl. 1. The Amarāvati *stūpa* from the east (2003).



Pl. 2. Reconstruction of the Amarāvati *stūpa* by W. Elliot. (Department of Asia, the British Museum 1996.1007.0.3.)



Pl. 3. Reconstruction of the Amarāvati stūpa by J. Fergusson. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1996.1007.0.2.)



Pl. 4. Fragment of 'Aśokan' pillar. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.)



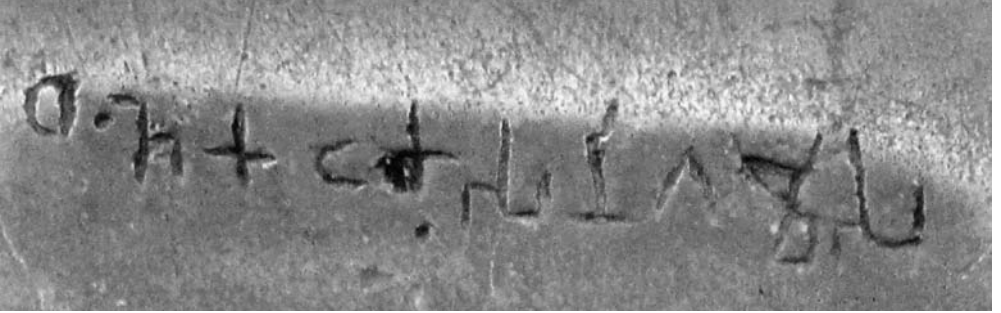




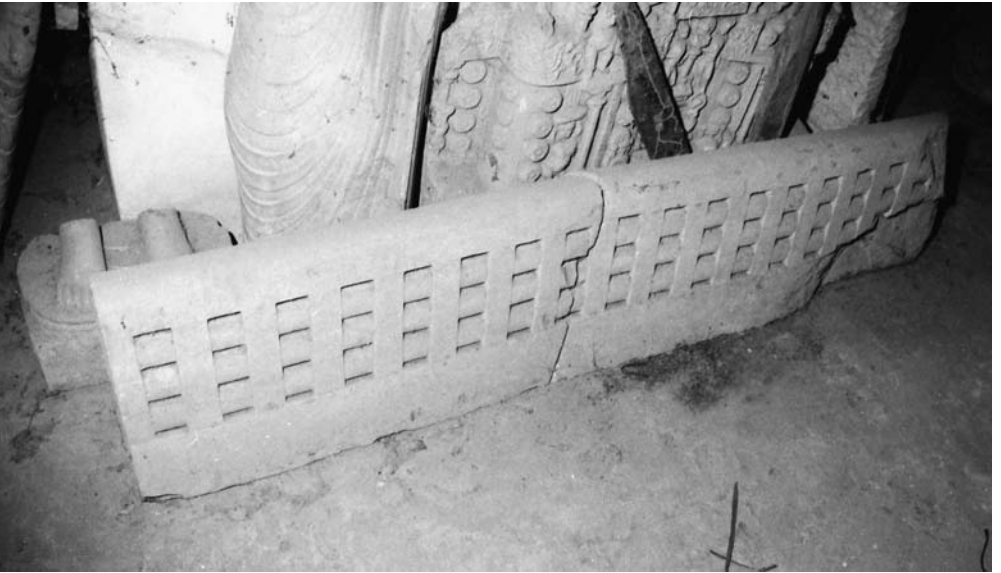
Pl. 11. Coping depicting youths and animals from the early railing of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880.7-9.99). (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 12. Small limestone pillar (third type) from the early railing of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 13. Inscription on small limestone pillar in pl. 12.



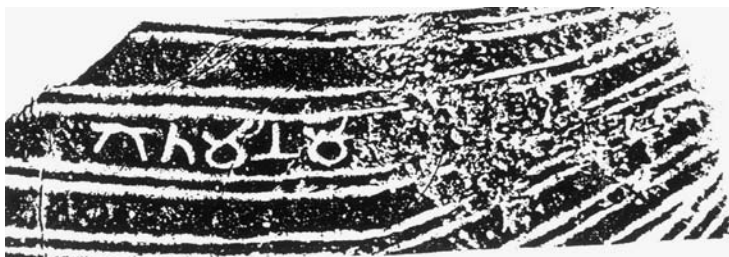
Pl. 14. Early drum coping from the Amarāvati *stūpa*, Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.)



Pl. 15. Drum slab depicting a plain *stūpa*, Amarāvati. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880.7-9.39). (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 16. Standing male statue from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 17. Inscription on standing male stature in pl. 16. (After Chanda, no. 39.)



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Pl. 22. Early rail pillar converted into receptacles for relic casket, discovered from the southern projection (*āyaka*) of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. (Courtesy: Michael Willis.)



Pl. 23. First-phase of the later railing from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880. 7-9. 24-28, 32).



Pl. 24. Inscription on a rail pillar in pl. 23.



Pl. 25. Second-phase pillar (inner face) of the later railing from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880. 7-9.4). (Courtesy: Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 26. Third-phase pillar (inner face) of the later railing from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880. 7-9.11). (Courtesy: Trustees of the British Museum.)

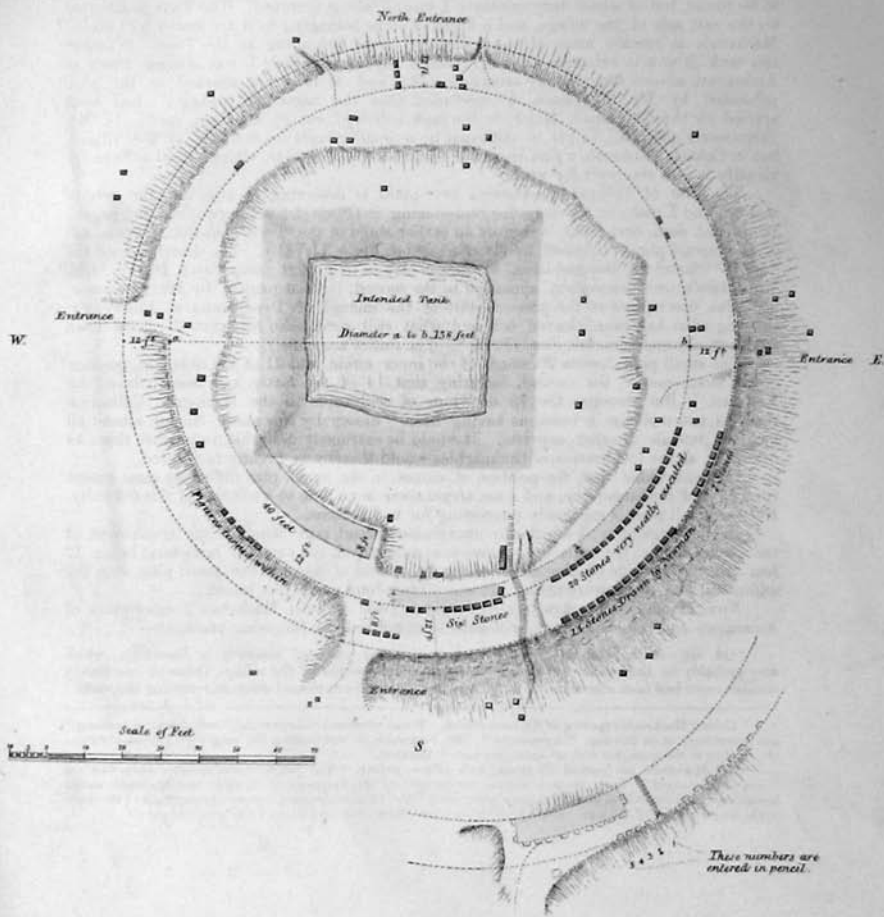


Pl. 27. Decorative bands on the later rail pillars from the Amaravati stupa (above: the second phase; below: the third phase). Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880.7-9.4 and 7-9.11).

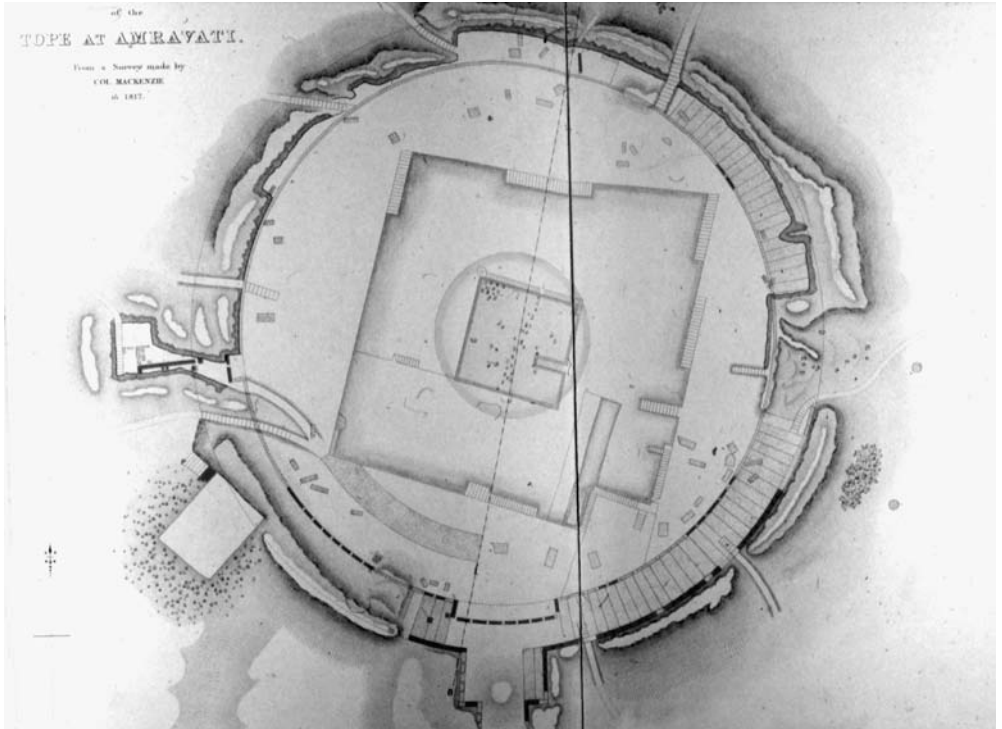
(Description of this Plan, given above it, by Colonel Mackenzie,)

"Sketch of Deepauldinna  
at AMRAWUTTY  
in its present state,  
March 1816."

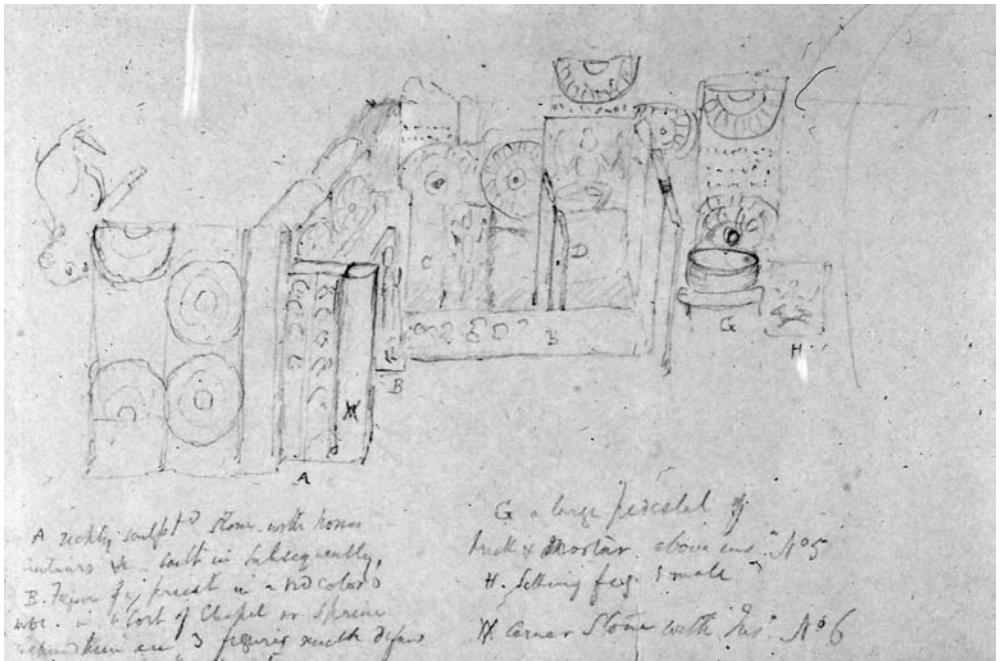
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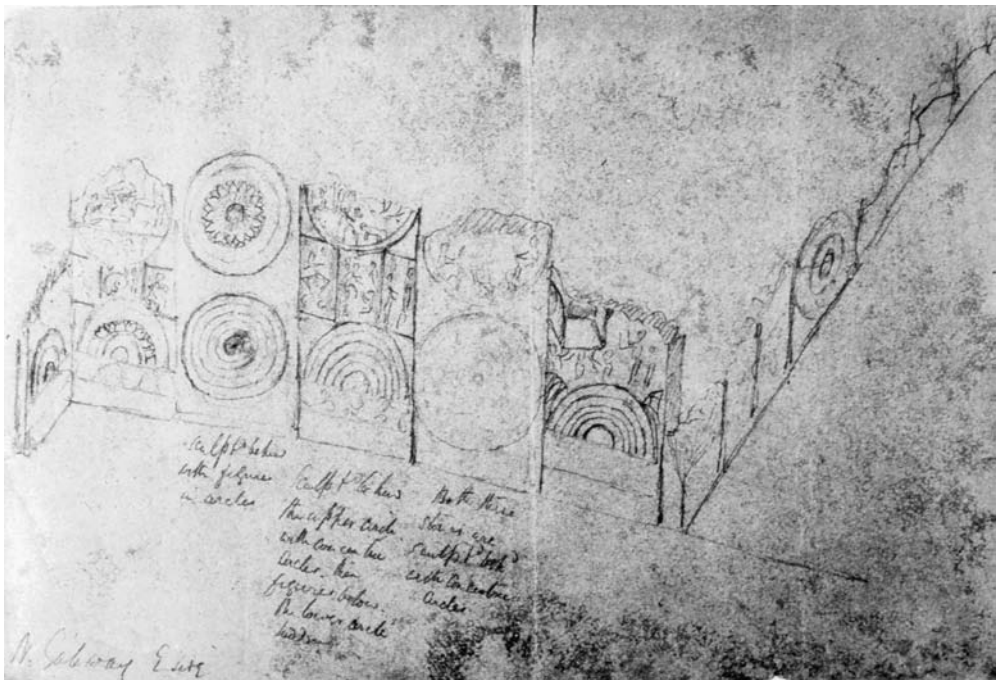
Pl. 28. Amarāvati stūpa observed by Colin Mackenzie in March, 1817. (After R. Sewell 1880, pl. I.)



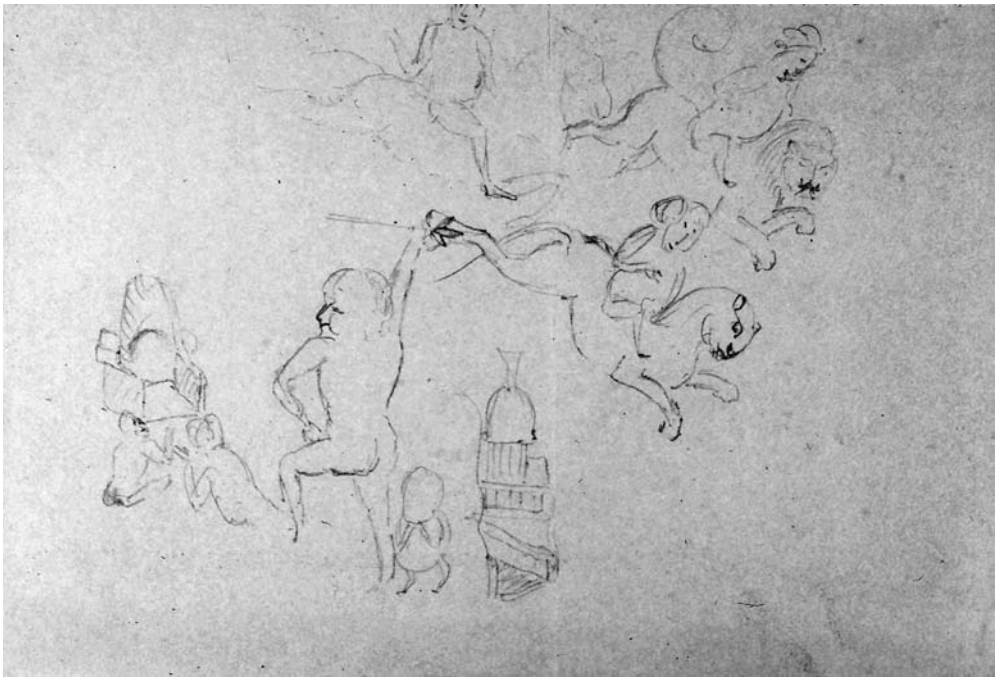
Pl. 29. Amarāvati *stūpa* observed by Colin Mackenzie, June 1817. (After Fergusson 1873, pl. 2.)



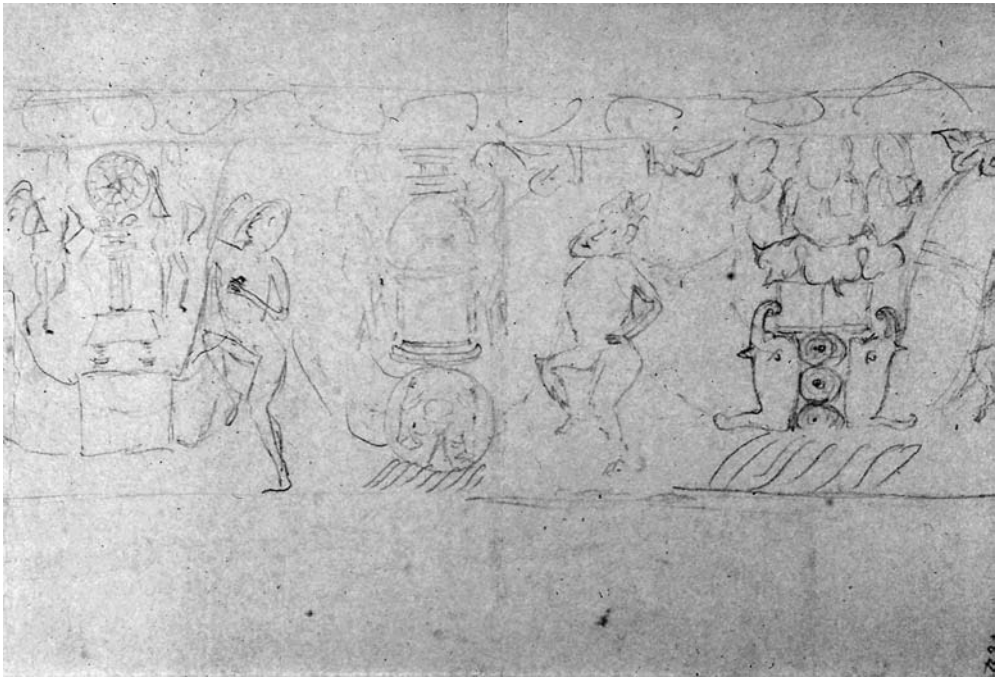
Pl. 30. Pencil sketch of the west gate (north side) of the Amarāvati stūpa by W. Elliot, 1845. Department of Asia, the British Museum. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 31. Pencil sketch of north gate (east side) of the Amarāvati stūpa by W. Elliot, 1845. Department of Asia, the British Museum. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



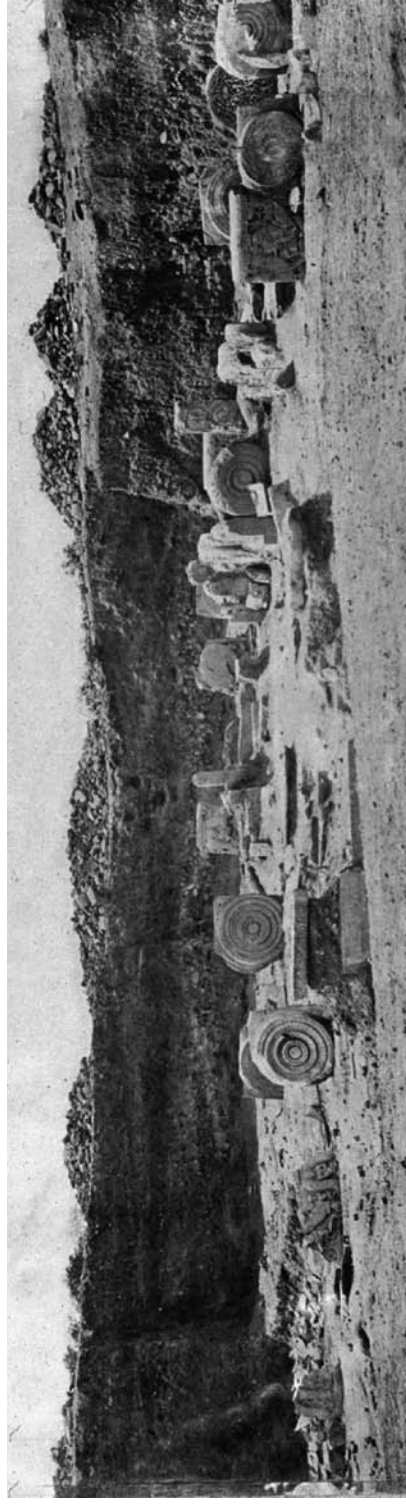
Pl. 32. Pencil sketch of relief on a rail coping (now in Government Museum, Chennai) by W. Elliot, 1845. Department of Asia, the British Museum. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 33. Pencil sketch of relief on a rail coping (now in Government Museum, Chennai) by W. Elliot, 1845. Department of Asia, the British Museum. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 34. Second-phase rail coping from the north gate of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880.7-9.19-20). (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



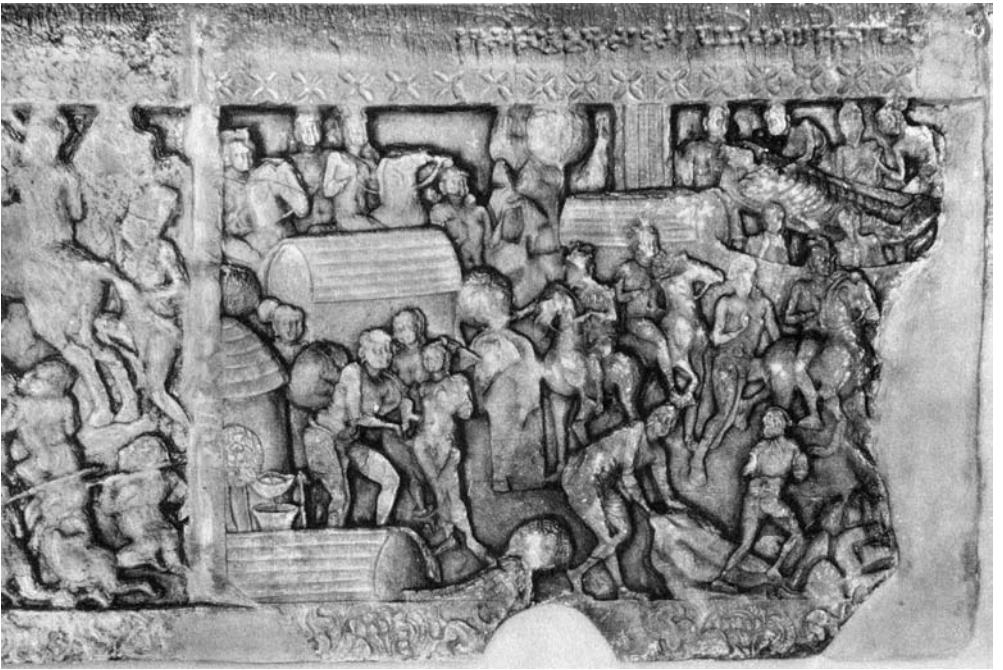
Pl. 35. The south gate of the Amarāvati *stūpa* excavated by J. G. Horsfall, 1880. Department of Asia, BM. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Pl. 36. First-phase coping of the later railing from the Amaravati stūpa. Government Museum, Chennai. (After Burgess 1887, pl. 28-6.)



Pl. 37. Female figure on a first-phase rail coping in pl. 36.



Pl. 38. Second-phase coping of the later railing with Sivamaka Sada inscription from the Amarāvati stūpa. Government Museum, Chennai. (After Burgess 1887, pl. 27-1.)



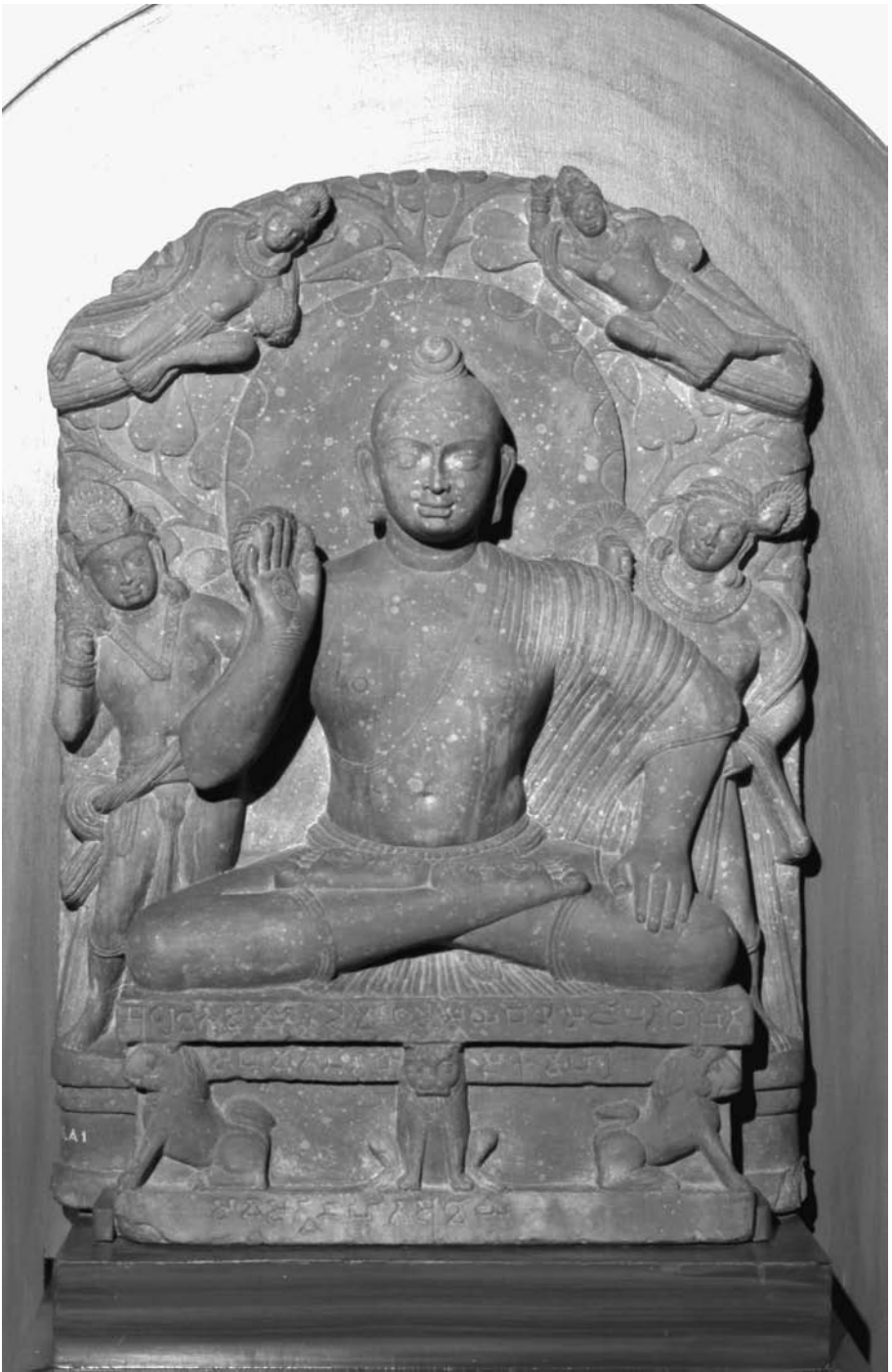
Pl. 39. Sivamaka Sada inscription on rail coping in pl. 38. (After Burgess 1998, pl. 56-2.)



Pl. 40. Male figure on a second-phase coping of the later railing from the Amarāvati stūpa. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)



Pl. 41. *Mithuna*. Kārlā caitya.



Pl. 42. Seated Buddha. Katrā. Government Museum, Mathurā.



Pl. 43. Second-type dome slab with Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi Inscription from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)



Pl. 44. Second-type dome slab from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)



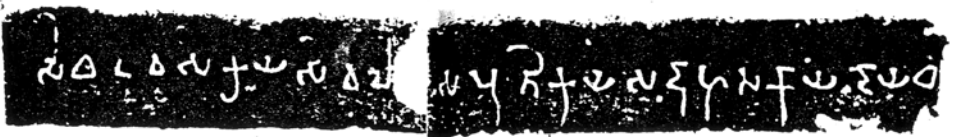
Pl. 46. Seated Buddha on dome slab in pl. 45.



Pl. 45. Second-type dome slab with a Buddha image from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 47. First-type drum slab from the Amarāvati stūpa. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 48. Inscription on drum slab in pl. 47. (After Burgess 1887, pl. 56-5.)



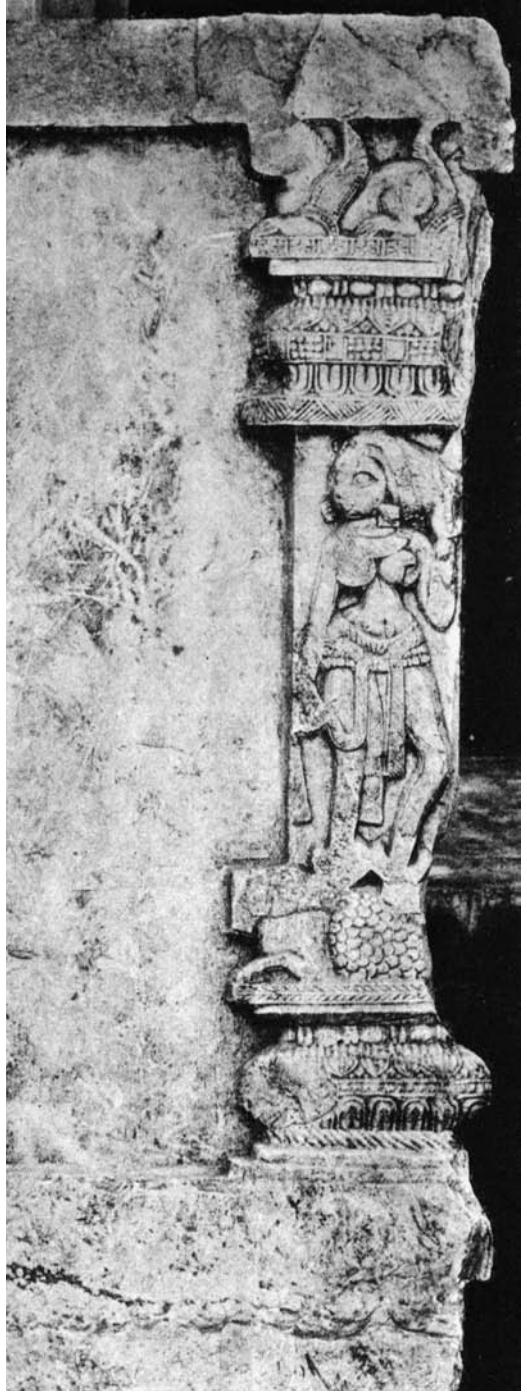
Pl. 49. Male figures on drum slab in pl. 47.



Pl. 50. First-type drum slab attached to the eastern projection (*āyaka*) of the Amarāvātī *stūpa*.



Pl. 51. Pilaster on drum slab in pl. 50.



Pl. 52. Drum slab from the Jaggayyapeta *stūpa*. (After Burgess 1887, pl. 60-1.)



Pl. 53. First-type drum frieze from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



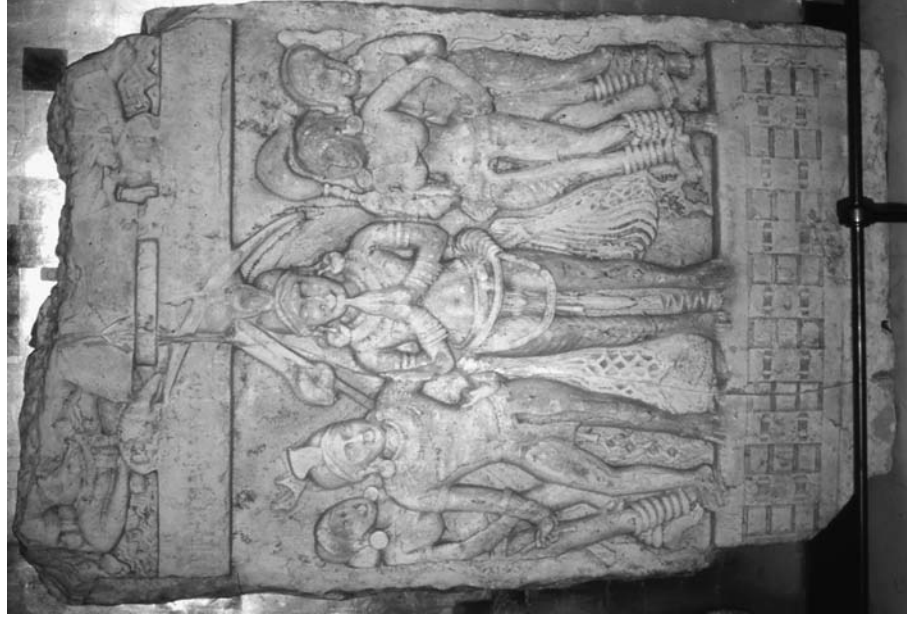
Pl. 54. Second-type drum slab from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 55. Second-type drum slab from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880. 7-9.44).



Pl. 56. Drum frieze associated with the third-type drum slab from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 57. First-type dome slab from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Department of Asia, the British Museum (1880.7-9.49).



Pl. 58. Miscellaneous slab depicting *pūrṇaghaṭa* from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)



Pl. 59. Miscellaneous slab depicting males carrying garland from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)



Pl. 60. Miscellaneous slab depicting Buddhas and *stūpa*-s from the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 61. Third-type drum slab depicting *stūpa*, from the Amarāvātī *stūpa*. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvātī. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)



Pl. 62. Garlands and vases on the dome of the *stūpa* in pl. 48.



Pl. 63. Dome slab from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. National Museum, New Delhi.



Pl. 64. Relief of Cakravartin from the Jaggayapeta *stūpa*. Government Museum, Chennai.



Pl. 65 . Limestone rail coping from the Ter *stūpa*. Ter Museum.



Pl. 66. Memorial stone from the Sannati. Government Museum, Gulbarga.



Pl. 67. Necklaces made from casts of roman coins. Ter. Ter Museum.



Pl. 68. Urn burials found under a *stūpa* at Amarāvati. (After Rea 1908-09, fig. 1.)



Pl. 69. Tārā from the Amarāvātī *stūpa*, Archaeological Museum, Amarāvātī. (Photo taken courtesy of Archaeological Survey of India.)

## INTRODUCTION

### DISCOVERY OF THE AMARĀVATĪ STŪPA

The Andhra region, located in south-east India, has a long tradition of Buddhism probably dating back to the Mauryan period (ca. 300–200 BCE). In the post-Mauryan and the Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku periods (ca. 200 BCE–300 CE), the people of the region warmly supported Buddhism as shown by the numerous *stūpa*-s and monastic remains in the lower Godavari and Krishna river valleys.

Among the many Andhran Buddhist establishments built or extended in these periods, the *stūpa* at Amarāvati in the lower Krishna valley was no doubt one of the most remarkable (Map. 1, Fig. 1, Pl. 1). The *stūpa*, founded possibly around the Mauryan period, was enlarged and richly embellished with numerous sculptures between ca. 200 BCE–250 CE and even later. So far excavations and incidental finds have revealed more than five hundred pieces of sculpture and some three hundred inscriptions. Numerous pottery fragments, coins and other archaeological objects have

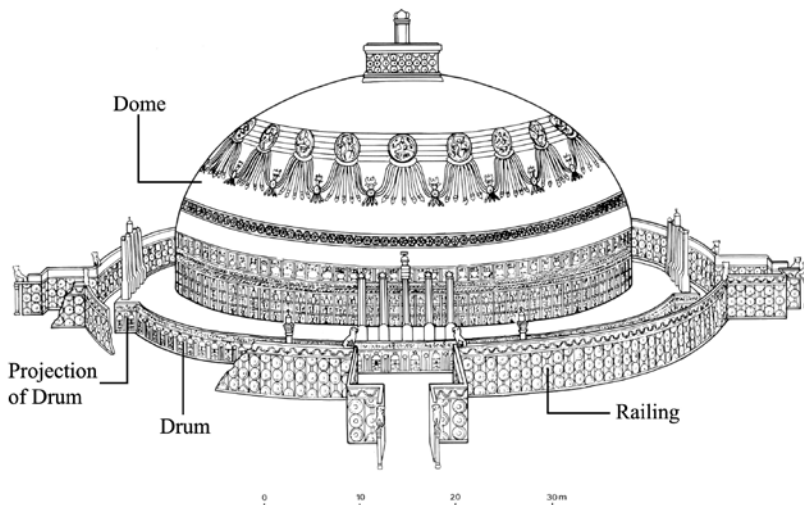
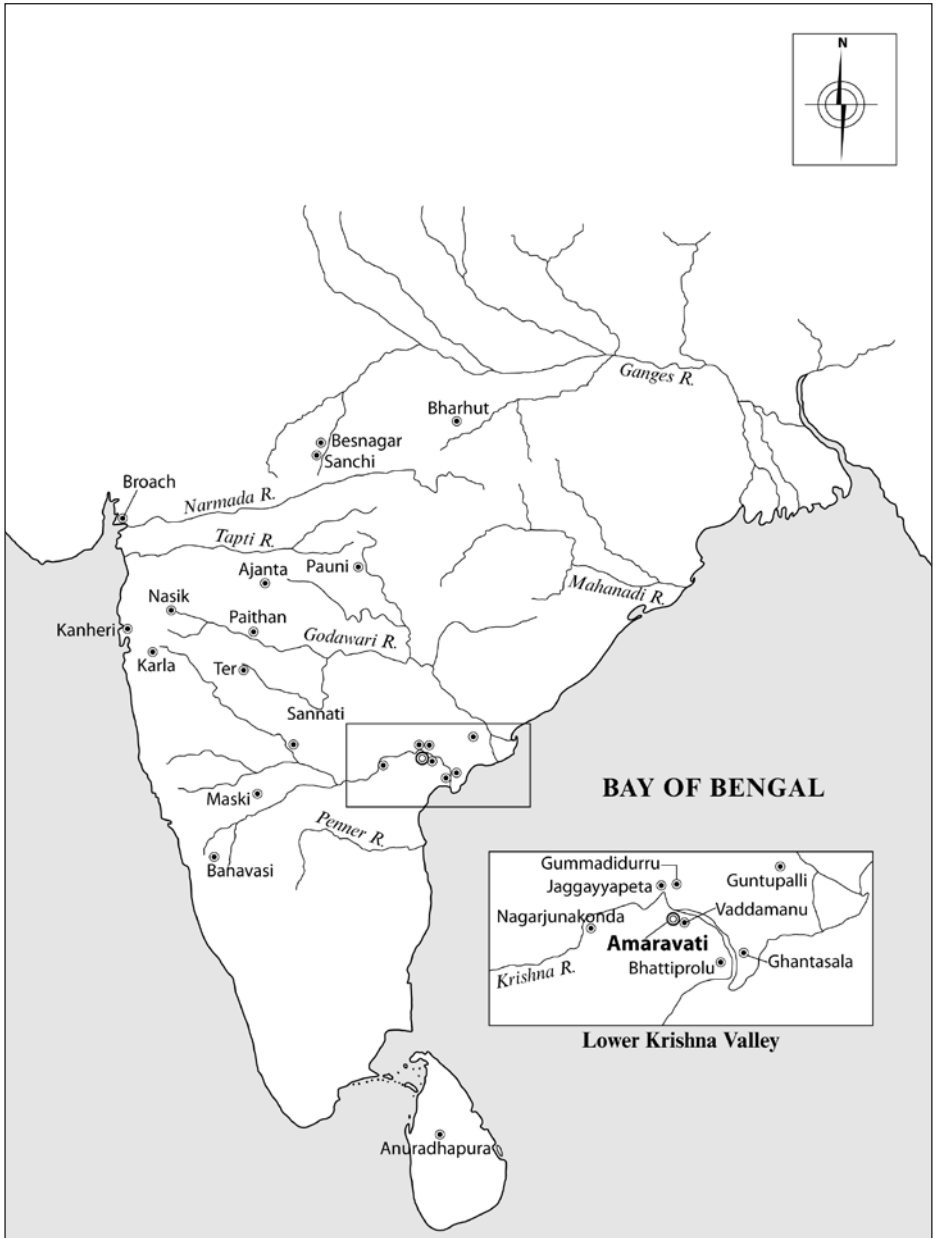


Figure 1. Reconstruction of the Amarāvati *stūpa* by Robert Knox. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)



Map 1. Location of Amarāvati and other principal sites in this study.

also been found at the site. These objects are so far the richest archaeological and epigraphic discoveries among the Andhran Buddhist sites. There is little doubt that Amarāvātī was not only one of the oldest *stūpa*-s in this region, but also a very important Buddhist centre.

Despite its historical importance, however, studies of the monument have hardly proceeded in a straightforward manner. A major reason for this is that the site was discovered too early to benefit from proper surveys and excavations. The *stūpa*, which was found as early as the end of the 18th century, was one of the first Buddhist *stūpa*-s confirmed in British India. At that time, there existed neither professional archaeologists nor academic institutions which could deal with the monument properly. The early surveys of Amarāvātī may thus be seen as attempts to understand the nature of this mysterious monument, and to manage the abundance of archaeological objects. While these attempts eventually led to the establishment of Indian archaeology as an academic subject, the process of its establishment inevitably brought considerable confusion, which unfortunately resulted in the destruction of the site. As we will see below, these developments established a particular tendency for studying the *stūpa* which still affects our current views of the site.

Before starting our study of the Amarāvātī *stūpa*, therefore, we must first examine these early surveys and the subsequent historiography they engendered in order to understand how current knowledge of the Amarāvātī *stūpa* was formed, and assess its limitations. With this aim, this introductory chapter will be divided into three parts. First, I will trace the process of discovery and the early excavations of the *stūpa* in order to clarify how these early surveys affected subsequent studies of the monument. Second, I will examine the former historiography of the *stūpa* and outline its methodological problems. Third, I will propose possible approaches to overcome these problems.

## I. DISCOVERY OF THE STŪPA AND EARLY EXCAVATIONS<sup>1</sup>

The modern discovery of the Amarāvātī *stūpa* towards the end of the 18th century was far from fortunate for the monument. The person who first

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<sup>1</sup> Regarding the early surveys of Amarāvātī, the descriptions of the early studies are not consistent with each other (Fergusson 1873, pp. 163-166; Sewell 1880, pp. 10-28; Burgess 1887, pp. 13-19). For more accurate information, see Jennifer Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie and the Stupa at Amaravati', *South Asian Studies*, 18 (2002), pp. 53-64; Upinder Singh, 'The Dismembering of the Amaravati Stupa' in Singh, *The Discovery of Ancient India: Early*

noticed the site was Raja Vessareddy Nayudu, a local zamindar. He was at that time searching for building material for establishing his new residence at Amarāvati, and struck Dipaldinne (Hill of Lamps), the unexcavated remains of the great *stūpa*. Knowing that the mound contained many bricks, limestone pillars and panels, Nayudu and local people utilized them for the construction and embellishment of their residences and other public buildings.<sup>2</sup> The zamindar also ordered the centre of the mound to be dug up to search for treasure, and then converted the excavated hole into a large reservoir (Pl. 17). These works continued until March 1816, but were terminated by the sudden death of the Raja in August of the same year.<sup>3</sup>

The Madras government was not very efficient in its response to this destruction of the ancient remains. Having heard about the discovery of the ancient monument, Colonel Colin Mackenzie, a member of the Madras Engineers and later the first Surveyor General of India, briefly visited Amarāvati in 1798.<sup>4</sup> On this visit, however, he could not do much work apart from a quick observation of a few sculptures unearthed by the Raja. It was as late as March 1816 that Mackenzie started a more intensive survey. By that time, the *stūpa* had already been destroyed.<sup>5</sup>

Mackenzie's team stayed in Amarāvati until the end of 1817 and made detailed records on the conditions of the site and the exposed sculptures.<sup>6</sup>

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*Archaeologists and the Beginning of Archaeology* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), pp. 249-89; J. Howes, 'The Colonial History of Sculptures from the Amaravati Stupa', in J. Hawkes and Akira Shimada ed., *Buddhist Stupas in South Asia: Recent Archaeological, Art-Historical and Historical Perspectives* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 20-37.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these reused sculptures were recently found at Amareśvara temple in Amarāvati. See P. Sitapati and V.V. Krishna Sastry, *New Satavahana Sculptures from Andhra Amaravathi* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> See Colin Mackenzie, 'Account of Extracts of a Journal', *Asiatick Researches*, 9 (1807), 273-78; Ruins of Amurvarty, Depaldina, and Durnakotta, *Asiatic Journal*, 15 (1823), pp. 470-71. In this work, the Raja seems to have discovered a stone casket which contained a crystal box with a small pearl, some small leaves of gold etc. These were collected by Elliot and sent to the Madras Museum (Burgess 1887, pp. 22 and 99 and pl. 53, 4-7).

<sup>4</sup> Mackenzie, 'Account of Extracts', pp. 273-78. Although Mackenzie's visit to Amarāvati is commonly dated February 1797 because of the date in his report, I will follow Howes' latest survey which assigns his arrival at Amarāvati to 1798. See Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie', p. 54; Howes, 'The Colonial History', p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Although Mackenzie did not conduct an intensive survey at Amarāvati until 1816, he and his staff may have visited Amarāvati between 1798 and 1816. See H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua: a Descriptive Account of the Antiques and Coins of Afghanistan* (London: The Court of Directors of The East India Company, 1841, rpt., Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1971), pp. 32-33. This is supported by the Mackenzie drawings at the Asiatic Society in Kolkata, which include two Amarāvati drawings dated February 1807 and December 1808 (Asiatic Society, MS4, nos. 112 and 125).

<sup>6</sup> While two or three sets of the same drawings seem to have been made and sent to London, Calcutta and Madras, only one set, which is incomplete, is now preserved at the

Their work, however, caused severe deterioration of the *stūpa*. They removed a considerable number of sculptures from the site and sent specimens to various places such as Masulipatam, Calcutta, London, and Madras.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the pieces sent to Masulipatan, now confirmed as thirty-seven sculptures, were used for the embellishment of Robertson's Mound, a monument built by Francis W. Robertson, the Head Assistant to the Collector at Masulipatan. Jennifer Howes has argued that a major purpose of Mackenzie's survey was in fact to collect sculptures for that monument.<sup>8</sup>

This kind of 'archaeological' survey, which was tinged by antiquarian interest, continued at Amarāvati after Mackenzie. In 1845, Walter Elliot, the Commissioner of Guntur, visited Amarāvati and undertook an excavation.<sup>9</sup> He collected a large number of sculptures from the *stūpa* in a few months' mission and sent them to Madras. According to the report by William Taylor, Elliot hoped to be able to present these sculptures to the Court of Directors in England.<sup>10</sup> Despite his intention, the sculptures were

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British Library. Fergusson mentions that there were two other sets of drawings apart from the one sent to London: one was sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and the other was deposited in Madras (Fergusson 1873, p. 164). Barrett, on the other hand, insisted that there was only one other copy which was borrowed from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Elliot 1846, and submitted by him to the Governor of Madras in 1854, then lost. See Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1954), p. 22 (n. 8).

<sup>7</sup> The destinations of the pieces had already become unknown from the 19th century (Sewell 1880, pp. 10-21 and 29-30). Available evidence however indicates that some of the sculptures, eleven in number, were sent to Calcutta ('A Memorandum of Antiquities dated April 7, 1817', Mackenzie Amarāvati Album, folio. 92 (BL, WD 1061); Sewell 1880, p. 13). Of these at least two pieces were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and were then gifted to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. See John Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum* (Calcutta: Museum, 1883), part 1, pp. 196-97. The rest were moved to London probably after Mackenzie's death in 1821. Wilson and Fergusson reported that there were some Amarāvati sculptures in the East India Company's Museum in Leadenhall Street from the 1820's (Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 33; Fergusson 1873, p. 217). The British Museum has twelve Amarāvati sculptures which do not have the date of arrival in England (Knox, nos. 22, 27, 30, 40, 55, 60/72, 69, 70, 81, 84, 105, 130). Among them, six pieces (Knox, nos. 27, 40, 70, 60/72, 81, 130) were in the Mackenzie drawings. Another frieze (no. 55) was discovered lying in the back yard of a barber near the British Museum in the 1860s (Fergusson 1873, p. 223, n. 1). Regarding Mackenzie's materials sent to Madras, see Ananda Rao's account included in William Taylor, *On the Elliot Marbles being a report by the Reverend William Taylor* (Madras, Government of Madras, [1856(?)]), p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie', pp. 59-61.

<sup>9</sup> Fergusson mentions that Elliot excavated the *stūpa* in 1840 (Fergusson 1873, p. 164). This was followed by Sewell (Sewell 1880, p. 10). Elliot's own report however writes that the excavation was in 1845. See Walter Elliot, 'Archaeology in the Krishna District', *The Indian Antiquary*, 1 (1872), p. 346.

<sup>10</sup> Taylor, *On the Elliot Marbles*, p. 30.

kept, unnoticed, in the Old College at Fort St. George in Madras. During this time, two of the seventy-nine sculptures collected by Elliot seem to have been lost.<sup>11</sup> In 1854, drawings of the sculptures were made 'to enable the Honorable Court to decide whether the marbles are worthy of transmission to England or not'.<sup>12</sup> Around this time, the Madras government also seems to have started making efforts to gather the Amarāvātī sculptures to the Madras Central Museum (currently the Government Museum, Chennai). When William Taylor made a catalogue of the Amarāvātī sculptures at the Madras Museum in 1856, the pieces at the Old College had already been moved to the Museum. In addition, the thirty-seven sculptures originally collected by Mackenzie had just been transported from Masulipatam.<sup>13</sup> When Tripe took photographs of the sculptures in 1858, six more pieces had joined the collection.<sup>14</sup> The six sculptures, which include three pieces recorded in the Mackenzie drawings, were brought either from Masulipatam or Amarāvātī.<sup>15</sup> These sculptures (79-2+37+6=120 pieces), named by Taylor as the 'Elliot Marbles', were shipped to London in 1859.<sup>16</sup>

The sculptures, which had already experienced considerable neglect after the excavations, had to endure further suffering in England. When they reached London in April 1860, it was the aftermath of the Mutiny, and also a period of hiatus between the termination of the East India Company and the foundation of the India Office.<sup>17</sup> There was no place to

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, *On the Elliot Marbles*, nos. 63 and 85. Taylor's list contains nine more medieval Hindu and Jain sculptures whose provenance are unknown (*Ibid*, nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 81, 83, 84, 86). I have not counted these pieces.

<sup>12</sup> See Dr. Balfour's Report on the Marble Sculptures at the College (BL, IOR, F/4/2595, 157577, f. 27); Howes, 'The Colonial History', p. 25. The drawings are now in the British Library (BL, WD 2242-2283).

<sup>13</sup> Richard Alexander who took care of the Amarāvātī sculpture in Masulipatam at that time, however, refused to give the pieces to the Madras government. After the negotiation, Alexander was successful in keeping three sculptures as a gift. The fate of these sculptures is unknown. See Howes, 'The Colonial History', p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> Linnaeus Tripe, *Photographs of the Elliot Marbles and of Other Subjects in the Central Government Museum, Madras* ([Bangalore]: no publisher, [1859]), nos. 130/135, 131/134, 132/133, 136/137, 138/139, 140/141. Although Tripe treated no. 132 and 133 as different pieces, this is the inner and outer sides of the same rail pillar (Knox, no. 11). Three of them (nos. 130/135, 131/134, 138/139) are recorded in Mackenzie's drawings.

<sup>15</sup> See Howes, 'The Colonial History', p. 25. A letter from Walter Elliot to the Chief Secretary of the Government, dated 23rd November, 1854 (BL, IOR, F/4/2648, no. 172698)

<sup>16</sup> Knox, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Fergusson misunderstood that the sculptures had reached London about 1856. Sewell also followed this information (Fergusson 1873, p. 165; Sewell 1880, p. 21). For reliable information, see the Letter no. 742, dated 20/May/1861 from W. Downing to the Secretary

store the sculptures, and they remained for a year at Beale's Wharf in Southwark. After being transported into the coach house of Fife House, Whitehall, in May 1861, they were again forgotten until 1867 when James Fergusson noticed them. Because of the dust in the coach house and the polluted air and frost of 19th century London, the sculptures had sustained further damage during that time.<sup>18</sup> The sculptures experienced several moves in London even after that, and finally found a secure residence in the British Museum in 1880.

After Elliot's survey, the *stūpa* again went unnoticed until 1870 when J.A.C. Boswell, the Officiating Collector of the Krishna District, undertook a survey of the ancient remains in the Krishna district including Amarāvātī.<sup>19</sup> He spent a large part of the report describing the Dīpaldinna mound and recommended further research as it might yield further discoveries. This report was submitted to the Madras Government, which raised interest about the site again. Alexander Cunningham, the first Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), established in 1871, decided to ask Boswell to undertake further excavations at Amarāvātī.<sup>20</sup> The order, however, was never carried out because of Boswell's sickness and death.

Work on the site was eventually resumed by Robert Sewell, the Acting Head Assistant Collector of the Kistna (=Krishna) district. In March 1875, he applied for further excavations at Amarāvātī. Considering the Government's concerns about previous unsystematic surveys and the destruction of the site, he explained that he would concentrate on clearing the debris and would not interfere with the archaeological evidence at the site. Once the proposal was approved, he started excavation at the end of April 1877.<sup>21</sup> Although he only worked for one week, Sewell excavated the northwest quadrant of the processional path and also undertook a survey

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of State, Financial Papers 1861 (BL, IOR, L/F/2/250). See also Ray Desmond, *The India Museum 1801-1879* (London: H.M.S.O., 1982), p. 93.

<sup>18</sup> A few pieces which embellished the outer wall of Fife House (such as Knox 1992: nos. 8 and 88) were so eroded during this time that the detailed carving of the sculptures was almost gone. See Enclosure no. 2, dated Wolfebe, Hawick N.B., the 18th February 1871, from Sir Walter Elliot to the Under Secretary of State for India, India Home Proceeding Public, August 19, 1871, p. 4616 (BL, IOR, P/507).

<sup>19</sup> No. 1301, dated Masulipatam, the 31st March, 1870, from J.A.C. Boswell to the Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue, India Home Proceeding, Public, August 19 (no. 1301), 1871, pp. 4618-4633 (BL, IOR, P/507).

<sup>20</sup> A letter from Major-General A. Cunningham to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Simla, 31st July 1871, Madras Public Proceedings, 17th August 1871, no. 78, p. 996 (BL, IOR, P/272); A letter from Major-General A. Cunningham to E.C. Bayley, dated Simla, 9th August 1871, India Home Proceedings, August 19, 1871, p. 4635 (BL, IOR, P/507).

<sup>21</sup> Sewell 1880, pp. 31 and 53.

of the loose sculptures at the site as well as in Amarāvati town. This resulted in the discovery of eighty-nine sculptures in and around the *stūpa*.<sup>22</sup>

Sewell hoped that he could undertake a further survey with better staff and equipment. His hope, however, was not fulfilled. In 1880, the Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of Madras, suddenly ordered the excavation to be completed at once. On receipt of the order, J.G. Horsfall, the Collector of the Krishna district, started excavation on 16th February. He quickly uncovered the entire passageway around the *stūpa* in about two weeks, and ordered the excavated pieces to be numbered, photographed and drawn. Since he had to begin work without the guarantee of funding by the Government of India, he hired local labour at 'economical' rates and excavated the site just to find sculptures. Due to his lack of skill and knowledge, he did not properly record the excavation data, though he uncovered many sculptures, brick structures, coins, and inscriptions. Regarding the inscriptions, for example, he did not bother to describe each record but commented 'all but one are too short to throw any light on the history of the place.'<sup>23</sup>

The report of this hurried and clumsy excavation was sent to the Madras Government, where it caused serious concern about the condition of the site. In December 1881, the Madras Government ordered James Burgess, who had just been appointed as the Archaeological Surveyor of Madras Presidency by the ASI, to inspect Amarāvati. While he was devastated to see that the previous excavations had converted the *stūpa* site into a large pit, he collected basic data on 255 pieces of sculpture unearthed by Horsfall, and added eighty-eight new pieces through his own excavation. He also counted the pieces stored by Sewell and the ones in the Bezwada Library.<sup>24</sup>

Burgess concluded that the sculptures had no reason to remain at the site since the mound had been destroyed by 'rough and ready' excavations and 'all the information that might have been then secured has been entirely lost'.<sup>25</sup> He selected 175 fine pieces and arranged to send them to Madras immediately. His plans for transportation, however, were suspended by H.H. Cole, the first Curator of Ancient Monuments. The Curator

<sup>22</sup> Sewell 1880, pp. 31-55.

<sup>23</sup> Enclosure no. 1, from J.G. Horsfall to the Chief Secretary to the Government, dated Masulipatam, 16th April 1880, no. 794, Madras Public Proceedings, 5th September 1881, no. 1199 (BL, IOR, P/1746).

<sup>24</sup> Burgess 1882, pp. 5-52.

<sup>25</sup> A letter from J. Burgess to the Chief Secretary to Government, 30th December 1881, Madras Public Proceedings, January 1882, no. 45 (BL, IOR, P/1925)

was a newly established post in the Government of India in February 1881.<sup>26</sup> While the ASI, Burgess's organization, was responsible for the survey of the monuments, the Curator was supposed to undertake their conservation. In his new role, Cole asked the Government of India to suspend dispatch of the sculptures until he had inspected the site.<sup>27</sup> He also criticized Burgess's work, saying he had 'ransacked the place' and 'monopolized the ground peculiarly important to my department.'<sup>28</sup> Burgess responded to this claim by saying that Cole did not understand the condition of the site. He even suspected that Cole's real aim was to deprive the ASI of the right to survey south Indian architecture.<sup>29</sup> The Amarāvati issue thus became a political conflict between the two newly founded government institutes. Cole visited Amarāvati in November 1882 and reported that the *stūpa* could be restored by using the excavated pieces.<sup>30</sup> Despite his report, Cunningham approved Burgess' plan and the Madras Government decided to move the sculptures to the Madras Central Museum.<sup>31</sup>

In Madras, however, a tragic fate awaited the transported sculptures. In 1886, G. Bidie, the Superintendent of the Museum, arranged the sculptures according to his own idea and embedded them into a concrete wall. The sculptures were irreparably damaged by the cement, which covered up every surface of the pieces save the sculptured areas.<sup>32</sup> Burgess' effort

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<sup>26</sup> Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, the Home Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated Fort William, 2nd February 1881, no. 30-42, Madras Public Proceeding, 11th February 1881, No. 187 (BL, IOR, P/1746).

<sup>27</sup> H.H. Cole, 'Note on Works Undertaken in Madras, dated 18th September, 1882', *First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the Year 1881-82*, (Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1882), p. cxxxiii; A letter from H.H. Cole to the Chief Secretary to the Government, dated Madras 27th March 1882, Madras Public Proceedings, 16th June 1882, No. 411, Public (BL, IOR, P/1925).

<sup>28</sup> H.H. Cole, 'Memorandum of the Present Condition of Amaravati Tope in Madras', India Home Proceedings, Archaeology, June 1882, p. 63 (BL, IOR, P/1681); A letter from H.H. Cole to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, dated Madras 27th March 1882, Madras Public Proceedings, 16th June 1882, No. 412, 413 (BL, IOR, P/1925).

<sup>29</sup> A letter from J. Burgess to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, 2nd August 1882, Home Proceedings, Archaeology, Sept. 1882 (BL, IOR, P/1681).

<sup>30</sup> 'Memorandum of the present condition of the Amaravati tope, dated Masulipatam, the 24th November', Enclosure of a letter from H.H. Cole to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Madras, 2nd December 1882, Madras Public Proceeding, 12th June 1883, Public (BL, IOR, P/2117)

<sup>31</sup> A letter from Major A. Cunningham to Chief Secretary to Government, dated Simla, 30th May 1883, no. 24, Madras Public Proceeding, 12th June 1883, Public (BL, IOR, P/2117). On the conflict between Burgess and Coll, also see Singh 'The Dismembering', 274-86.

<sup>32</sup> Burgess 1887, p. 19 (n. 2).

to 'rescue' the sculptures had sadly resulted not only in the infliction of disastrous damage to the sculptures themselves, but also caused the irreparable loss of the original archaeological and architectural contexts from the site.

After Burgess's survey, the idea of restoring the site's original architectural context was entirely lost. The remaining task was to confirm the dimensions of the site and collect as many of the remaining sculptures as possible. In April 1888 and February 1889, Alexander Rea excavated around the west, east, and south gateways as well as other mounds near the *stūpa*.<sup>33</sup> In 1890 and 1891, the excavated pieces by Rea and the remaining pieces found by Horsfall and Burgess, totalling 191 in number, were sent to Madras.<sup>34</sup> Between 1905 and 1909, Rea extended the area of excavation to the quadrants of the circle between the gates and the area to the north of the *stūpa*.<sup>35</sup> Some of the objects unearthed in these excavations were sent to Madras while the rest of them were kept at a shelter built at the site.<sup>36</sup> The 'clearances' of the site were basically complete by this excavation, although, as we shall see later, small excavations at the site and discoveries of new objects were continued by ASI after Independence.

The tragic story of Amarāvati exemplifies typical problems faced by archaeological monuments in India during this period. In the early nineteenth century, when Amarāvati was surveyed, the protection of ancient monuments was not considered a priority in government circles. Indeed, the local people had regarded the old *stūpa*-s as convenient sources of building materials, while British officials also used them for the construction of canals and roads.<sup>37</sup> Surveys of such monuments were largely undertaken by individuals who had personal antiquarian interests.<sup>38</sup> The

<sup>33</sup> Madras Public Proceeding, 11th September, 1888, No. 896 (BL, IOR P/3284); Madras Public Proceeding, 30th April, 1889, No. 383 (BL, IOR, P/3511).

<sup>34</sup> Sivaramamurti, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Rea, 'Excavations at Amarāvati', *ARASI* (1905-6), pp. 116-19; *ARASI* (1908-9), pp. 88-91.

<sup>36</sup> The pieces kept in the shelter now constitute a collection of the Archaeological Museum at Amarāvati.

<sup>37</sup> Burgess reported that Jaggayyapeta *stūpa* had been dug for a long time by villagers who wanted to obtain bricks (Burgess 1887, p. 107). Rea also mentions that *stūpa*-s at Guḍivāḍa were destroyed by Public Works department to obtain bricks/stones. See Alexander Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities; Including the Stūpas of Bhaṭṭhiproḷu, Guḍivāḍa and Ghaṇṭasālā and other Ancient Sites* (Madras: Superintendent Government Press, 1894, rpt. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1997), pp. 18-19.

<sup>38</sup> The drain of ancient sculptures from India was easily possible in the decade of the Mutiny when the 'Elliot' pieces came to England. Even in the 1880s, A.W. Franks, the Curator of the British Museum hoped that the Museum would have one or two new Amarāvati

founding of the ASI in 1871 did not change the situation drastically since the survey area of ASI was initially confined to sites in North India. Until 1881, the time when the ASI extended its survey area into the Madras presidency, and Cole was appointed as Curator of Monuments, there was no professional organization which could supervise the survey and protection of ancient monuments in South India.<sup>39</sup> Even these newly established institutions, as we have seen, did not always work properly. Moreover, excavations in this period were at best primitive according to present standards. The objects discovered were inevitably turned into 'antiquities' lacking any detailed archaeological context.

## II. HISTORIOGRAPHY

### 1. *Archaeological, Epigraphic and Art-Historical Analysis*

The early excavations and destruction of the site had considerable influence on the direction taken by subsequent academic approaches to the *stūpa*. Facing a heavily disturbed site with poor archaeological data, scholars tried to reconstruct the former state of the monument and its archaeological contexts. Broadly speaking, this scholarly effort concentrated on two major issues: (1) architectural reconstruction; (2) chronological reconstruction.

#### (1) *Architectural Reconstruction*

Since the mound had already been disturbed before the first survey, understanding the architectural features of the monument was the major concern among early surveyors. In the early 19th century, however, ancient Buddhist architecture in the subcontinent had not yet been extensively studied. It is thus hardly surprising that Mackenzie, the first surveyor of the *stūpa*, failed to propose any clear idea about the nature of the monument. While his survey found many Buddhist sculptures, and revealed two concentric circles of sculptures surrounding the monument (the 'outer' and 'inner' rails in his terminology), he guessed vaguely that the monument was used for religious worship by 'a different sect from the Hindoos of the present day.'<sup>40</sup>

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pieces from the ones found by Sewell. His hope resulted in the 'gift' of two Amarāvati sculptures from the Madras Government to the British Museum (Knox, pp. 21-22).

<sup>39</sup> Dilip K. Chakravarti, *A History of Indian Archaeology: from the Beginning to 1947* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1988), p. 97.

<sup>40</sup> Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amurvarty', p. 469.

These difficulties seem to have increased the need to understand the nature of this mysterious monument. Walter Elliot, the second surveyor of the mound, seems to have noticed that the sculpture carved on drum slabs resembled Buddhist *dagoba* (= *stūpa*) and formed an idea that the shape of the building seemed to correspond to the sculptural representation.<sup>41</sup> Based on this idea and the actual measurements of the slabs and mound, he made a first elevation plan of the monument.<sup>42</sup> The plan, preserved now at the Department of Asia at the British Museum, looks exactly like a *stūpa* (Pl. 2).<sup>43</sup> He showed his idea to Fergusson, but received no confirmation from him and seems to have had no chance to publish it.

In 1868, James Fergusson proposed his own plan of the monument in his catalogue of Amarāvati sculptures. He rightly pointed out that the monument was a Buddhist *stūpa*. He however thought that the *stūpa* was relatively small and occupied only the centre of the mound. As shown in his sketch, he thus conjectured that the mound contained a monastic complex surrounding the *stūpa* consisting of *vihāra*-s, a nine-storied Pagoda, a *caitya* hall and so on (Pl. 3).<sup>44</sup>

Sewell, the third surveyor of the mound, further revised the above idea. He carefully studied Mackenzie's drawings and noticed a massive masonry wall (eight feet in width), which seemed to run around the entire mound. He surmised that the wall formed the base of the *stūpa*, and concluded that the mound was occupied by a large single *stūpa* surrounded by double rails.<sup>45</sup> Later Sewell revised the idea that the 'inner rail' of the above two rails was actually not a rail, but consisted of the lower drum of the *stūpa*.<sup>46</sup> This single rail plan was initially rejected by some scholars like Burgess.<sup>47</sup> Further excavations at Amarāvati and other *stūpa* sites such

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<sup>41</sup> A letter from Walter Elliot to the Chief Secretary of the Government, dated 23rd November, 1854 (BL, IOR, F/4/2648, no. 172608); Enclosure no. 2, dated on 18th February 1871 from Walter Elliot to the Secretary of the State of India, India Home Proceeding, Public, Aug 19 1871, pp. 4614-4615 (BL, IOR, P/507); Elliot, 'Archaeology in the Krishna District', p. 346.

<sup>42</sup> Sewell 1877, p. 68.

<sup>43</sup> The British Museum, Asia, 1996. 1007. o. 3.

<sup>44</sup> His sketch is now preserved at the Department of Asia at the British Museum (The British Museum, Asia, 1996. 1007. o. 2).

<sup>45</sup> Sewell 1880, pp. 23-25.

<sup>46</sup> A letter from R. Sewell to Chief Secretary to Government, dated Greenwood, Ootakamund, 20th August 1881, no. 639, Madras Public Proceeding, 5th September 1881, no. 1199 (BL, IOR, P/1746).

<sup>47</sup> Burgess 1887, pp. 20 and 25.

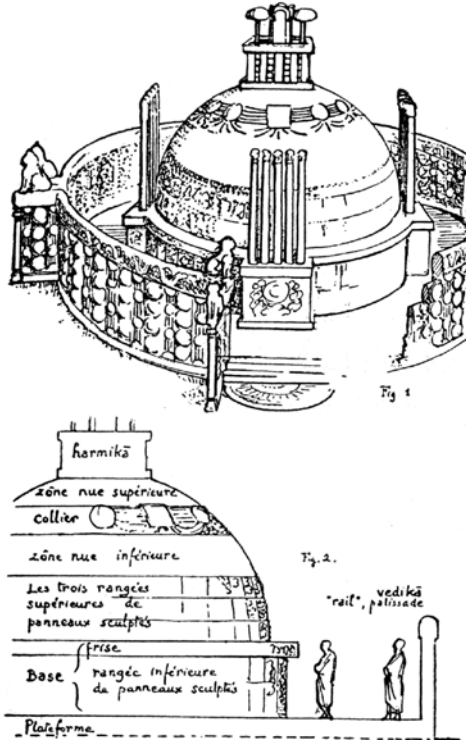


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the Amarāvati stūpa by Jouveau-Dubreuil. (After Jouveau-Dubreuil 1932, figs. 1 and 2.)

as Gummadidurru and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, however, confirmed Sewell's idea.<sup>48</sup> The basic shape of the stūpa was thus eventually fixed.

Even after this, the debates about the precise shape of the stūpa continued. In 1932, Jouveau-Dubreuil proposed a further detailed plan of the stūpa, and argued that, based on the height of the drum slabs, the stūpa drum was about a man's height (Fig. 2).<sup>49</sup> In 1945, Percy Brown presented a different idea about this point (Fig. 3).<sup>50</sup> Based on the appearance of the stūpa represented in the reliefs, he conjectured that the stūpa had a lofty

<sup>48</sup> Mumammad Hamid Kuraishi, 'Trial Excavations at Alluru, Gummadidurru and Nagarjunakonda', *ARASI* (1926-27), pp. 150-61.

<sup>49</sup> Jouveau Dubreuil, *L'architecture d'Amaravati*, *Bulletin de l'association des amis de l'orient*, 12 (1932), pp. 5-16. Sivaramamurti supported this idea as well (Sivaramamurti, pp. 25-26).

<sup>50</sup> Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Period)*, 2nd revised and enlarged edition (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1942), pp. 45-47.

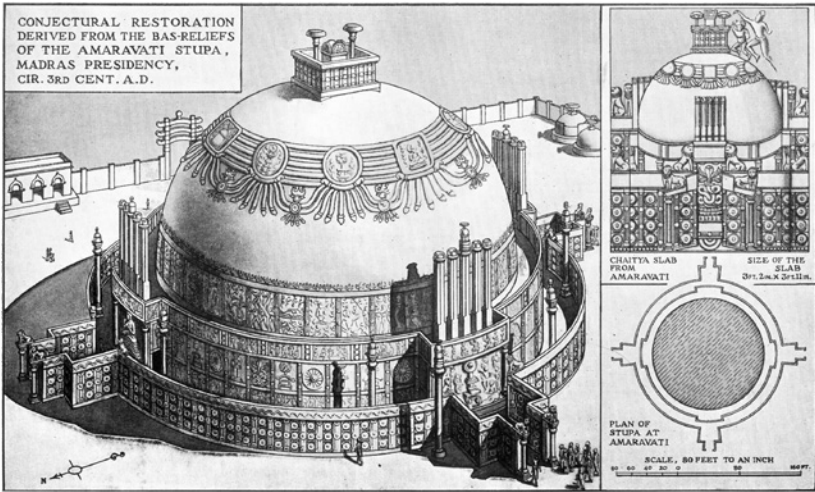


Figure 3. Reconstruction of the Amaravati *stūpa* by Percy Brown. (After Brown 1942, pl. 28.)

appearance with very high drum and dome. As a result, these two considerably different models of the *stūpa* began to co-exist among scholars. In opposition to Brown's idea, Douglas Barrett proposed his own *stūpa* reconstruction in 1954 (Fig. 4).<sup>51</sup> Based on the study of former excavations, the shape of other Andhran *stūpas* and the actual size of the slabs and pillars from Amaravati, he affirmed that the drum of the *stūpa* was fairly low as Dubreuil speculated, and the curve of the dome was moderate. In his new catalogue of the Amaravati collection in the British Museum, Robert Knox has proposed a reconstruction plan which slightly modifies Barrett's plan (Fig. 1).<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, Shosin Kuwayama has recently challenged the plan of Barrett and Knox by arguing that the thick outer ring walls of the Andhran *stūpas* were devices for supporting the high drums.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 27-39.

<sup>52</sup> Knox, pp. 23-30.

<sup>53</sup> Shosin Kuwayama, 'A Hidden Import from Imperial Rome Manifest in Stūpas', in Raymond Allchin et al. ed., *Gandharan Art in Context: East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1997), pp. 148-49.

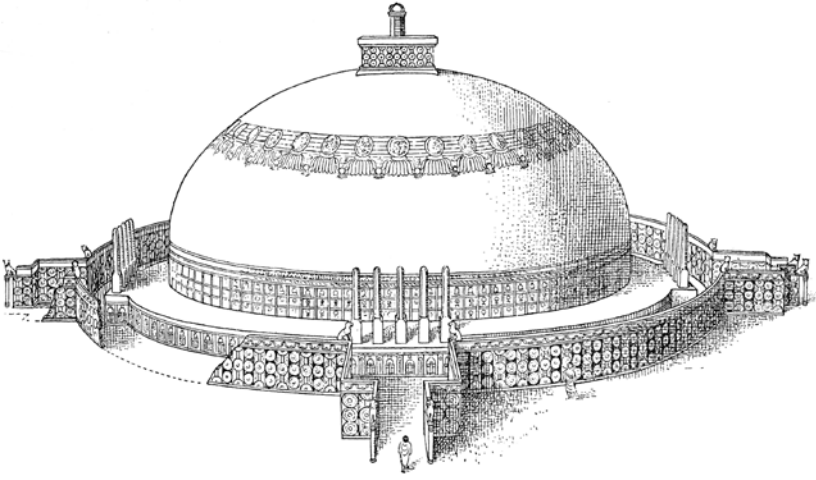


Figure 4. Reconstruction of the Amarāvati stūpa by Douglas Barrett. (Courtesy: The Trustees of the British Museum.)

### (2) *Chronological Reconstruction*

Besides its architectural features, another major issue for the stūpa has been its date. Fergusson, who first raised this issue, suggested two sources of evidence for addressing this problem: (1) inscriptions; (2) styles of the sculptures. Regarding the inscriptions, he noticed a palaeographical similarity between the Amarāvati inscriptions and those at Kaṅherī and Nāsik, the Buddhist caves in the western Deccan. In terms of sculpture, he pointed out that the designs on the limestone railing at Amarāvati resembled those of railing motifs in the above two Buddhist caves. Based on these comparisons, he suggested that the date of Amarāvati was close to these two Buddhist caves, which he dated to the 4th century CE.<sup>54</sup>

In his excavation report in 1887, Burgess revised Fergusson's dating by pursuing further epigraphic and literary evidence. He examined votive inscriptions from the site and found a record mentioning Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi, a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Based on other epigraphic evidence and textual descriptions, he reconstructed the chronology of the Sātavāhanas and fixed the reign of Puḷumāyi (and the date of the inscrip-

<sup>54</sup> Fergusson, 1873, pp. 172, 185-86; His dating on the two caves was based on Stevenson's epigraphic studies. See J. Stevenson, 'Historical Names and Facts Contained in the Kaṅheri (Kanery) Inscriptions; with Translations Appended', *JBBRAS*, 5 (1853), pp. 1-34; Stevenson, 'On the Nāsik Cave-Inscriptions', *JBBRAS*, 5 (1853), pp. 35-57.

tion) around the 2nd century CE.<sup>55</sup> He also claimed that the *stūpa* itself was much older since there were some early inscriptions with Mauryan features.<sup>56</sup> Subsequently Chanda's study corroborated Burgess's contention. He published fifty-eight inscriptions unearthed by A. Rea and divided them into four periods: (1) ca. 200 BCE (2) ca. the 1st century BCE or CE (3) ca. 100 CE (4) ca. 3rd century CE, based on the palaeographical features.<sup>57</sup> This classification was followed by Sivaramamurti, who catalogued the Amarāvati inscriptions at the Madras Government Museum.<sup>58</sup>

In contrast to the epigraphic evidence, the style of the sculptures, noted by Fergusson as another means of dating the *stūpa*, was not seriously discussed during the late 19th and early 20th century. In this period, scholars were mainly concerned with identifying the narrative sculptures based on a study of the texts.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the only two exceptions we should mention are Ananda Coomaraswamy's monograph on early Indian and Indonesian Art in 1927 and Ludwig Bachhofer's study of early Indian sculpture in 1929. Coomaraswamy, a pioneering art historian and philosophical thinker, dated the foundation of the *stūpa* to the 2nd century BCE and the sculpture to between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE, although his argument for this dating is not very clear.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, Bachhofer, a student of Wölfflin, a famous art historian who established a systematic method of analysing the style of Renaissance art, sought to explain the development of ancient Indian sculptures in a comprehensive way. Regarding Amarāvati, he dated some early pieces to 100-50 BCE

<sup>55</sup> Burgess 1887, pp. 1-12 and 100.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101 (no. 4).

<sup>57</sup> Chanda, pp. 258-75.

<sup>58</sup> Sivaramamurti, p. 272.

<sup>59</sup> Burgess 1887, pp. 27-99; Alfred Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient*, 3 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905-1951), I, pp. 264-599; J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore or the Nagas in Hindu Legend and Art* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1926), rpt. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1972, pp. 93-131. A. Foucher, 'Les sculptures d'Amarāvati', *Révue des Arts Asiatiques*, 5 (1928), pp. 9-24. Ananda. K. Coomaraswamy, 'Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique', *Révue des Arts Asiatiques*, 5 (1928), pp. 244-52; Coomaraswamy, 'Buddhist Reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvati', *Rupam* 38-39 (1929), pp. 70-76; R. Linossier, 'Une légende d'Udena d'Amarāvati', *Révue des Arts Asiatiques*, 6 (1929-30), pp. 101-02; T.N. Ramachandran, 'An Inscribed Pillar-carving from Amarāvati', *Acta Orientalia*, 10 (1931-32), pp. 135-53; A.J. Bernet Kempers, 'Note on an Ancient Sculpture from Amarāvati', *Acta Orientalia*, 10 (1931-32), pp. 364-71.

<sup>60</sup> Ananda Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1927), rpt. New York: Dover, 1965, pp. 38, 70.

by comparison with the railing sculpture at Bodhgayā, and the rest of the sculpture to 75-200 CE, contemporary with Mathurā.<sup>61</sup>

In the mid 20th century, more systematic and rigorous attempts to examine the stylistic development of the Amarāvati sculptures appeared in scholarly writings. The above-mentioned catalogue by Sivaramamurti may be counted as the earliest attempt in this regard. In the catalogue, he classified typological and stylistic features of the Amarāvati sculptures and compared them to other early historic sculptures at Bhārhut, Sānchī and Mathurā. Based on this analysis, he divided the sculptures into four phases and assigned a dating to each phase, ranging between ca. 200 BCE and ca. 200-250 CE.<sup>62</sup> He also suggested that the construction of the *stūpa* was linked with the Sātavāhanas who, in his view, ruled this region during this period.<sup>63</sup> Following this study were the works by Stern and Bénisti. They pursued the typological approach more rigorously and divided the sculpture into four phases. Although they did not date each phase clearly, they appear to have assigned the first phase to the 2nd-1st centuries BCE, since they noted the typological resemblance of the first phase pieces with those of Bhārhut and Sānchī.<sup>64</sup>

Opposing the above 'long' chronologies, in 1954 Douglas Barrett proposed another persuasive but completely different view about the dating of Amarāvati. Although he followed Sivaramamurti's idea of the connection between the rule of the Sātavāhanas and the construction of the *stūpa*, he took the 'short' chronology of the Sātavāhanas, taking a date for the dynasty between the late 1st century BCE and the mid-3rd century CE, as more appropriate. Based on archaeological evidence, he also maintained that the rule of the Sātavāhanas in Andhra started after the 2nd century CE. He thus concluded that the construction and embellishment of the *stūpa* was completed during the relatively short period between ca. 125 and 240 CE. He also examined the stylistic development of the sculpture through each architectural component and established a comprehensive chronology of the Amarāvati sculptures.<sup>65</sup>

His new theory, however, was challenged by subsequent archaeological and epigraphic discoveries at Amarāvati. An important find was a fragment

<sup>61</sup> Ludwig Bachhofer *Early Indian Sculpture*, 2 vols. (Paris: Pegasus, 1929), rpt. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972, I, pp. 29 and 59-61; II, figs. 108-31.

<sup>62</sup> Sivaramamurti, pp. 26-43.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-14.

<sup>64</sup> Philippe Stern et Mireille Bénisti, *Évolution du style indienne d'Amarāvati* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), pp. 72-76.

<sup>65</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvati*, pp. 11-20 and 40-56.

of a pillar with old inscriptions in Mauryan characters (Pl. 4). The publisher of the inscription reported it as an unknown pillar edict of Aśoka.<sup>66</sup> In 1958-59, the ASI excavated the *stūpa* site and found many granite and limestone fragments with a large number of inscriptions. Ghosh and Sarkar dated many of these records to the third or the second century BCE.<sup>67</sup> In 1973-75, the ASI excavated the site again and obtained further sculptures and inscriptions. This excavation also confirmed a stratigraphical sequence of the site with numerous fragments of Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), which is conventionally assigned to the Mauryan period.<sup>68</sup> The excavations at Dharanikoṭa, the ancient city adjacent to the *stūpa*, also revealed that the city dated back at least to the post-Mauryan period.<sup>69</sup> Subsequent radiocarbon dating has also shown that the fortifications of this city may go back to between ca. 475-205 BCE.<sup>70</sup> Based on this data, Ghosh and Sarma have argued that the *stūpa* may have flourished since the Mauryan period or even earlier.<sup>71</sup>

The above archaeological discoveries effectively established the view that the *stūpa* was founded far before the Sātavāhana period. This new data, however, did not deter debate on the dates of sculptures and inscriptions. Considering the latest evidence, Dehejia dated some sculptures to the second century BCE, but Barrett affirmed again the overall validity of the 'short-chronology' based on stylistic analysis of the sculptures.<sup>72</sup> Dani has supported Barrett's dating from the palaeographical viewpoint, while Sarma and Ghosh have strongly opposed it.<sup>73</sup> Even among recent studies, while Knox and Anamika Roy have dated some sculptures to the Mauryan

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<sup>66</sup> D.C. Sircar, 'Fragmentary Pillar Inscription from Amaravati', *EI*, 35 (1963-64), pp. 40-43.

<sup>67</sup> *IAR* 1958-59, p. 5; Ghosh and Sarkar, pp. 168-177; Ghosh 1979, pp. 97-103.

<sup>68</sup> *IAR* 1973-74, pp. 3-5; *IAR* 1974-75, p. 2; Sarma 1975, pp. 60-74. Also see I.K. Sarma, 'Early Sculptures and Epigraphs from South-East India: New Evidence from Amarāvati', in F.M. Asher and G.S. Gai ed., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art* (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH, 1985), pp. 15-16. NBPW was discovered in 1953-54 survey as well (*IAR* 1953-54, p. 38).

<sup>69</sup> *IAR* 1962-63, pp. 1-2; *IAR* 1963-64, pp. 2-4; *IAR* 1964-65, pp. 2-3.

<sup>70</sup> *IAR* 1965-66, p. 86.

<sup>71</sup> Sarma 1975, pp. 60-66; Ghosh 1979, p. 100; Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', pp. 15-16.

<sup>72</sup> Vidya Dehejia, 'Early Activity at Amaravati', *Archives of Asian Art*, 22 (1969-70), pp. 41-54; D. Barrett, 'The Early Phase at Amarāvati', in Barrett, *Studies in Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London: Pinder), pp. 83-99; Barrett 'Style and Palaeography at Amarāvati', *Oriental Art*, 36.2 (1990), pp. 77-82;

<sup>73</sup> Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Indian Palaeography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 72; Sarma 1975, p. 64; Ghosh 1979, p. 99.

and the post-Mauryan periods (the 3rd to 1st century BCE),<sup>74</sup> some art historians express reservations about placing the earliest Amarāvātī sculptures so long before the Christian Era.<sup>75</sup> Along with the problem of architectural reconstruction, the chronology of the Amarāvātī *stūpa* continues to be a contentious issue among art-historians, epigraphers, and archaeologists.

## 2. Historical Analysis

Besides attempting to clarify architectural and chronological reconstructions, the above studies on the *stūpa* have also sought some explanations of the socio-political and socio-economic background which supported the magnificent Buddhist monument.

In terms of the political background, what they noticed was the rule of the Sātavāhanas, who are known to have been the most powerful dynasty in the Deccan after the demise of the Mauryas. Since the names of a few kings of this dynasty are recorded in the Amarāvātī inscriptions, and the governance of powerful rulers seems to explain the construction of such a magnificent monument, the causal link between the rule of this dynasty and the *stūpa* became a fundamental assumption among studies of Amarāvātī. Sivaramamurti called Amarāvātī 'a glorious monument of the Sātavāhana period'.<sup>76</sup> Barrett also stressed that the rule of the Sātavāhana empire was 'the factor which gave tremendous impetus to that economic prosperity on which the vast building schemes of the Andhradeśa were undoubtedly founded'.<sup>77</sup> For this view, however, a main problem is that the chronological history of this dynasty is very unclear. This has increased the scholarly interest in the chronology of the Sātavāhanas, and has led to numerous views on the date of this dynasty, and that of the *stūpa*. This issue will be taken up in the next chapter.

<sup>74</sup> Knox, pp. 32-33; Anamika Roy, *Amarāvātī Stūpa: A Critical Comparison of Epigraphic, Architectural and Sculptural Evidence*, 2 vols (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1994), I, pp. 117-128.

<sup>75</sup> For instance, Miyaji dated one of the earliest pieces of Amarāvātī sculpture to the 1st century CE. Akira Miyaji, 'Minami indo Amaravati no setsuwa nehanzu: "shaka saigo no tabi" no setsuwazu (The Narrative Scene of Parinirvāna as Represented in Amarāvātī Art of South India)' in Miyaji *Nehan to Miroku no zuzogaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1992), p. 108. In recent publication, Miyaji revised the date of the same sculpture to the late 1st century BCE. See Miyaji, 'Minami indo no kodai bukkyo bijutsu (Ancient Buddhist Art in South India)' in Takashi Koezuka and Akira Miyaji ed., *New History of World Art*, vo. 13, India (1) (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2000), p. 157.

<sup>76</sup> Sivaramamurti, p. 8.

<sup>77</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 54.

As for the socio-economic background, scholars have noted the Deccan's intercourse with the western world, notably with the Roman Empire. This view, which presupposes the influence of a non-Indian tradition for the prosperity of the Amarāvātī region, may date back to Mackenzie. In his first report, he already noted that the beauty of the sculptures was certainly different from Hindu sculptures.<sup>78</sup> In another report in 1823, he expressed his surprise at the sculptors' understanding of perspective and the 'correct' proportions of relief figures.<sup>79</sup> Although he did not clarify in what sense he deemed the sculptures 'correct', his praise was probably based on their closeness to classical Western Art, his own cultural tradition.

An even more conspicuous example in this regard is the view expressed by Taylor, the compiler of the Elliot Marble catalogue. He believed that the sculptures were made under strong Greek influence. He says:

In very early life (when about fourteen or fifteen years old) I carefully studied the proportions of the human figure, founded on Grecian models, as a part of the art of drawing; and my eye became accustomed to them. I have met with those proportions in many of the figures in these sculptures [=Amarāvātī]; and in no other Indian sculpture beside.<sup>80</sup>

With this conviction, he erroneously regarded the accompanying inscriptions as a type of localized Greek letters, and even published his translation (!).<sup>81</sup>

Similar views were observed among more professional scholars such as Fergusson and Burgess. Fergusson commented as follows:

Notwithstanding all this, there is so much of Greek or rather Bactrian art in the architectural details of the Amaravati Tope that the first inference is that it must be nearer to the Christian era than the form of the inscription would lead us to suppose.<sup>82</sup>

What is interesting here is that he not only proposed Greek influence at Amarāvātī, but also took this feature as evidence of an early date for the sculptures. Burgess also shared this idea, since he cited the above comment to corroborate his early dating of the *stūpa*.<sup>83</sup> As Mitter has argued, these views reflect a prevalent conviction about Indian art at the time: its his-

<sup>78</sup> Mackenzie, 'Account of Extracts', pp. 275-78.

<sup>79</sup> Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amravutty', pp. 468-69.

<sup>80</sup> Taylor, *On the Elliot Marbles*, p. 72.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-81.

<sup>82</sup> Fergusson 1873, p. 172.

<sup>83</sup> Burgess 1887, pp. 11-12.

tory was a long decaying process from the refined Classical style brought to India by the western people to the rustic local Hindu style.<sup>84</sup> Amarāvati was thus regarded as a unique specimen retaining the standard of Classical art, which provided a prototype of fine arts to the subcontinent.

When more careful analysis of Indian sculpture was established in the early 20th century, the above assumption, which was obviously a biased one, became less popular. Around this time, however, the theory proposing 'alien' features in Amarāvati sculpture found a different set of evidence: contacts with the Roman Empire. By this time, a considerable number of Roman gold and silver coins had been reported, especially from South India.<sup>85</sup> In literature, scholars such as Warmington studied Mediterranean contacts with India through the accounts of Greek and Latin texts including the *Periplus* and the accounts by Pliny.<sup>86</sup> In the field of archaeology, a major breakthrough in this regard was the Arikamedu excavation by Wheeler in 1945. The excavation revealed many 'Graeco-Roman' objects such as sherds of red-glazed pottery and Mediterranean amphorae in stratigraphical sequence. Wheeler concluded that Arikamedu was a regular 'Western trading station'.<sup>87</sup>

Based on these studies, the causal link between the flourishing of Buddhist constructions at Andhra and contacts with the Roman Empire became a popular theory. Among more recent studies, art historians like Rowland and Rosen have tried to trace the influence of Roman arts in the style of Andhran sculpture.<sup>88</sup> The latest study which argues this point is Kuwayama's work on the 'cylindrical' structure of the Andhran *stūpa*. As will be argued in chapter two, he tries to categorise the development of this specific building structure as a technical import from Roman imperial architecture.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Partha Mitter, 'Western Bias in the Study of South Indian Aesthetics', *South Asian Review*, 6 (1973), p. 127; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 264-67.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Sewell, 'Roman Coins found in India', *JRAS* (1904), pp. 591-637.

<sup>86</sup> As a representative study on this subject, see E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1928).

<sup>87</sup> R.E.M. Wheeler with contributions by A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, 'Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-Station on the East Coast of India', *Ancient India*, 2 (1946), pp. 17-124.

<sup>88</sup> Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, revised 3rd edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), p. 126; Elizabeth Rosen Stone, 'A Dated Memorial Pillar from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', in *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, pp. 35-40.

<sup>89</sup> Kuwayama, 'A Hidden Import', pp. 160-67.

### 3. *Methodological Problems*

In short, former studies have approached the Amarāvati *stūpa* in two ways. On the one hand, the *stūpa* has been regarded as an entity consisting of numerous sculptural and epigraphic documents, which have lost their original archaeological contexts. To reconstruct the monument, scholars have analyzed these documents according to their academic disciplines. Epigraphers have worked on examining the palaeographic features of inscriptions as well as checking the names of the dynasties and kings in order to fix a chronology of the inscriptions. Art-historians have employed formalistic/typological approaches to decide the date and the chronological sequence of the sculptures. They have also identified the themes of narratives for understanding the detailed meaning of the sculptures. On the other hand, the *stūpa* has also been regarded as the symbol of strong political power and economic prosperity. This view has connected the construction of the *stūpa* with the general discourse of early India characterized by the rule of great dynasties and their involvement with long-distance trade with the western world.

These approaches, however, have two major methodological problems. The first problem is that while numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct the final shape of the *stūpa*, and to decide the chronology of the sculptures and inscriptions, these efforts have proved unsuccessful so far in forming any concrete view of the actual architectural development process of the *stūpa*. For instance, former studies agreed that the stone railing which surrounded the *stūpa* was composed of several types of railings and each type was made in a different period.<sup>90</sup> These studies, however, did not explain how and why different types of railings were brought together to form a single railing. Despite the increasing knowledge about the sculptures and inscriptions, there remains a significant gap between the chronology of the excavated materials and that of the *stūpa* architecture. While this gap is largely due to the 19th century destruction of the site, it also shows a fundamental flaw in formalistic, iconographical and palaeographical analysis. In such analysis, each individual sculpture and inscription is closely studied to understand the features of its form and iconography. If this method is rigorously applied, such details may be treated as independent evidence without considering the question of original architectural coherence. Regardless of the scholars' original inten-

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<sup>90</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 40-46; Knox, pp. 34-40; Roy, *Amarāvati Stūpa*, I, pp. 88-89.

tion, these studies have deconstructed the architecture into elements manageable for their analysis, and have created a misleading division between the sculptures/inscriptions and the *stūpa* architecture.

The second problem is that while their main concern has been the archaeological, epigraphic and art-historical analysis of excavated materials for revealing internal contexts of the site, former studies do not take seriously into account the immediate social surroundings within which the *stūpa* flourished. H. Sarkar, an experienced archaeologist excavating many Andhran Buddhist sites, rightly points out this problem as follows:

When sites like Amarāvati, Bhaṭṭiprolu or Sālihundam were excavated our emphasis had been on individual buildings or groups of sculptures and we had only vague idea about the social and economic dynamics operating behind the rise and decline of a township or settlement. We excavated Amarāvati not as a suburb of Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharanikota but as a mere Buddhist establishment or a number of them. A proper approach should have been to study the entire area as an organic whole: Dhānyakaṭaka, the citadel of the later Sātavāhanas, having Buddhist settlements all round it, and inland port at close quarter and several villages in the neighbourhood. As a result our piecemeal approach we failed to study Dhānyakaṭaka and its neighborhood as a complete city, leading to an improper understanding of its ecological factors and its role in the early history of Andhra. We focused all our attention on the Buddhist *stūpas* as they yielded fine examples of architecture and sculptural art. The fact that they formed part of a larger social and economic fabric was completely lost sight of.<sup>91</sup>

This tendency of the excavations, which is still prevalent in Indian archaeology, has strongly influenced our understanding of the archaeological monuments. As a result of such excavations, each monument has been treated as having an autonomous existence detached from local surroundings. In looking for historical agents for these developments, scholars ought to have connected the sites with larger political and economic frameworks of early India rather than immediate local contexts. In the case of Amarāvati, we may also note that the historical backgrounds noted by scholars have always been *external* ones such as the imperial expansion of the Sātavāhanas and prosperous trade with Roman world. These views were not only simplistic through their application of broad historical assumptions, but also implicitly assigned a passive and sterile role to the region in its own development.

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<sup>91</sup> H. Sarkar, 'Emergence of Urban Centres in Early Historical Andhradesa', in B.M. Pande and B.D. Chattopadhyaya ed., *Archaeology and History*, 2 vols (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1987), II, pp. 631-32.

This strange negligence of 'history' despite the detailed arguments of chronology is observed even in recent work on the Amarāvati *stūpa*. A clear example is Roy's study, based on her Ph.D thesis completed in 1991. While this two-volume work painstakingly constructs the relative chronology of the *stūpa* based on detailed palaeographic and art-historical analyses of the sculptures and inscriptions, it lacks any argument on the historical conditions of the Amarāvati region. Knox's recent catalogue of the Amarāvati sculptures also shows the same tendency. While he has reasonably revised Barrett's short chronology by reviewing recent archaeological evidence at Amarāvati, he assigns the link between the Sātavāhana and the 'high' phase of the *stūpa* as follows:

The historical model presented here by the Sātavāhana/Amarāvati combination, i.e. the juxtaposition of economic prosperity, royal patronage and religion, remains unaffected by the dating controversy. This simple idea (the relationship of a flourishing or a declining dynasty to a great religious monument) is an illustration in political and economic terms of the meaning or significance of a great work of art or architecture.<sup>92</sup>

This view clearly follows the model taken by former studies, which explains the *stūpa*'s development by linking it with the Sātavāhanas. Even Ghosh and Sarma, who attempt to define the *stūpa* as a Mauryan monument, are not completely unaffected by this model, since they simply replace the Sātavāhana with the Maurya, an earlier imperial dynasty. Despite the accumulation of new evidence, the basic understanding of the historical background of the Amarāvati *stūpa* has not changed since the time of Sivaramamurti and Barrett.

### III. POSSIBLE APPROACHES

The above historiography of the Amarāvati *stūpa* indicates how scholarly concerns about this monument have largely dismissed the original integration of the archaeological objects that constituted the *stūpa* and also immediate historical contexts that directly supported the *stūpa*. This is indeed not only a problem in the study of Amarāvati, but also of all other archaeological monuments in India excavated in the early period. How do we overcome this problem in reconstructing the historical context of an archaeological site? Referring to recent archaeological and historical studies, the following approaches may be considered.

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<sup>92</sup> Knox, p. 14.

### 1. *Comprehensive Examination of the Objects in Site Context*

For recovering the original integration of the monument and its link to local surroundings, it is important to place epigraphic, numismatic and sculptural evidence from the site into their original geographical and archaeological contexts. Although these materials are now treated as different kinds of evidence in each academic subject, they were originally integrated to the site or its surroundings. If we can obtain some ideas about the original archaeological, architectural and geographical contexts of these objects, this could be useful in reconstructing the monument and its local surroundings.

The validity of this method of approach has already been well testified by some archaeological and art-historical studies. In the field of archaeology, Julia Shaw's recent study on Sānchī has successfully revealed the archaeological landscape of this famous Buddhist monastery and its possible involvement in social activities, particularly irrigation.<sup>93</sup> In Andhra, Lars Fogelin published in-depth research on Thotlakonda by using a similar method.<sup>94</sup> As for a more historical research, Michael Willis also takes this approach in his recent study of Udayagiri in which he tries to recover early Hindu rituals conducted at the site by integrating inscriptions and sculptures at the site with ritual texts.<sup>95</sup> A major problem of this method is that such integration between the objects and the sites may be extremely difficult if the sites were not properly recorded or heavily disturbed. In the case of Amarāvati, we have a considerable number of documents of old surveys and excavations, although they have not been examined properly. Careful studies of these materials combined with fieldwork of the site, therefore, may provide significant data for our reconstruction of the monument and its immediate surroundings.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Julia Shaw, *Buddhist Landscapes in Central India: Sanchi Hill and Archaeologies of Religious and Social Change* (London: British Association for South Asian Studies, 2007).

<sup>94</sup> Lars Fogelin, *Archaeology of Early Buddhism* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2006)

<sup>95</sup> Meera I. Dass, and Michael Willis, 'The Lion Capital from Udayagiri and the Antiquity of Sun Worship in Central India', *SAS*, 18 (2003), pp. 25-45; M. Willis, *The Archaeology of Hindu Ritual: Temples and the Establishment of the Gods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 10-78.

<sup>96</sup> Roy's study cited above has attempted such an integrated method for her chronological reconstruction of the *stūpa* (Roy, *Amarāvati Stūpa*, I, pp. 6-7), although her actual analysis relies heavily on palaeography and is not well integrated with architectural and art-historical evidence. The work has not examined old excavations either.

## 2. *Intensive Survey of Archaeological and Epigraphic Data for Recovering Regional History*

Secondly, in order to understand all these aspects of the site within the regional historical context, and to examine the validity of general discourses to explain the development of Amarāvati *stūpa* on the basis of local historical evidence, it is crucial to conduct an intensive survey of contemporary archaeological and epigraphic data in a wider geographical area, such as the lower Krishna valley and the coastal Andhra region. Himanshu Prabha Ray's work on the socio-economic history of western Deccan during the Sātavāhana period is a classic study taking this approach and demonstrates how archaeological and epigraphic data may contribute to the reconstruction of regional history.<sup>97</sup> Concerning early historic Andhra, Alok Parasher Sen's studies take a similar approach for reconstructing local historical conditions of the mid-Godavari valley.<sup>98</sup> Although it is not a study of regional history, James Heitzman's study also nicely argues the social development of early historic India based on his comprehensive survey of the growth of Buddhist monuments.<sup>99</sup> A similar but more intensive archaeological and epigraphic survey in the Amarāvati region and lower Krishna valley would be useful for obtaining a concrete view on the socio-economic and socio-political structures of this region, and the role of Amarāvati in these structures.

## 3. *Active Reading of the Archaeological and Epigraphic Data*

Thirdly, for a deeper understanding of the above archaeological reconstruction of the site, we may attempt to interpret this data actively in the wider sociological and historical contexts of early historic India. As we have argued, former material-oriented studies have treated archaeological, epigraphic and art-historical materials mainly as chronological markers. From a wider historical point of view, however, the sculptures may also be treat-

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<sup>97</sup> Himanshu P. Ray, *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Sātavāhanas* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>98</sup> See Alok Parasher-Sen, 'Social Structure and Economy of Settlements in the Central Deccan (200 BC–AD 200)', in Indu Banga ed., *The City in Indian History: Urban Demography, Society and Politics* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1991), pp. 19–46; Parasher-Sen, 'Nature of Society and Civilization in Early Deccan', *IESHR*, 29 (1992), pp. 437–77.

<sup>99</sup> James Heitzman, 'Early Buddhism, Trade and Empire', in Kenneth A.R. Kennedy and Gregory L. Possehl ed., *Studies in the Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology of South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH, 1984), pp. 121–37.

ed as a visual reflection of the society in which they were made.<sup>100</sup> As is shown by recent epigraphic surveys by Roy, Singh and Talbot, votive inscriptions attached to religious architecture can also be studied as precious records of the local society which supported the monuments.<sup>101</sup>

Our problem in this regard, however, is how to draw accurate historical information from these data. Epigraphic and art-historical languages are normally not explicit because of their fragmentary nature. For extracting historical data, we need to 'read' such fragmentary sources actively with the help of other sources of evidence, which include not only other archaeological and epigraphic data, but also contemporary religious texts and even the sociological and historical studies of other regions and periods. Of course, such active 'reading' may increase the risk of misinterpreting the original data, if done in a casual way. It is possible, however, to decrease such risk of misinterpretation by cross-checking the value of 'non-site' information with 'site' data such as sculptures and inscriptions and by constantly confirming the links. Through this exchange between the two different sources of evidence, I believe, we may counterbalance the deficiencies of each source, and draw useful information from them.

#### IV. THE SCHEME OF THIS STUDY

By combining the above three approaches, this study attempts to understand the development of the Amarāvati *stūpa* in the wider social and cultural context of the early Andhra region, and to examine the validity of common discourses on the flowering of early monastic Indian Buddhism. Although the Amarāvati *stūpa* has a long history of religious activity until the 14th century,<sup>102</sup> our main focus will be the early historic period (ca. 300 BCE-300 CE), as this was clearly the most active period of Buddhist construc-

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<sup>100</sup> Daud Ali's recent study on the courtly culture of early medieval India, which effectively uses the artistic representation of human figures to demonstrate the changing nature of society in ancient and early medieval India, is the latest example of this approach. Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 154-55.

<sup>101</sup> Kumkum Roy, 'Women and Men Donors at Sanchi: A Study of the Inscriptional Evidence', in Roy, *The Power of Gender and the Gender of Power: Explorations in Early Indian History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 38-52; Upinder Singh, 'Sanchi: The History of the Patronage of an Ancient Buddhist Establishment', *IESHR*, 33 (1996), pp. 1-35; Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>102</sup> See Douglas Barrett, 'The Later School of Amarāvati and Its Influences', in Barrett, *Studies in Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 129-44. Pilgrimages to the *stūpa* also lasted as

tion activities at Amarāvati and in the lower Krishna valley and the nature of monastic Buddhism in Andhra and the social environment surrounding Buddhism significantly changed after 300 CE. This later period thus needs another in-depth study, which I hope to address in my next project.

The present study consists of the following five chapters. In Chapters One and Two, I will examine the chronological and architectural setting of the *stūpa*, the main problem addressed by former studies. As mentioned above, current arguments on the date of the *stūpa* are seriously confused because of diverse analysis of the archaeological objects (especially sculptures and inscriptions) and various theories on the dynastic chronology of the Sātavāhanas. Chapter One thus deals with the dynastic history of the lower Krishna valley based on the latest archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic data, and suggests a reasonable chronological framework for it. Chapter Two then articulates the construction process of the *stūpa* based on our integrated analysis of the sculptural, epigraphic and architectural evidence. Through the arguments in these chapters, I will examine critically the causal link between the dynastic chronology of this region and the construction process of the *stūpa*.

Following the above chronological analysis, Chapters Three, Four and Five will argue historical contexts surrounding the *stūpa*. In Chapter Three, to understand the surrounding social milieu in which the *stūpa* flourished, I will trace the socio-political and socio-economic development of the lower Krishna valley in 300 BCE-300 CE based on comprehensive analysis of archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic data. The special focus in this survey will be the penetration of urbanism in this region, which significantly transformed the nature of the local society. In Chapter Four, I will argue why patronage of Buddhist structures such as the Amarāvati *stūpa* became popular in early historic Deccan by highlighting the unique features of Buddhist patronage and the system of organisation for accomplishing construction works. I will particularly note the importance of collective patronage, a basic principle to support the construction of the early *stūpa*-s, for attracting urban citizens who sought a proper place for showing their compassion and economic status. Finally, Chapter Five will argue how the Buddhist monastery could respond to developing urbanism and establish a cooperative relationship with urban society by examining examples of urban monasteries in the Deccan and South India, including Amarāvati, through a combination of archaeological and textual sources.

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late as the middle of the 14th century. See S. Paranavitana, 'Gaḍalādeṇiya Rock-inscription of Dharmmakirtti Sthāvila', *Epigraphica Zeylanica* 4.2 (1935), pp. 90-110.

I will demonstrate the unique nature of the fringe space of urban settlements, in which Amarāvātī and other urban monastic sites were located, and its possible functions in early Indian cities.

In these arguments, I will examine comprehensively the archaeological and epigraphic evidence at Amarāvātī and other Buddhist sites in the lower Krishna valley. For comparison and to add more information to the argument, I also frequently refer to the archaeological and epigraphic data of contemporary Buddhist sites surrounding Andhra such as those in central India (especially Bhārhut and Sānchī) and the western Deccan (for instance Nāsik and Kārlā). For the active 'reading' of these data and to articulate the historical significance implied in them, I also use some textual sources, especially from Chapter Three onwards. For Buddhist texts, I will use passages in the Pāli canon as well as non-canonical texts such as the *Milindapañha* and the *Jātaka* for corroborating my arguments. From Brahmanic sources, I particularly refer to various Dharma texts and the *Arthaśāstra* for enquiring into general social circumstances in the early historic period.

As mentioned above, a great problem of these texts is that our present knowledge about them is not very precise with regard to detailed dates and geographical affiliation. Especially controversial for our discussion are the dates of two texts: the Pāli canon and the *Arthaśāstra*. The Pāli canon, especially the *Sutta Pitaka* and the *Vinaya Pitaka*, has traditionally been dated to the pre-Aśokan period, and been used for understanding the social conditions in the lower Gangetic valley in the time of the Buddha (ca. 500-300 BCE).<sup>103</sup> This assumption is however highly problematic since we have no clear evidence of the compilation of the Pāli canon until the 1st century BCE, when the canon was reported to have been written down according to the Pāli chronicles.<sup>104</sup> The final compilation date of the pres-

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<sup>103</sup> G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, 2nd revised edition (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), pp. 8-16; Narendra K. Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha* (Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1966), p. 3; Uma Chakravarti, *Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1996), p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> O. von Hinüber, 'On the Tradition of Pāli Texts in India, Ceylon and Burma', in H. Bechert ed., *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 48-49; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature: Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayāna Schools of Buddhism*, Jan Gonda ed., *A History of Indian Literature*, 7-2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 5; Gregory Schopen, 'Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of The Transference of Merit' in Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 23-24.

ent canon may be as late as the 5th century CE when Buddhaghosa added commentaries to it. Neither do we know if this canon was transmitted from the Gangetic valley. Similarly, the date of the *Arthaśāstra*, which many scholars assume to be a Mauryan text, is highly problematic since it contains many later elements dated to ca. 250 CE.<sup>105</sup> Considering this wider dating of these texts, it is permissible to include these in our discussion of early historic Deccan and coastal Andhra (c. 300 BCE–300 CE) in a broader sense along with other texts. The validity of their textual information will be cross-checked with other non-textual information such as inscriptions.

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<sup>105</sup> For a recent study which utilizes the *Arthaśāstra* as the historical source of the Mauryas, see F.R. Allchin, 'Mauryan State and Empire', in F.R. Allchin ed., *The Archaeology of Early Historical South Asia: Emergence of Cities and States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 187-221. For a critical study of the date of the *Arthaśāstra*, see Thomas R. Trautmann, *Kautilya and the Arthaśāstra: a Statistical Investigation of the Authorship and its Evolution of the Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp. 169-87.

CHAPTER ONE  
DYNASTIC HISTORY

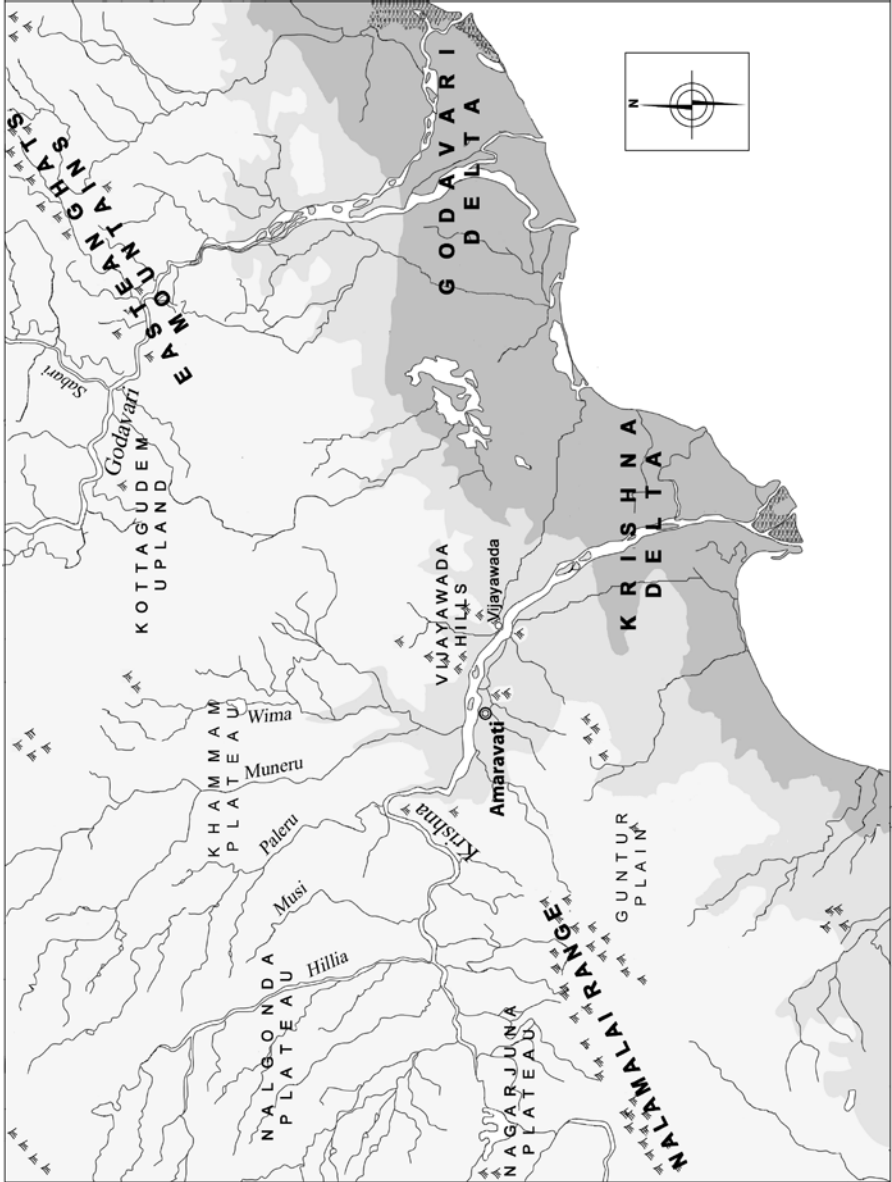
A fundamental problem for the historical study of the Amarāvati *stūpa* is the uncertainty of its chronological framework. One important reason for this problem is that the Amarāvati inscriptions do not record any dates, but include inscriptions that mention the names of two Sātavāhana kings. Former studies have thus argued eagerly over the chronology of this dynasty in order to fix the date of the *stūpa*, although they have reached little agreement. Moreover, concentrating as it does on the Sātavāhanas, this debate has largely ignored other political formations in this region. The environmental setting of the Amarāvati region, which may have crucially affected the way of life of pre-modern society, also went unnoticed.

To compensate for these deficiencies, this chapter will firstly examine the geographical setting of the coastal Andhra region in south-eastern Deccan, especially the lower Krishna valley that includes Amarāvati. Secondly, I will examine the broad political history of this region by combining the latest archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic surveys. Finally, I will suggest a reasonable dating for the dynastic sequence to establish a chronological framework.

I. THE PRE-HISTORIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

1. *The Lower Krishna Valley*

The lower Krishna valley, the main geographical area of this study, is located on the southern side of coastal Andhra. Its modern administrative divisions mainly cover the Guntur, Krishna and Nalgonda districts. The valley is distinguished by two basic geographical features: (1) the Krishna river running from west to east; (2) the Eastern Ghāts Mountains (Nallamalai range) extending from south to north along the coast (Map 2). The Krishna, originating in the Western Ghāts Mountains and running across the Deccan, creates fertile deltas in the coastal area before discharging into the Bay of Bengal. The Eastern Ghāts, on the other hand, serve as a geographical barrier dividing the coastal plain and the Deccan plateau.



Map 2. Contours of the lower Krishna valley and the surroundings.

These natural formations create two contrasting landscapes and ecological systems in the valley: the arid plateau and the fertile coastal plain. The plateau, basically covered by sparse forests, is rich in natural resources such as wood and stone but unfit for agriculture because of the undulation of the land and low rainfall (less than 800 millimetres per year). Although this area has recently been largely transformed into agricultural land by modern irrigation canals, it was formerly uncultivated and occupied by the Chenchus, a semi-pastoral tribe engaged in the collection of honey, bamboo, and other minor forest produce.

The coastal plain, on the other hand, has always been a rich agricultural area because of the fertile delta fed by the Krishna river and its tributaries. This plain may be sub-divided into two ecological zones by geographical, geological and environmental features: (1) the midland area (plain area) from the eastern foothills of the Nallamalla range up to Vijayawada area; (2) the real delta between the Vijayawada and the sea. The midland area is characterised by moderately undulating plains surrounded by low hills. Although the land in this area is fertile Black Cotton Soil, the rainfall is not sufficient for wet rice cultivation (ca. 800 millimetres per year). Thus the main agricultural products in this area are dry and light irrigation crops such as millet and cotton. The delta, on the other hand, features very flat land (the slope of the land is less than 7-9 inches per mile near the sea), and possesses rich, heavy alluvial soil and good rainfall (ca. 900-1000 millimetres per year) for the development of rice cultivation. Now this area is one of the richest rice producing regions in India.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Pre-Historic Settlements

The pre-historic condition of the lower Krishna valley and Andhra as a whole has been little studied. In South India in general, however, it is reasonably clear that the primitive hunter-gatherer culture was replaced by agricultural and pastoral neolithic-chalcolithic culture around ca. 3000 BCE

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<sup>1</sup> Regarding the environmental conditions of the lower Krishna valley, see O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, 3rd edition (London: Methuen, 1967), pp. 723-27 and 732-37; M.V. Rajagopal, *Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Guntur* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1977), pp. 1-32, 370-71; Rajagopal, *Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Krishna* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1977), pp. 1-25, 240-43; Rajagopal, *Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers, Nalgonda* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1978), pp. 1-28 and 212-13.

or later.<sup>2</sup> Around ca. 1400-1200 BCE, the region entered the early Iron Age, commonly called the megalithic culture, characterized by the construction of megalithic graves and Black and Red Ware, besides the use of iron. The chronology of the megalithic culture however is not well established. Radiocarbon data indicates that some early sites, such as Kumaranahalli and Hallūr in Northern Karnataka, may be dated around 1400-1200 BCE.<sup>3</sup> Other sites show a much later date extending into the early historic period. Among the Andhran sites, for example, Polakonda in the Warangal region has a C14 date between ca. 185 BCE-35 CE. Of five C14 samples from megalithic sites at Veerapuram in the Krishna valley, two samples show the dates ca. 390 BCE-35 CE and ca. 30-420 CE respectively.<sup>4</sup> This data tends to suggest that even if the 'high' phase of megalithic culture generally predated the early historic period, the tradition continued into the early centuries CE or even later.

In this pre-historic period, people in the valley seem to have inhabited mainly the midland and plateau areas rather than the deltaic plain.<sup>5</sup> According to Raju's survey, of forty neolithic settlements in the lower Krishna valley, thirty-eight sites are in the midland and two are plateau areas. Sites in the Black Cotton Soil were dominant (thirty-four sites) while the sites in deltaic alluvium were rare (only three). The people also appear to have avoided living near the Krishna river. Of thirty-nine sites discovered near water resources, only ten sites are located on the main flow of the Krishna while twenty-eight sites are located on tributaries or *nullas*.<sup>6</sup> According to Moorti's survey, this pattern did not change substantially in the subsequent megalithic period.<sup>7</sup> This pattern of pre-historic habitation can be explained from the geographical and geological features of each area. The coastal area and the land near the Krishna had a much greater

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<sup>2</sup> D.Q. Fuller, Nicole Boivin and Ravi Korisetter, 'Dating the Neolithic of South India: New Radiometric Evidence for Key Economic, Social and Ritual Transformation', *Antiquities* 81 (2007), pp. 760-61. Also see R.B. Foote, *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, Notes on Their Ages and Distribution* (Madras, Government Press, 1916), pp. 120-21; V.V. Krishna Sastry, *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1983), pp. 23-24 and 49-50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 771-72.

<sup>4</sup> Udayaravi S. Moorti, *Megalithic Culture of South India: Socioeconomic Perspective* (Varanasi: Ganga Kaveri Publishing House, 1994), pp. 4-5 and Appendix B.

<sup>5</sup> M.L.K. Murty ed., *Pre- and Protohistoric Andhra Pradesh up to 500 BC* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2003), pp. 53-60, 66-70, 89-103, 109-33.

<sup>6</sup> B. David Raju, 'The Settlement and Subsistence Pattern of the Neolithic Cultures of the Lower Krishna Valley', *Man and Environment*, 15 (1990), pp. 45-51.

<sup>7</sup> Moorti, *Megalithic Culture*, pp. 11-12, figs. 1.2, 1.4, 2.2, 2.4.

risk of floods and the changing of the river's course. The deltaic alluvium of the coastal area contains much clay, and was too heavy to cultivate with the simple tools possessed by pre-historic people. On the other hand, living on the plateau and the midland areas greatly reduced the danger of floods. The Black Cotton Soil of these areas was both fertile and easy to plough since it cracks deeply when it dries up. It is likely that these features made the land more attractive for pre-historic people.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. *Amarāvati*

This environmental and pre-historic setting of the lower Krishna valley may be applied to Amarāvati, located in the midland area. Archaeological explorations at Amarāvati and its surroundings have found abundant neolithic stone tools. Countless megalithic stone circles around Amarāvati and its surrounding hills show that the place retained its importance in the subsequent megalithic period.<sup>9</sup> Although archaeology has not revealed the exact locations of pre-historic settlements in this area, we may assume that it was a well-populated place from the early period.

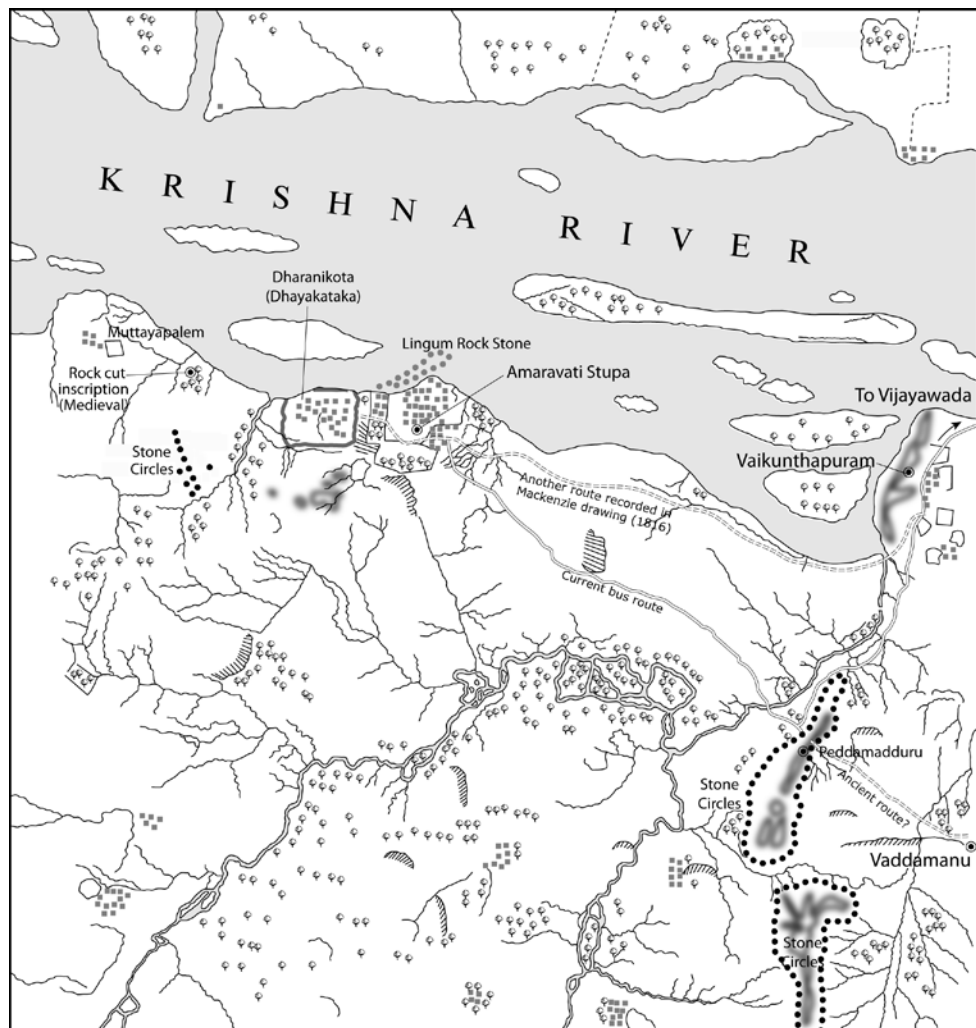
Besides the above-mentioned general geographical and geological advantages of the midland area, Amarāvati seems to have had some additional environmental benefits which would have attracted pre-historic people. Because the place was located at the western end of the midland area and adjacent to the Nallamalla hills, it was relatively higher than the other midland area, and was safer from flooding (Map 2). The surrounding hills also retain rainwater and create many seasonal streams throughout the area (Map 3). It is likely that these were usable water resources for pre-modern people not only for daily use but also for limited irrigation-agriculture.<sup>10</sup> Noticeable in this regard are the number of large reservoirs (*cheruvu* in Telugu) surrounding Amarāvati. They are constructed along the foot of the hills and catch the run-off water. Although we may not be certain when these reservoirs were originally made, we may suppose that similar devices may have existed in the pre-historic period.<sup>11</sup>



<sup>8</sup> M.K. Dhavalikar and G.L. Possehl, 'Subsistence Pattern of an Early Farming Community of Western India,' *Purathattva*, 7 (1974), p. 44; Raju, 'The Settlement', pp. 47-49.

<sup>9</sup> H. Sarkar and S.P. Naihar, *Amaravati*, 3rd edition (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992), p. 6; Murty ed., *Pre- and Proto Historic*, pp. 126 and 128 (Map 9.1)

<sup>10</sup> A vestige of Neolithic irrigation devices to introduce water from small streams is reported at Inamgaon in the west Deccan. See M.K. Dhavalikar, 'Settlement Archaeology of Inamgaon', *Puratattva*, 8 (1977), pp. 47-48.

<sup>11</sup> The earliest datable example of a reservoir of this type is the one excavated in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (ca. 3rd-4th century CE). See *IAR* 1957-58, p. 9; I.K. Sarma 'Ancient Canals',



Map 3. Map of Amarāvati,  = reservoirs,  = megalithic stone circles. (Based on Fergusson 1873, pl. 46.)

The geographical location of Amarāvātī may also have enabled this place to develop as a nodal point for connecting various parts of the valley. Amarāvātī is situated on the border between the Nallamalai range and the plain area, and also at the juncture with the Muneru river, which provided a major transport route to the lower Godavari valley and the western Deccan. The river Krishna, flowing rapidly in the rocky channels of the plateau, also takes a sharp turn to bypass the Nallamalai range before reaching Amarāvātī. The flow of the Krishna thus drastically reduces its speed while remaining relatively narrow compared to the deltaic area. This may have made Amarāvātī a major river-crossing point which played a leading role in the control of transportation in ancient societies.<sup>12</sup> These geographical and environmental settings tend to indicate that Amarāvātī was not only a wealthy settlement endowed with consistent agricultural production, but also an important transportation hub in this region.

## II. THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD (CA. 300 BCE-300 CE)

### 1. *The Mauryan Period*

Around the mid-first millennium BCE, the Indian subcontinent saw the emergence of territorial kingdoms (*janapada*-s) in North India. This movement proceeded to the integration of small kingdoms into large states (*mahājanapada*-s) such as Kosala and Magadha, and culminated in the foundation of the Mauryas (ca. 320 BCE). This dynasty succeeded in creating a vast empire covering the larger part of the subcontinent by the reign of Aśoka (ca. 268-233 BCE).<sup>13</sup> Locations of Aśokan inscriptions indicate that the border of the empire may have reached as far as the Mysore plateau in the south. This assumption may also find support in the Aśokan Rock Edicts II and XIII, which listed only three kingdoms in the southern tip of the

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*Journal of Indian History*, 40.2 (1962), pp. 309-11. Similar devices were widely known in South India and Southeast Asia. See Janice Stargardt, *Satingpra I, The Environmental and Economic Archaeology of South Thailand* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1983), pp. 185-90.

<sup>12</sup> See F.R. Allchin and Bridget Allchin, 'The Archaeology of a River Crossing', in *Indian Anthropology: Essays in Memory of D.N. Majumdar*, ed. by T.N. Madan and Gopāla Śarana (London: Asia Publishing House, 1962), p. 52; Jean Deloche, *Transport and Communications in India prior to Steam Locomotion*, trans., by James Walker, 2 vols. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), I, pp. 124-25. Even now, boat services to cross the Krishna from Amarāvātī are the major transport for local people going to towns in the north. In the dry season, the river can be traversed on foot as well.

<sup>13</sup> For the date of the Aśoka, see P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya* (Leiden: Brill, 1956), pp. 180-88.

subcontinent (Cola, Pāndya and Kerala) as being outside the king's territory.

Although there is no conclusive evidence, it is likely that this expansion of the Mauryas included the East Deccan and the lower Krishna valley. As mentioned in the Introduction, material evidence in support of this view is an 'Aśokan' pillar inscription found at Amarāvati. Although its identification as an Aśokan edict is highly debatable, its Mauryan date is commonly accepted.<sup>14</sup> Equally significant is the discovery of hoards of Punch Marked Coins (PMC) from many parts of the East Deccan. Although these coins were mostly found as coin hoards (Amarāvati, Śingavaram, Karimanagar, Gulbarga, Raichur, Nastulapur and Peddabankur), some of them were discovered through excavations (Kondapur, Maski, Vaddamānu, and Bhaṭṭiproḷu).<sup>15</sup> Amarāvati is particularly notable among these sites since it yielded the largest hoard of PMCs (7668 coins in an earthen jar) in Andhra.<sup>16</sup> While some scholars have suggested a pre-Mauryan origin for these PMCs,<sup>17</sup> they are mostly classified as the so-called Mauryan imperial issue, which is widely found throughout the Indian subcontinent from Afghanistan to Sri Lanka.<sup>18</sup>

Apart from this material evidence, limited archaeological evidence also supports the influx of northern culture around this period. Important evidence in this regard is the establishment of Dhaṃṇakaṭaka (present Dharanikoṭa), the fortified city adjacent to the *stūpa* (Map 3). As the contours of the present township still show, the ancient city was roughly square in shape and was surrounded by mud fortifications (ca. 600 metres on each side). According to the small-scale excavation at the fortification, it was also surrounded by a moat-cum-wharf.<sup>19</sup> This configuration of the

<sup>14</sup> Sircar, 'Fragmentary Pillar Inscription', pp. 40-43; H. Falk, *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts* (Meinz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005), p. 226.

<sup>15</sup> T.G. Aravamuthan, 'A New Type of Punch Marked Coin', in J. Allan, H. Mattingly and E.S.G. Robinson ed., *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938), pp. 393-400; P.L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1960), p. 1; Dilip Rajgor, 'Rediscovering the Janapada Punch-Marked Coins of Early Historic India,' *Man and Environment*, 23 (1998), pp. 45-62.

<sup>16</sup> P.L. Gupta, *The Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1963), p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins*, pp. 2-3; Rajgor, 'Rediscovering', p. 56; D.D. Kosambi, *Indian Numismatics* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1981), 140-44.

<sup>18</sup> Kosambi, *Indian Numismatics*, pp. 92, 140-44; Joe Cribb, 'Dating India's Earliest Coins', in J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, 2 vols (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1985), II, p. 539.

<sup>19</sup> *IAR* 1962-63, pp. 1-2.

city shows the basic features of other early historic cities which emerged in the Gangetic valley. The early date of this city is further corroborated by radiocarbon data, which dated the foundation of the fortifications to between ca. 475±100 BCE and 205 BCE ±100 BCE.<sup>20</sup> Further archaeological evidence that indicates the link between the city and the Mauryan dynasty is the discovery of NBPW fragments at Dharanikoṭa, Amarāvati and Vaddamānu (a recently excavated site located ten kilometres from Amarāvati).<sup>21</sup> As we will argue in the next chapter, none of this archaeological data can indeed be regarded as decisive evidence for the Mauryan foundation of the city and the *stūpa*. If, however, we combine these possible 'Mauryan' objects from Andhra with larger historical contexts i.e. the expansion of the Mauryas to the south, it is reasonable to assume that the Mauryan rule of the Deccan included the Andhra region. In particular, Amarāvati, which has so far yielded the most abundant cultural vestiges of this dynasty, could have been a regional hub for their rule.

## 2. *The Post-Mauryan Period*

After the demise of Aśoka, the Mauryan empire seems to have rapidly disintegrated by ca. 200 BCE. This caused the emergence of local dynasties in the subcontinent. The lower Gangetic valley, the former centre of the Mauryan kingdom, was occupied by the Śuṅgas (ca. 187-75 BCE) and the Kāṇvas (ca. 75-30 BCE). In coastal Orissa (ancient Kaliṅga), a powerful ruler named Khāravēla established a kingdom between ca. 100-50 BCE. On the north-west frontier, Greek kings (Indo-Greeks) from Bactria crossed the Hindu Kush mountains and established new states around 180 BCE, although subsequently they had to fight with nomadic tribes (the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians). As we will argue later, it is around this period that early Sātavāhanas emerged in the north-west Deccan.

In Andhra, this political vacuum in the post-Mauryan period seems to have been filled by small local kingships. In the lower Godavari valley, for example, recent numismatic surveys have reported a considerable number of inscribed post-Mauryan coins issued by local rulers such as Samagopa, Gobhadra, Satyabhadra, Kamvaya and Narana from Kotilingala in the

<sup>20</sup> *IAR* 1965-66, p. 86.

<sup>21</sup> *IAR* 1963-64, p. 2; *IAR* 1973-74, p. 4; Sarma 1975, p. 61; Sarma 'Early Sculptures', p. 16; T.G.V. Sastri, M. Kasturi Bai and M. Veerender, *Vaddamanu Excavations* (Hyderabad: Birla Archaeological Institute, 1992), pp. 91-92.

Karimnagar region.<sup>22</sup> Apart from these *rāja*-s, there were rulers who designated themselves by various honorary titles such as *mahātalavara*, *mahārathi*, *mahāgrāmika* and *mahāsenapati*.<sup>23</sup> There is also little doubt that similar local rulers emerged in the lower Krishna valley in the same period. A famous ruler in this category is the *rāja* Kuberaka, recorded in the Bhaṭṭiproḷu relic casket inscriptions (ca. 200-100 BCE).<sup>24</sup> In Vaddamānu, there is a rock-cut inscription (ca. 200-100 BCE) which records a donation of a water-tank by *rāja* Samaka.<sup>25</sup> Early Amarāvati inscriptions of the same period also include votive records from royal families and their officers such as *kumāra* (prince), *rāja kumāliya* (princess), *likhita* (scribe), *senapati* (general).<sup>26</sup> Although such information about these local rulers is still too fragmentary to allow reconstruction of a detailed chronological history or a record of their territories, it is highly likely that there were numerous such small kings and chieftains springing up in this period.

### 3. *The Sadas*

In the lower Krishna valley, this political fragmentation in the post-Mauryan period seems to have been effectively halted by a few local rulers. Some of the most powerful rulers were the Sadas, who ruled the Amarāvati region. The identification of this dynasty had been little known for a long time, although early studies had noticed coins and inscriptions bearing the name 'sada' in this region.<sup>27</sup> Recent excavations at Vaddamānu, however,

<sup>22</sup> P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, 'Unknown Coins of the Satavahanas and their Predecessors,' *Numismatic Digest*, 2.1 (1978), pp. 13-17; P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, 'Some More Coins from Kotalingala,' *Numismatic Digest* 3.2 (1979), pp. 18-25; Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Coinage of the Deccan,' *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 43.1 (1981), p. 4; P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Satavahana Epoch: A New Light* (Hyderabad: Telugu Goshthi, 1994), pp. 3-7, 25-42.

<sup>23</sup> S.J. Mangalam, 'Coins of Feudatories and Contemporaries of the Sātavāhanas,' in A.M. Shastri ed., *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, 2 vols (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 1999), II, pp. 361-71; I.K. Sarma, 'New Evidence on the Early Sātavāhana Coinage, Culture and Commerce,' in Shastri ed., *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 344-45.

<sup>24</sup> See G. Bühler, 'The Bhaṭṭiproḷu Inscriptions,' *EI*, 2 (1940), nos. 6 and 9; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiproḷu nos. 7, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Sastri, Kasturi Bai and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, p. 262.

<sup>26</sup> Chanda, nos. 3, 12; Ghosh 1979, nos. 2, 7A, 37.

<sup>27</sup> E.J. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūta Dynasty and The "Bodhi" Dynasty* (London: the British Museum, 1908), pp. 10-11 (nos. 34, 36) and pl. III; D.C. Sircar 'Two Inscriptions from Guntur District,' *EI*, 22 (1957-58), pp. 83-87; Sircar 'An Alleged Inscription of Kharavela,' *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 3 (1969-70), pp. 30-36; P.R. Srinivasan, 'Some Brahmi Inscriptions from Guntupalli,' *EI*, 39 (1971-73), pp. 247-52; I.K. Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments and Brāhmī Inscriptions of Andhra Deśa* (Nagpur: Dattsons, 1988), pp. 68-71.

confirmed the dynastic status of the name based on numismatic evidence.<sup>28</sup> The excavations revealed four periods at the site, ranging from the Mauryas to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, and yielded some 350 coins. These coins included forty-seven inscribed and uninscribed lead coins with a lion mark which may be placed between ca. 100 BCE and ca. 100 CE. The inscribed coins bear the names of three kings ending with the legend 'sada': (1) *rano siri maha sada*; (2) *rano siri sivamaka sada*, and (3) [*rano*] *siri asaka(or asoka) sada*. Among the three rulers, the name of the first king, Maha Sada, is found in a pillar inscription at Velpūru, a Buddhist site near Amarāvati.<sup>29</sup> The name of the second king, Sivamaka Sada, is even confirmed in an Amarāvati inscription, which reads *rano siri sivamaka sada* (Pl. 39).<sup>30</sup> The excavation report thus concluded that these three names on the coins refer to three kings of the Sada dynasty, which ruled around the Amarāvati area before the coming of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, subsequent numismatic and epigraphic studies have added two more Sada kings —Siri Sada and Siva Sada —to the above three.<sup>32</sup> Bhandare has identified a coin in the British Museum as an issue of another Sada ruler [Vija]ya Sada although his historical existence is still obscure compared with the other kings.<sup>33</sup>

The detailed history of the Sadas and the reign of each king are still under debate. Concerning the beginning of the dynasty, however, the Guṇṭupalli pillar inscriptions, dated to around the 1st century BCE based on the palaeography, provide an important clue, as they designate a ruler called Siri Sada as the *mahārāja* of the Kaliṅga-Mahiṣaka countries belonging to the Mahāmeghavāhana family (*mahārājasa kaliga[ma]hisakādhipatisa mahāmekhavāhanasa siri sādasa*).<sup>34</sup> This indicates the dynasty's

<sup>28</sup> D.R. Reddy and P.S. Reddy, *Coins of the Meghavahana Dynasty of Coastal Andhra* (Hyderabad: The Numismatic Society of Hyderabad, 1985), pp. 7-8; Sastri, Kasturi Bai and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, pp. 164-73.

<sup>29</sup> A.M. Shastri, 'On the Velpuru Pillar Inscription of Maha Sada', *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, 19 (1993), pp. 13-18; Shastri, 'King Mahasada of Velpuru Inscription and Coins', in C. Margabandhu and K.S. Ramchandran ed. *Spectrum of Indian Culture, Prof. S.B. Deo Felicitation Volume* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1996), II, pp. 353-56.

<sup>30</sup> See Sivaramamurti, no. 72; Lüders, no. 1279.

<sup>31</sup> Sastri, Kasturi Bai and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> P.R.K. Prasad, 'Sada Coins in Coastal Andhra', in *Studies in South Indian Coins*, ed., by A.V. Narasimha Murthy (Madras: New Era Publications, 1993), III, pp. 53-63; Prasad 'Pre-Sātavāhana Phase at Amarāvati-Dharaṇīkoṭa', *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, II, p. 333; C. Somasundara Rao, 'The Satavahanas' in I.K. Sarma ed. *Early Historic Andhra Pradesh 500 BC-AD 624* (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2008), p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Shailendra U. Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis of the Satavahana Era: A Study of Coins' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Mumbai, 1998), p. 289.

<sup>34</sup> Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments*, p. 68. R. Subrahmanyam, the first

connection with Kāliṅga (coastal Orissa), though we cannot fix the location of Mahiṣaka (possibly coastal Andhra). This view is further corroborated by the Hāthigumphā inscription, which designates king Khāravela as belonging to the Mahāmeghavāhanas. The inscription also refers to his campaign in the south and victory over the Dravidian Kings (*dramira*).<sup>35</sup> This leads us to speculate that Siri Sada may have been a successor of Khāravela and established his independent status in coastal Andhra after the demise of Khāravela. Also regarding the last king of the Sadas, numismatic studies have noted that a type of coin issued by Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi, the first Sātavāhana ruler in this region, was the direct successor of Sivamaka. This indicates that Sivamaka was the last Sada king defeated by Puḷumāyi.<sup>36</sup> The Sātavāhanas' victory over the Sadas is also corroborated by the fact that Puḷumāyi's successor Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Sātakaṇi counter-struck the Sada coins with the *nandipada* symbol.<sup>37</sup> It is highly likely that the Sadas declined as the result of the expansion of the later Sātavāhanas.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4. *The Sātavāhanas*

The Sātavāhanas, who succeeded the Sadas, were the most powerful and long-reigning dynasty in the Deccan after the demise of the Mauryas. In the *Purāṇas*, they are mentioned as Andhras, Andhra-jātīla or Andhra-

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reporter of this inscription, identified the Mahāmeghavāhana king in the inscription as king Khāravela himself (R. Subrahmanyam, *The Guntupally Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela*, A.P. Govt. Epigraphical Series, no. 3, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1968), p. 3. D.C. Sircar however revised the king's name as Siri Sada and placed him as a late successor of Khāravela (Sircar, 'An Alleged Inscription' pp. 30-36). Although Srinivasan argued that Siri Sada was the ruler of Kāliṅga defeated by Khāravela based on the old palaeographical features of the inscription (P.R. Srinivasan, 'Some Brahmi Inscriptions', p. 248), recent studies have agreed to place Siri Sada's rule after Khāravela because of the confirmation of the other Sada kings, which shows the long history of the dynasties. For recent analyses of this inscription, see Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 68-71; Prasad, 'Sada Coins', p. 58; Prasad, 'Pre-Sātavāhana Phase', p. 333; Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', p. 289.

<sup>35</sup> K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji, 'The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela', *EI*, 20 (1929-30), pp. 71-89; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. 1 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), pp. 213-21.

<sup>36</sup> Prasad, 'Pre-Sātavāhana Phase', p. 337; Bhandare 'Historical Analysis', p. 290.

<sup>37</sup> Prasad, 'Sada Coins', p. 57; Prasad, 'Pre-Sātavāhana Phase', p. 337.

<sup>38</sup> Walker assumes that Sadas were more or less contemporary with later Sātavāhanas based on his analysis of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*. Because of the numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence shown above, it is difficult to accept his dating of the Sadas. See Joseph Walker, *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism and Early Indian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 64-65.

bhṛtyas with reference to detailed lists of the kings.<sup>39</sup> The Sātavāhana kings also left abundant archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence of their rule all over the Deccan. Based on this textual and epigraphic data, the dynasty's history can be divided into two phases: the early Sātavāhanas and the later Sātavāhanas.

(1) *The Early Sātavāhanas*

Regarding the early Sātavāhana rulers, there are at least three kings in epigraphic records: Simuka, Kanha and Sātakaṇi. They left their names in the inscriptions at Nānaghāt (Simuka, Sātakaṇi) and Nāsik (Kanha) in the western Deccan, Sānchī (Sātakaṇi) in Mālwā and a sealing recently found at Candankhedā (Sātakaṇi) near Nagpur.<sup>40</sup> The king Sātakaṇi is also mentioned in a contemporary Hāthigumphā inscription as the ruler in the western region (*pacchima-disaṃ*).<sup>41</sup> Although not contemporary records, a recently excavated *stūpa* at Kanganhalli (near Sannati) in Karnataka yielded limestone panels (ca. 1st century BCE/CE) that seem to depict portraits of Simuka (Chimuka) and Sātakaṇi with later Sātavāhana rulers.<sup>42</sup> Besides these three rulers, recent numismatic studies have also confirmed other early rulers such as Kochhiputa Siri Sātakaṇi, Chhimuka, Kosikiputa Sātakaṇi.<sup>43</sup> Although the chronological order of these kings is not entirely clear, the Purāṇic accounts agree that Simuka was the founder of the dynasty. Kanha, possibly his brother, succeeded Simuka. Sātakaṇi, the son of

<sup>39</sup> F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age: with Introduction and Notes* (London: Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press, 1913; rpt., Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1962), pp. 35-43.

<sup>40</sup> Lüders, nos. 346, 113-14 and 1144; Harry Falk, 'Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 52 (2009), pp. 198-201.

<sup>41</sup> Jayaswal and Banerji, 'The Hathigumpha Inscription', pp. 79 (line 4) and 86; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 215.

<sup>42</sup> Kanganhalli inscriptions record seven names of kings, namely Aśoka, Sātakaṇi, Chimuka, Mantalaka, Saḍara Sātakaṇi, Gotamīputa and Puḷumāyi. Besides Gotamīputa, these inscriptions accompany sculpture that may represent each king. Identifications of these kings, however, are still open to debate. Monika Zin, 'Māndhātār, the Universal Monarch, and the Meaning of Representations of the Cakravartin in Amaravati school, and of the Kings on the Kanganhalli Stupa' (a conference paper, Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond, Aug. 10, 2010, Bangkok, Thailand). Also see *IAR* 1997-98, p. 96.

<sup>43</sup> Parabrahma Sastry, 'Unknown Coins', pp. 10-13, 18-19; K.K. Maheshwari, 'Coins of Kochhiputra Satakarni', *Numismatic Digest*, 3.2, pp. 29-30; Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis' 205-22; Joe Cribb, 'Early Indian History', in Michael Willis ed., *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India* (London: The British Museum, 2000), p. 45.

Simuka, followed Kanha.<sup>44</sup> The relationship between Simuka and Sātakaṇi is also testified by the Nānaghāt inscription, which labels the relief figures of these two kings.<sup>45</sup> The remaining kings (Kochhiputa, Chhimuka, Kosikiputa) were possibly regional rulers within the empire, since their coins have only been found in particular regions.<sup>46</sup>

There is a debate on the original home of these early rulers.<sup>47</sup> The debate particularly focuses on two possible regions i.e., Andhra and north-western Deccan. The main evidence for the Andhra theory is the *Purāṇa*-s which consistently refer to the dynasty as the Andhras.<sup>48</sup> Recent studies taking this view also note a few inscribed coins of Chhimuka, found recently at Kotilingala in the Karimnagar District, since they identify Chhimuka as Simuka, the founder of the dynasty.<sup>49</sup> Another theory that assigns the home of the early Sātavāhanas to the north-western Deccan stresses the fact that most of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence of early Sātavāhanas is reported from this region. Evidence corroborating this view is the Hāthigumphā inscription in Orissa, which mentions that king Khāavela sent his army not to the south, but to the west to conquer the territory of Sātakaṇi.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> D.C. Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', in R.C. Majumdar ed., *The Age of Imperial Unity, The History and Culture of the Indian People*, II (Bombay: Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, 1951), pp. 196-99.

<sup>45</sup> Georg Bühler, 'The Nānaghāt Inscription', *Report on the Elura Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, 5 (London: Trübner, 1883), p. 64.

<sup>46</sup> Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 185-86, 208-22; Cribb, 'Early Indian History', p. 53 (n. 53). According to Bhandare, there was another Chhimuka whose coins are found at Paithan area. This Chhimuka (Chhimuka I) would be the same ruler as Simuka in Nanaghāt inscription (Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 186-87).

<sup>47</sup> For the summary of this debate, see Somasundara Rao, 'The Satavahana', pp. 6-8.

<sup>48</sup> On early works taking this view, see Burgess 1887, pp. 3-4; Vincent. A. Smith, *The Early History of India: From 600 BC to the Muhammadan Conquest Including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), pp. 206-07; G.V. Rao, 'Pre-Sātavāhanas and Sātavāhanas', in G. Yazdani ed., *The Early History of the Deccan*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), parts I-VI, pp. 72-79.

<sup>49</sup> Parabrahma Sastry, 'Unknown Coins', p. 12; Shastri, 'Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Coinage', pp. 5-6; Shastri, 'Purānic Evidence on Andhra-Sātavāhana Original Home, Nomenclature and Chronology: An Analytical Study', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, 72 (1997), pp. 121-23.

<sup>50</sup> Major works taking this view are as follows. P.T.S. Iyengar, 'Misconceptions about the Andhras', *Indian Antiquary*, 42 (1913), pp. 276-81; K.P. Jayaswal, 'Hathi-gumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāra-vela (173 BC-160 BC)', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 3.4 (1917), pp. 441-42; V.S. Sukthankar, 'On the Home of the So-called Andhra Kings', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1.1 (1918-19), pp. 21-42; Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', p. 198; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 13; K. Gopalachari, 'The Satavahana Empire', in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri ed., *A Comprehensive History of India* (Calcutta:

Unfortunately, our present knowledge cannot yield any decisive answer on this issue. The first view, however, is currently weakened by the following problems. First, the *Purāna*-s, which referred to the dynasty as Andhras, were late texts compiled around the Gupta period. The earliest epigraphic evidence which refers to the present Andhra region as Andhra may not predate the early 4th century CE.<sup>51</sup> Strictly speaking, it is not clear whether the early Sātavāhanas were referred to as the Andhras in their own time. There is no evidence to prove that the Andhras stayed in the present Andhra region either.<sup>52</sup> Second, except for the numismatic evidence from the Karimnagar area, which is located at the north-west end of Andhra, there is still little evidence to prove the presence of the early Sātavāhanas in this region. This contrasts with the abundant numismatic and epigraphic evidence in Andhra for the later Sātavāhanas. Third, strong doubts have been raised about identifying Chhimuka on the coins with Simuka.<sup>53</sup> At the moment, therefore, it seems more likely that the early domain of the Sātavāhanas was north-west Deccan and possibly a part of north-west Andhra.

## (2) *The Later Sātavāhanas*

After the reigns of these early rulers, the history of the dynasty becomes obscure. It is likely that they lost considerable power and territory in a conflict with the Kṣaharātas, a *kṣatrapa* (governor) family of Śāka origin.

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Orient Longmans, 1957), II, pp. 296-300; H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India: From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*, 7th edition (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1970), pp. 364-65; K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, 2nd edition (Madras: University of Madras, 1976), pp. 6-30.

<sup>51</sup> See E. Hultzsch, 'Mayidavolu Plates of Sivaskandavarman', *El*, 6 (1900-1901), pp. 85 and 87 (line 9); Lüders, no. 1205.

<sup>52</sup> Before the Mayidavolu inscription, there are some literary and epigraphic records on the tribes called the Andhras. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18), the Andhras were mentioned together with the Puṇḍras, Śābaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas as *dasyu* (non-Aryan tribes) living on the borders of the land. See Arthur B. Keith trans., *Rigveda Brahmanas: the Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1920), p. 307. Aśokan Rock-Edict XIII list the Andhras as people under the control of the Mauryas. Pliny's, the *Naturalis Historia* (VI. 22) describes a powerful king of the Andhra country (*Andarae*) as possessing thirty fortified towns as well as an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. See R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India* (Calcutta: Firma K.L M, 1960; rpt., 1981), p. 342. These references, however, do not fix the precise geographical locations of the Andhras.

<sup>53</sup> P.L. Gupta, 'Kotalingala Find of Post-Mauryan Coins', *Numismatic Digest*, 2.2 (1978), 24-33; I.K. Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980), pp. 92-93; Sarma, 'New Evidence on the Early Sātavāhana Coinage', p. 344; Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 185-86.

This temporary decline, however, seems to have been reversed by Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi. The long eulogistic inscription to this king in Nāsik cave 3 lists numerous places he conquered, and boasts that he uprooted the Kṣaharātas and regained the legacy of the Sātavāhanas.<sup>54</sup> The Kṣaharāta ruler defeated by Gotamīputa was perhaps Nahapāna, a famous *kṣatrapa* ruling the north-west Deccan at that time. This view is corroborated by the Jogalthembi hoard of Nahapāna coins, which were found to be largely re-struck (9,270 out of 13,270 coins) by Gotamīputa.<sup>55</sup> It is also clear that Gotamīputa was succeeded by his son Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi. Ample numismatic evidence has shown that it was in his reign that the later Sātavāhanas extended their rule into Andhra.<sup>56</sup> He is also the first Sātavāhana ruler who recorded his name in an Amarāvati inscription.<sup>57</sup> After Puḷumāyi, the legacy of the dynasty seems to have been continued by the reign of Gotamīputa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi, whose coins have been found in an extensive area including Gujarat, Saurashtra, north Konkan, Akola, Chanda and Andhra.<sup>58</sup> He also left his name in inscriptions at Nāsik, Kaṅherī, Amarāvati and Chinna Ganjan.<sup>59</sup>

The Sātavāhanas' rule in the Deccan, however, seems to have been continuously disturbed by the *kṣatrapa*-s. Although the Kṣaharāta family led by Nahapāna was defeated by Gotamīputa, another line named Kārdamakas emerged immediately after Nahapāna. The Andhau inscription (year 52 of Śaka era = 130 CE) says that Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman possessed Mālwā as the kings (*rāja*).<sup>60</sup> The Junāgadh inscription (year 72 of Śaka era = 150 CE) states that Rudradāman twice defeated Sātakaṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him on account of the 'nearness of their connection'.<sup>61</sup> A Kaṅherī inscription describes the

<sup>54</sup> E. Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', *EI*, 8 (1905-6), no. 2; Lüders, no. 1123.

<sup>55</sup> H.R. Scott, 'The Nāsik (Jogalthembi) Hoard of Nahapana's Coins,' *JBBRAS*, 22 (1908), pp. 223-44.

<sup>56</sup> Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana*, pp. 8 and 41; Prasad 'Sada Coins', p. 57.

<sup>57</sup> Lüders, no. 1248, Sivaramurti, no. 51.

<sup>58</sup> Gopalachari, 'The Satavahana Empire', p. 323.

<sup>59</sup> Sarkar 1971, no. 60; Sobhana Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions* (Pune: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute, 1991), no. 5; Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 24; G. Bühler, 'A New Inscription of the Andhra King Yajñaśrī Gautamiputra', *EI*, 1 (1892), pp. 95-96.

<sup>60</sup> R.D. Banerji, 'The Andhau Inscriptions of the Time of Rudradaman', *EI*, 16 (1921-22), pp. 22-25.

<sup>61</sup> James Burgess, 'The Sāh or Rudra Dāmā Inscription', *Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. II (London: India Museum, 1876), pp. 128-33; Lüders, no. 965.

queen of Vāsiṭhipura Siri Sātakaṇi as the daughter of *mahākṣatrapa Ru...*<sup>62</sup> These records may indicate that the Sātavāhanas sought for marital alliance with the *kṣatrapa*-s, who posed a fundamental problem undermining their rule.

Probably because of this conflict, the dynasty seems to have declined rapidly after the demise of Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi. Although Purāṇic accounts list three more rulers after Siri Yaña (Siri Vijaya, Siri Cada and Puḷumāyi), these accounts assign them conspicuously short reigns. No details are known about these rulers except for a few inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Kodavolu, Myakadoni and Vāsana.<sup>63</sup> Besides these three kings, the Tarhālā hoard (in Akola district, northern Karnataka) also brings to our attention three Sātavāhana rulers unknown through any other sources: Siri Kubha Sātakaṇi, Siri Kaṇa Sātakaṇi and Saka Sātakaṇi.<sup>64</sup> The Banavāsi inscription also tells of a ruler called Hāritiputa Sātakaṇi.<sup>65</sup> After these rulers, who possibly belonged to local branches, the Sātavāhanas faded out of the dynastic history of the Deccan.

### 5. *The Ikṣvākus*

After the demise of the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus, who emerged in the early 3rd century CE, became the most powerful rulers in the lower Krishna valley. The dynasty—probably originating as a feudatory under the Sātavāhanas—achieved independent status in the reign of Vāsiṭhiputa Cāṃtamūla (Cāṃtamūla I). He is the first known Ikṣvāku king in inscriptions, and is also known as the performer of horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*).<sup>66</sup> Epigraphic evidence records three more kings after Cāṃtamūla I: Māṭhariputa Siri Virapurisadata; Vāsiṭhiputa Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla; and Vāsiṭhiputa Rudrapurisadata.<sup>67</sup> They established their capital at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (ancient Vijayapuri), located some 120 kilometres west of

<sup>62</sup> Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, no. 16; Lüders, no. 994.

<sup>63</sup> Lüders, no. 1341; V.S. Sukthankar, 'A New Andhra Inscription of Siri-Pulumavi', *EI*, 14 (1917-18), pp. 153-155; H. Sarkar, 'Nagarjunakonda Prakrit Inscription of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni, Year 6', *EI*, 36 (1964-65), pp. 273-74; M.J. Sharma, 'Vāsana Inscription of Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāvi', *EI*, 41 (1975-76), pp. 154-58.

<sup>64</sup> V.V. Mirashi, 'A New Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins from Tarhālā (Akolā District)', *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, 2 (1940), pp. 90-92.

<sup>65</sup> Lüders, no. 1186; G.S. Gai, 'Banavasi Inscription of Vinhukada Satakarni, Year 12', *EI*, 34 (1961-62), pp. 239-42.

<sup>66</sup> Jean Ph. Vogel, 'Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda', *EI*, 20 (1929-30), B1, B2. Also see Tsukamoto, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa nos.*, 10, 11.

<sup>67</sup> For the chronology of these kings, see Elizabeth Rosen Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994), pp. 4-9.

Amarāvati along the Krishna, and undertook extensive construction works there, including a massive citadel, stadium, Buddhist monasteries and Brahmanic shrines. By the reign of the second king Virapurisadata, the dynasty extended its rule from the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa area more widely into the lower Krishna valley, as indicated by inscriptions from Jaggayyapeta and Uppugunḍūr.<sup>68</sup> Their military campaign in this region continued with the third king Ehuvala Cāntamūla, who issued a land grant charter from his war-camp of victory at Dhamñakaṭaka.<sup>69</sup> After Rudrapurisadata, however, we have no information of the dynasty. The famous Allahabad pillar inscription, which lists the conquests of the great Gupta monarch Samudragupta (ca. 335–375 CE), makes no reference to the Ikṣvākus either.<sup>70</sup> Kondamudi copper plates (early 4th century CE) however record a land grant by a king Jayavamma of the Bṛhatphalāyanas, who were probably based on Masulipatam area. According to the Mayidavolu copper plates, Śivaskandavarman of the early Pallavas had ruled the Dhamñakaṭaka area during the first half of the 4th century CE. Coastal Andhra between the Krishna and Godavari valleys was occupied by the Śālankāyanas around the same time.<sup>71</sup> It is thus likely that the Ikṣvākus had declined by the early 4th century CE by the emergence of local Hindu dynasties.

### III. CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

To summarize, the political development of the lower Krishna valley between ca. 300 BCE and 300 CE may be divided into the following five dynastic periods: (1) the Mauryas; (2) the post-Mauryas; (3) the Sadas; (4) the later Sātavāhanas; (5) the Ikṣvākus. Our next task is to provide a reasonable, if not decisive, dating for this sequence. Among the above five periods, the limits of the Mauryan period (ca. 300–200 BCE) may be set more or less securely with the date of king Aśoka (ca. 273–236 BCE).

<sup>68</sup> Burgess 1887, nos. 1-3; B. Chhabra, 'Uppugundur Inscription of Virapurisadata's Time, Year 19', *EI*, 33 (1959-60), 189-91. Also see Tsukamoto, Jaggayyapeta nos. 1-3; Uppugunḍūr no. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Harry Falk, 'The Pātaganḍigūḍen Copper-plate Grant of the Ikṣvāku king Ehuvala Cāntamūla', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 6 (1999/2000), p. 275.

<sup>70</sup> D.R. Bhandarkar, *Inscription of the Early Gupta Kings*, *CII*, 3, ed., by B. Chhabra and G.S. Gai (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1981), p. 217.

<sup>71</sup> Hultzsch, 'Mayidavolu Plates', pp. 84-89; D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1939), pp. 41-95, 161-68; P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, 'The Brihatpharayanans, Salankayanas and Anandas', 'The Early Pallavas', in *Early Historic Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 41-46, 61 and 67.

If we follow this date, the beginning of the post-Mauryan phase may be set around 200 BCE. In order to determine the dates of the remaining three dynasties (the Sadas, the later Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus), we need a more detailed discussion of the epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence.

### 1. *The Starting Date of the Later Sātavāhanas*

Regarding the dating of the later Sātavāhanas, there are some dated inscriptions which record years with the names of the later Sātavāhanas and the Kṣaharāta rulers. For the chronology of these dynasties, it is crucial to decide the date of the era they used. Early studies, of course, realized this point and proposed several theories. The most prevalent theory among them is that the Kṣaharātas used the Śaka era (began 78 CE) since they belonged to the *Śaka-kṣatrapa*-s.<sup>72</sup> This view assigns the termination of the reign of Nahapāna, a famous *kṣatrapa* competing with the later Sātavāhanas, to 124 CE, since his last known year in dated inscriptions is forty-six (78+46=124). Rapson and Sircar further postulated that this was the year when Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi defeated Nahapāna, and equated this year with the 18th regnal year of Gotamīputa, since an inscription of this year records Gotamīputa's donation of land which had been possessed by Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna.<sup>73</sup> If this is the case, the accession of Gotamīputa may be dated to ca. 106 CE (124–18=106). This may also assign the end of Gotamīputa's reign to 130 CE, because through another epigraphic record, he is known to have reigned for twenty-four years (106+24=130).<sup>74</sup>

This dating, however, has been questioned on the basis of passages in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, which is dated securely around 40–70 CE, because it refers to Malchus, a datable king of the Nabataeans in north Arabia.<sup>75</sup> This anonymous Greek text, describing the ancient trade between the Mediterranean world and ancient India, mentions a kingdom ruled by Mambanos around Barygaza (present Broach in Gujarat). It is widely

<sup>72</sup> Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. xxvi-xxvii; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 429; Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', p. 180.

<sup>73</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 4; Lüders, no. 1125; Tsukamoto, *Nāsik* no. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 5; Lüders, no. 1126; Tsukamoto, *Nāsik* no. 3.

<sup>75</sup> See *Periplus*, sec. 19; Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1912; rpt. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1995), p. 11; Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei: Text with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 6-7.

accepted that the ruler Mambanos is indeed Nahapāna.<sup>76</sup> This means that Nahapāna could not use the Śaka era, since his reign started before 78 CE. Consequently, Dehejia and Trabold have argued that Nahapāna did not use the Śaka era but used the regnal-year system as did the Sātavāhanas. Based on the date of the *Periplus* and the final year of Nahapāna's reign, which is 46, they have assigned Nahapāna's reign to between the mid-1st and the early 2nd centuries CE.<sup>77</sup> Their contentions, however, perpetuate two problems. (1) So far the dated inscriptions of Nahapāna are confined to the years between 41 and 46. If he used the regnal-year system, why are there no dated inscriptions of early regnal years? (2) There is little doubt that Caṣṭana and Rudradāman, the *kṣatrapa* rulers after Nahapāna, used the Śaka era. Why did Nahapāna, who also belonged to the *kṣatrapas*, need to use a regnal-dating system? Because of these unanswered questions, their chronology has not been widely supported. Knox, for instance, eventually adopts the Śaka era theory for his dating of the Amarāvati sculpture, while he does not deny completely the validity of the regnal-year theory.<sup>78</sup>

Recent numismatic studies, however, provide a host of strong evidence which supports and further elaborates the latter theory. Seeley and Turner's metallurgical study suggests that the lead coins issued around the reigns of Gotamīputa and Puḷumāyi may have been made from imported Roman lead. The lead isotope ratio closely matches those of the Sardinian and Spanish lead mines, which were abandoned after the discovery of British lead mines around 50 CE. They also noticed that Nahapāna's silver coins show exceptionally high silver content (98.16 per cent), which may be compared with the Roman *denarius* coins issued before Nero, who debased the silver coinage in 63 CE. Based on these results, they suggest that Nahapāna and Gotamīputa may be dated to the mid-1st century CE.<sup>79</sup>

This result is corroborated by Joe Cribb's recent work. He has convincingly argued that the usage of the Śaka era seems to have originated at the beginning of Caṣṭana's reign, and Nahapāna's rule was before the rule of Caṣṭana. It is unlikely, therefore, that Nahapāna used the Śaka era. As

<sup>76</sup> Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 198; Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, pp. 197-98.

<sup>77</sup> J.L. Trabold, 'A Chronology of Indian Sculpture: The Sātavāhana Chronology at Nāsik'. *Artibus Asiae*, 32 (1970), pp. 64-66; Vidya Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: A Chronological Study* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), pp. 22-26.

<sup>78</sup> Knox, p. 14

<sup>79</sup> Nigel J. Seeley, and Paula J. Turner, 'Metallurgical Investigations of Three Early Indian Coinages: Implications for Metal Trading and Dynastic Chronology', in B. Allchin ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1981* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 331-33.

evidence in support of this view, Cribb refers to some Nahapāna coins re-struck by an Indo-Parthian king Sasan, the second successor to Gondophares, whose rule may be fixed securely between ca. 20–45 CE, by ample numismatic and textual evidence. Cribb thus concludes that Nahapāna used the Gondophares era which possibly commenced ca. 20 CE. Consequently, he dates Nahapāna to the middle of the 1st century CE and Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi to ca. 48–71 CE.<sup>80</sup>

Bhandare's exhaustive work on the Sātavāhana coinage has reached a similar conclusion. He basically accepts Cribb's main contentions: (1) Caṣṭana was the founder of the Śaka era; (2) Nahapāna did not use the Śaka era because he ruled immediately before Caṣṭana; (3) The re-struck coin of Nahapāna by Sasan is the crucial evidence for the dating of Nahapāna. His dating, however, is slightly different from that of Cribb, since he does not admit the existence of the Gondophares era. Instead he places the victory of Gotamīputa and the termination of the reign of Nahapāna in the same year as the accession of Caṣṭana. He assigns the start of the Śaka era (78 CE) to this time and dates Nahapāna to ca. 32–78 CE and Gotamīputa to ca. 60–85 CE.<sup>81</sup>

Although these recent numismatic studies still do not decide the date of Nahapāna and the later Sātavāhanas precisely, they at least establish a convincing fixed point for the later Sātavāhanas based on concrete evidence. This dating is also supported by the evidence of the *Periplus*. Thus we may now assume the date of Nahapāna and Gotamīputa to be around the mid-1st century CE rather than the early 2nd century CE. In this study, therefore, we take the starting date of the later Sātavāhanas as ca. 50–60 CE.

## 2. *The Termination Date of the Later Sātavāhanas*

This new theory on the starting date of the later Sātavāhanas, however, prompts a question. Suppose we accept the new date and assign the reign of Gotamīputa about a half-century earlier than the traditional chronology, the dates of subsequent rulers may also move earlier since their dates

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<sup>80</sup> Joe Cribb, 'Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Periplus', in D.W. MacDowall, Savita Shama and Sanjay Garg eds., *Indian Numismatics, History, Art, and Culture: Essays in the Honour of Dr. P.L. Gupta*, 2 vols (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1992), I, pp. 131-45; Cribb, 'Western Satraps and Satavahanas: Old and New Ideas of Chronology', in A.K. Jha and S. Garg eds., *Ex Moneta: Essays on Numismatics, History and Archaeology in honour of Dr. David W. MacDowall*, vol. I (New Delhi: Harman, 1998), pp. 167-82; Cribb, 'Early Indian History', pp. 39-45.

<sup>81</sup> Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 168-78.

have been decided by their known regnal years in inscriptions or the accounts of the *Purāṇas*. If this is the case, may this new dating also change the termination date of the dynasty?

Cribb and Bhandare, who have proposed the above new dating of the later Sātavāhanas, sharply disagree with each other on this point. Cribb has argued that after Gotamīputa, epigraphic and numismatic evidence confirms five other kings in the imperial line of the Sātavāhanas. He has simply added the latest known regnal years of these kings and suggested the following chronology:

- (1) Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi (ca. 71–94 CE)<sup>82</sup>
- (2) Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Sātakaṇi (ca. 94–106 CE)
- (3) Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi; (ca. 106–132 CE)
- (4) Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Vijaya; (ca. 132–138 CE)
- (5) Gotamīputa Siri Cada. (ca. 138–140 CE)

According to his view, the termination of the Sātavāhanas was around the mid 2nd century CE.<sup>83</sup>

Bhandare, on the other hand, suggested the following chronological sequence based on his analysis of the Sātavāhana coinage:

- (1) Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi (ca. 85–125 CE)
- (2) Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Sātakaṇi (ca. 125–152 CE)
- (3) Vāsiṭhiputa Siva Siri Puḷumāyi (ca. 152–160 CE)
- (4) Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Khada Sātakaṇi (ca. 160–165 CE)
- (5) Vāsiṭhiputa Vijaya Sātakaṇi (ca. 165–170 CE)
- (6) Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi (ca. 170–200 CE)
- (7) Gotamīputa Siri Cada (ca. 200–215 CE)
- (8) Gotamīputa Siri Vijaya Sātakaṇi (ca. 215–225 CE)

He has further argued that the Sātavāhana rulers represented in the Tarhālā hoard may be dated even later, so the dynasty could have lasted until ca. 230–250 CE.<sup>84</sup> This dating basically accords with the traditional theory on the termination date of the Sātavāhanas by Sircar.<sup>85</sup>

Our study will not be concerned with the detail of their numismatic arguments. In my view, however, Bhandare's framework is more convinc-

<sup>82</sup> When Cribb proposed this chronology, the latest known regnal year of Puḷumāyi was 24. After that, a new inscription of Puḷumāyi with regnal year 35 was confirmed (see Falk, 'Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs', pp. 201-05).

<sup>83</sup> Cribb, 'Early Indian History', p. 45.

<sup>84</sup> Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 305-24.

<sup>85</sup> Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', p. 206.

ing than Cribb's for the following reasons. The first point is the date of the Ikṣvākus, the successors of the Sātavāhanas. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence has revealed a total of four kings in the dynasty: (1) Vāsiṭhiputa Cāṃtamūla (Cāṃtamūla I); (2) Vīrapurisadata; (3) Ehuṃvula Cāṃtamūla; (4) Rudrapurisadata. Inscriptions with their regnal years also prove that the first King Cāṃtamūla I ruled for at least thirteen years.<sup>86</sup> In the same way, we may safely allot a minimum of twenty-four years to Vīrapurisadata;<sup>87</sup> twenty four years to Ehuṃvula Cāṃtamūla;<sup>88</sup> and sixteen years to Rudrapurisadata.<sup>89</sup> Thus the entire Ikṣvāku rule extended roughly more than seventy-seven years (13+24+24+16=77). As mentioned above, the rule of the Ikṣvākus may have ended by the beginning of the Gupta dynasty (320 CE), since the Allahabad pillar inscription by Samudragupta makes no reference to the Ikṣvākus. Consequently, ca. 243 CE (320-77=243) should be the latest possible foundation date for the Ikṣvāku. Cribb's chronology thus creates a considerable gap between the foundation of the Ikṣvāku and the termination of the Sātavāhanas. Although the recent discovery of a Sātavāhana inscription revised the latest regnal year of Puḷumāyi from 24 to 35, the gap is still hard to fill.<sup>90</sup>

Furthermore, an iconographical feature of the Amarāvati sculptures also corroborates this point. As we will discuss in the next chapter, art-historical evidence shows that the appearance of the Buddha images in Amarāvati may be dated to the reign of Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi. The iconography of those images, notably the representation of hair in the form of snail shell curls, corresponds to the late Kuṣāṇa Buddha images in Gandhāra and Mathurā dated to ca. the 3rd century CE. This indicates that Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi cannot be dated to much before the 3rd century CE. Consequently, the Sātavāhana kings after Siri Yaña need to be placed in the first half of the 3rd century CE.

Thus, despite our new dating of Gotamīputa and Nahapāna, which changes the starting point of the later Sātavāhanas to the mid 1st century

<sup>86</sup> S. Sankaranarayanan, 'Kesanapalli Inscription of Chantamula, year 13', *EI*, 38 (1970), pp. 313-18. Also see Tsukamoto, Kesānapalli, no. 16.

<sup>87</sup> *IAR* 1967-68, p. 52; H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nāgarjunakonda*, 3rd edition (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1980), p. 150; Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 6 and 102 (n. 33).

<sup>88</sup> D.C. Sircar, 'More Inscriptions from Nāgarjunikonda', *EI* 35 (1963-64), no. 4; Tsukamoto, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, no. 55

<sup>89</sup> Peter Skilling and Oskar von Hinüber, 'An Epigraphical Buddhist Poem from Phanigiri (Andhrapradesh) from the Time of Rudrapuruṣadatta', *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology*, 14 (2011), pp. 7-12.

<sup>90</sup> See Falk, 'Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs', pp. 201-05.

CE, it is likely that the Sātavāhanas continued until the early 3rd century CE. Allowing a possible twenty-year gap between the termination of the Ikṣvāku and the beginning of the Guptas, we posit ca. 225-45 CE as the termination date of the Sātavāhanas/the beginning of the Ikṣvākus.

### 3. *The Date of the Sadas*

The above dating of the later Sātavāhanas provides a useful hint for deciding the date of the Sadas, since, as argued, the dynasty seems to have been defeated by the later Sātavāhanas in the reign of Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi. Although Cribb and Bhandare do not agree in their chronologies, they date Puḷumāyi's reign to ca. 71-94 CE (Cribb) or ca. 85-125 CE (Bhandare). Considering both scholars' dating, the reasonable termination date of the Sadas may be posited some time between ca. 80-100 CE.

This interim date may provide a point to speculate on the starting date of the dynasty as well. As argued above, recent epigraphic and numismatic evidence has confirmed at least five Sada kings. Assigning a twenty-year reign for each of these five kings, the accession of Siri Sada, the first king, would have been ca. 20 BCE-1 CE. If we follow Bhandare and admit one more king ([Vija]ya Sada), the possible accession of Siri Sada may be dated back a further twenty years, that is, to ca. 40-20 BCE. According to this rough calculation, it is likely that the Sadas' rule started around the latter part of the 1st century BCE.

### 4. *The Early Sātavāhanas*

The remaining issue for our chronological framework is the date of the early Sātavāhana rulers. Although it is unlikely that the early Sātavāhanas ruled in the Andhra region, their date is still crucial for our argument since it is closely linked to the dates of the Sānchī I gateways and the Hāthigumphā inscriptions, which are important chronological markers for arguing the dates of the Amarāvātī inscriptions and sculptures.

The main problem for the dating of the early Sātavāhanas is the inconsistent account of the *Purāṇas*. These texts describe two different traditions regarding the reigns of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings: one tradition, represented by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, lists seventeen kings in 300 years; another tradition, found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, mentions thirty kings in 460 years. These two accounts generated two traditional chronologies of the Sātavāhanas: the short chronology and the long chronology. Because there is little doubt that the Sātavāhanas had declined by around the 3rd cen-

ture CE, the difference in the two chronologies is manifested in the dating of the early Sātavāhanas. Thus while the long chronology dates the foundation of the dynasty to the Mauryan period (ca. 300-200 BCE), the short chronology assigns the date to the mid-1st century BCE.<sup>91</sup> At present, the long chronology is popular particularly among a group of Indian archaeologists.<sup>92</sup> The short chronology, on the other hand, was widely adopted by art historians to explain the stylistic development of the Amarāvati and other early historical sculptures.<sup>93</sup> Cribb's numismatic study, which assigns the early Sātavāhana rulers to around the 1st century CE, supports the short chronology, though his approach is independent of the Purāṇic accounts.<sup>94</sup>

Apart from the above two traditional views, there is another view assigning the date of the early Sātavāhanas to ca. 100-50 BCE based on the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Dehejia, the first scholar to adopt this approach, has dated the Nānaghāt inscriptions to ca. 70-60 BCE based on palaeography. Allowing some fifty years for the reigns of three of the Sātavāhana rulers (Simuka, Kanha, and Sātakaṇi), she has dated the foundation of the Sātavāhanas to ca. 120-110 BCE.<sup>95</sup> Bhandare reached a similar conclusion based on numismatic analysis. He has dated the Hāthigumphā inscription in Orissa, mentioning Sātakaṇi's territory, to ca. 100 BCE because the record also mentions a Yāvana king Dimita, whom he identified with the Indo-Greek ruler Demetrious III (ca. 100 BCE). Bhandare has also noted that Kochhiputa Siri Sātakaṇi, who may have succeeded to a part of Sātakaṇi's territory, re-struck the coins of Appollodotos II, the Indo-Greek ruler dated to ca. 80-65 BCE. Kochhiputa thus may be placed after Appollodotos II. Based on this series of evidence, Bhandare dates Sātakaṇi to between ca. 100-50 BCE.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Regarding the long chronology, see V.A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, pp. 206-07; Iyengar, 'Misconceptions about the Andhras', pp. 277-78; Jayaswal, 'Hathi-gumpha Inscription', p. 441; Gopalachari, 'The Satavahana Empire', pp. 295, 301-08; Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 31; G.V. Rao, 'Pre-Sātavāhanas and Sātavāhanas', pp. 83-90. For the short chronology, see R.G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan* (Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1957), pp. 33-39; Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', p. 195; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 357-62.

<sup>92</sup> S. Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1981), pp. 23-24; Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana*, pp. 8-23.

<sup>93</sup> Walter Spink 'On the Development of Early Buddhist Art in India', *The Art Bulletin*, 40 (1958), pp. 95-104; S.L. Huntington with contributions by J.C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985), pp. 90-108, 163-83.

<sup>94</sup> Cribb, 'Early Indian History', pp. 45-46.

<sup>95</sup> Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, p. 19.

<sup>96</sup> Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 188-94; Bhandare, 'Linking the Past: Overstruck Coins and the Chronology of the Satavahanas', in Shailendra Bhandare and Sanjay Garg

Among these three views on the date of the early Sātavāhanas, the most problematic in terms of present epigraphic and archaeological evidence is the first one: the long chronology. To prove a Mauryan date for the early Sātavāhana rulers, the theory assigns early Sātavāhana inscriptions at Nānaghāt, Nāsik cave 19 and the Sānchī gateways, as well as the Hāthigumphā inscription to the end of the 3rd and early 2nd century BCE. Palaeographical features of these inscriptions, however, contradict this view. The Sānchī and Hāthigumphā inscriptions, for instance, have so-called 'head-marks' in each stroke. It is well known that these head-marks cannot be observed in the typical Śunga period inscriptions such as the one on the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar and the one on the Bhārhut railing. Rather, this is a later palaeographical feature which developed in subsequent Sātavāhana and Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.<sup>97</sup> Sculptural features also support this view. Art historians have agreed that the sculptures on the Sānchī I gateways definitely have more advanced stylistic features compared to the Bhārhut railing sculptures. Though problematic, the dating of the Bhārhut railing is generally thought to be roughly between ca. 150-100 BCE or even later.<sup>98</sup> The Sānchī I gateways must be placed later than this date. These non-Purānic materials strongly suggest that we may dismiss a Mauryan date for the dynasty.

Our concern therefore would be to determine the greater validity of the second and third theories. With our present evidence, it is almost impossible to be decisive on this point. Indeed, the difference between the two theories is not significant: while the second theory assigns early Sātavāhana rulers to the end of the 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE, the third theory dates them to between the early and the mid-1st century BCE. Because current epigraphic and art-historical evidence on early Sātavāhana rulers are all undated with one exception,<sup>99</sup> their dating of them basically depends on palaeography and the stylistic analysis of the sculptures. Unfortunately, such analysis cannot provide very precise cri-

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eds. *Felicitas: Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb* (Mumbai: Reesha Books International, 2011), p. 58.

<sup>97</sup> Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 52-53; Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 31-34.

<sup>98</sup> Benimadhab Barua, *Barhut*, 3 vols (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934-37), I, p. 36; John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *Monuments of Sānchī*, 3 vols (Calcutta: Manager of Publication, I, pp. 270-71; Spink, 'On the Development', p. 102; M. Willis, 'Early Indian Sculpture', in *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*, p. 55.

<sup>99</sup> The only exception is a sealing for Sātakani, which records the year 30. See Falk, 'Two Dated Sātavāhana Epigraphs', pp. 198-201.

teria to decide such subtle chronological differences. As shown in the acute difference between Cribb's and Bhandare's conclusions, current numismatic evidence may not provide reliable solutions.

Despite these difficulties, however, we will take the third theory as a working hypothesis. An indication in support of this view is the chronological link between the Sadas and Sātavāhanas. As argued above, epigraphic and numismatic evidence may place Siri Sada, the founder of the Sadas, to ca. 40-20 BCE (or roughly the late 1st century BCE). We may also assume that Siri Sada was a successor of King Khāravela of Kāliṅga. This places Khāravela before Siri Sada, although we do not know how many years separated Siri Sada and Khāravela.<sup>100</sup> Consequently, the Hāthigumphā inscription, describing the deeds of Khāravela and his military campaign in the territory of Sātakaṇi, should be dated before ca. 40-20 BCE.

On the other hand, it is widely known that the Hāthigumphā inscription has advanced palaeographical features like the aforementioned headmarks in each stroke. These features are distinctively different from the Heliodorus pillar inscription at Besnagar whose date is fixed between ca. 115-80 BCE because of the date of Antialkhidas, an Indo-Greek ruler whom Heliodorus served.<sup>101</sup> This comparison pushes the date of Hāthigumphā inscription to sometime after ca. 80 BCE. Allowing a gap of a few decades between the Heliodorus pillar and the Hāthigumphā inscription, a likely date of the latter would be around the mid-1st century BCE. This in turn places the date of the Sānchī south *torāṇa* inscriptions to around this time, since they have similar palaeographic features to the Hāthigumphā inscription, and they include the name of the king Sātakaṇi. The date of Sātakaṇi thus can be placed around the mid 1st century BCE, although it is not clear when his reign started and ended. Consequently, Sātakaṇi and two other early Sātavāhana rulers before Sātakaṇi (Simuka, Kanha) can roughly be dated between the early and mid 1st century BCE (ca. 100-20 BCE for the sake of our argument). A problem with this view is the date of the Nānaghāt inscription, which was dedicated by the mistress of king Sātakaṇi. As Dehejia has noted, the palaeography of this inscription shows slightly more archaic features than the above two inscriptions.<sup>102</sup> Although there is no clear answer to this problem, this might simply reflect a regional or scribal variation, or could indicate the existence of another Sātakaṇi before the one mentioned in Hāthigumphā and the Sānchī I *torāṇa*, as Dehejia argues.

<sup>100</sup> Prasad, 'Sada Coins', p. 58; Prasad, 'Pre-Sātavāhana Phase', p. 333.

<sup>101</sup> Willis, 'Early Indian Sculpture', p. 57.

<sup>102</sup> Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, p. 20.

## SUMMARY

The foregoing discussion leads us to reach the following chronological framework relevant to the political history of the lower Krishna valley.

- (1) The Mauryas: ca. 300-200 BCE
- (2) The post-Mauryas: ca. 200 to 40-20 BCE
- Cf. The early Sātavāhanas: ca. 100-20 BCE

(\*The Hāthigumphā inscription and the Sānchī south *torāṇa* inscription: ca. mid 1st century BCE)

- (3) The Sadas: ca. 40-20 BCE to ca. 80-100 CE.
- (4) The later Sātavāhanas: ca. 50-60 CE to ca. 225-245 CE.
- (\*Their rule of Andhra region: ca. 80-100 CE to ca. 224-245 CE)
- (5) The Ikṣvākus: ca. 225-245 CE to ca. 300-320 CE.

Obviously, because of our limitation of evidence, this dating cannot be taken as an absolute one. In terms of the date of the early Sātavāhanas, for instance, if we assume a much wider gap between Heliodorus pillar and Hāthigumpha inscription, king Sātakaṇi (and accordingly Sānchī I *torāṇa*-s) may be dated closer to the Christian era. Recent discovery of 'portrait' sculpture of Simuka, Sātakaṇi and Puḷumāyi at Kanganhalli might also indicate the possibility of this shorter chronology, although we must see the full report of the excavation for further discussion. When we have a more detailed history of the Sada dynasty, this may affect the dates of the Hāthigumpha inscription and king Sātakaṇi too. At the moment and for our purpose, however, the above chronology provides an update and reasonable dynastic framework for coastal Andhra. How, then, does this historical framework link to the development of the Amarāvati *stūpa*? To answer this question, we should now look into the chronology of the *stūpa*.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CHRONOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The dynastic chronology of the lower Krishna valley proposed in the last chapter has provided a few reasonable fixed points for the dating of the *stūpa*. Using this basic chronological framework, this chapter will examine the detailed chronology of the *stūpa* and its link with the dynastic history of coastal Andhra. The chapter should be read with reference to Tables of Chronology (Tables 1, 2), since the dating of the architectural components of the *stūpa* will be a rather complicated argument. For stylistic comparison, this chapter not only considers Amarāvati inscriptions and sculptures, but also refers to those of other early Buddhist sites. Particularly important for this comparison are the dates of the sculptures and inscriptions of the Bhārhut railing and Sānchī I gateways (*torāṇa*-s), whose precise dates are still open to debate. On the Bhārhut railing, as mentioned in the last chapter, I accept a standard dating by Barua and posit it around ca. 150–100 BCE as a working hypothesis. As for the Sānchī I gateways sculpture and inscriptions, based on the Sātakaṇi inscription on the south *torāṇa* and clearly advanced stylistic features of the sculpture in comparison with the Bhārhut, I will place them roughly in the mid-late 1st century BCE (ca. 50–1 BCE).

#### I. MAURYAN (?) FOUNDATION OF THE *STŪPA* AND EARLY PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION (CA. 200–100 BCE)

##### 1. *Foundation of the Stūpa*

Our first question concerning the development of the Amarāvati *stūpa* asks when it was founded. Because archaeological work in the mid-20th century provided significant evidence of an early date for the *stūpa*, recent studies have tended to assume its Mauryan or Aśokan origin.<sup>2</sup> Important works for establishing this view were the studies of A. Ghosh and I.K. Sarma.

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<sup>1</sup> A part of this chapter was published in the following article. Akira Shimada, 'The Great Railing at Amarāvati: An Architectural and Archaeological Reconstruction,' *Artibus Asiae*, 66-1 (2006), pp. 89-141.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 32; Roy, *Amarāvati Stūpa*, I, p. 116; Allchin, 'Early Cities and States beyond the Ganges Valley', pp. 146-47.

Table 1. Chronology of the Amarāvati *stūpa* (Early Period).

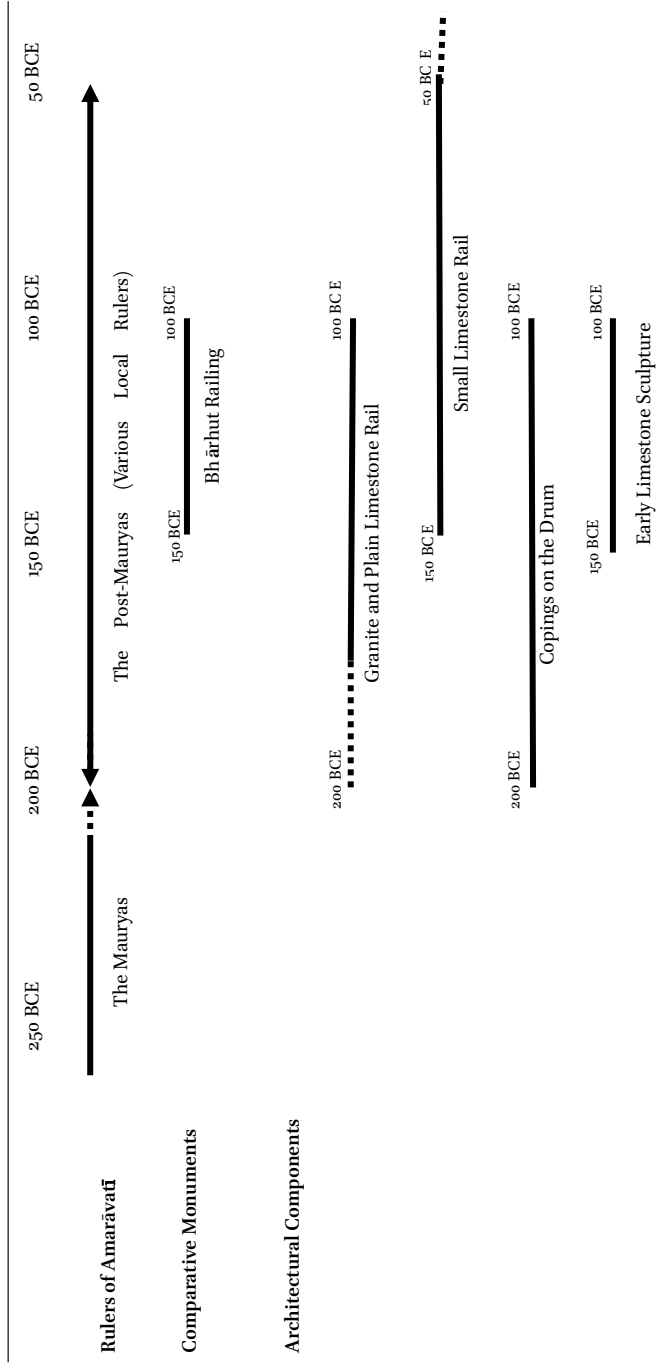
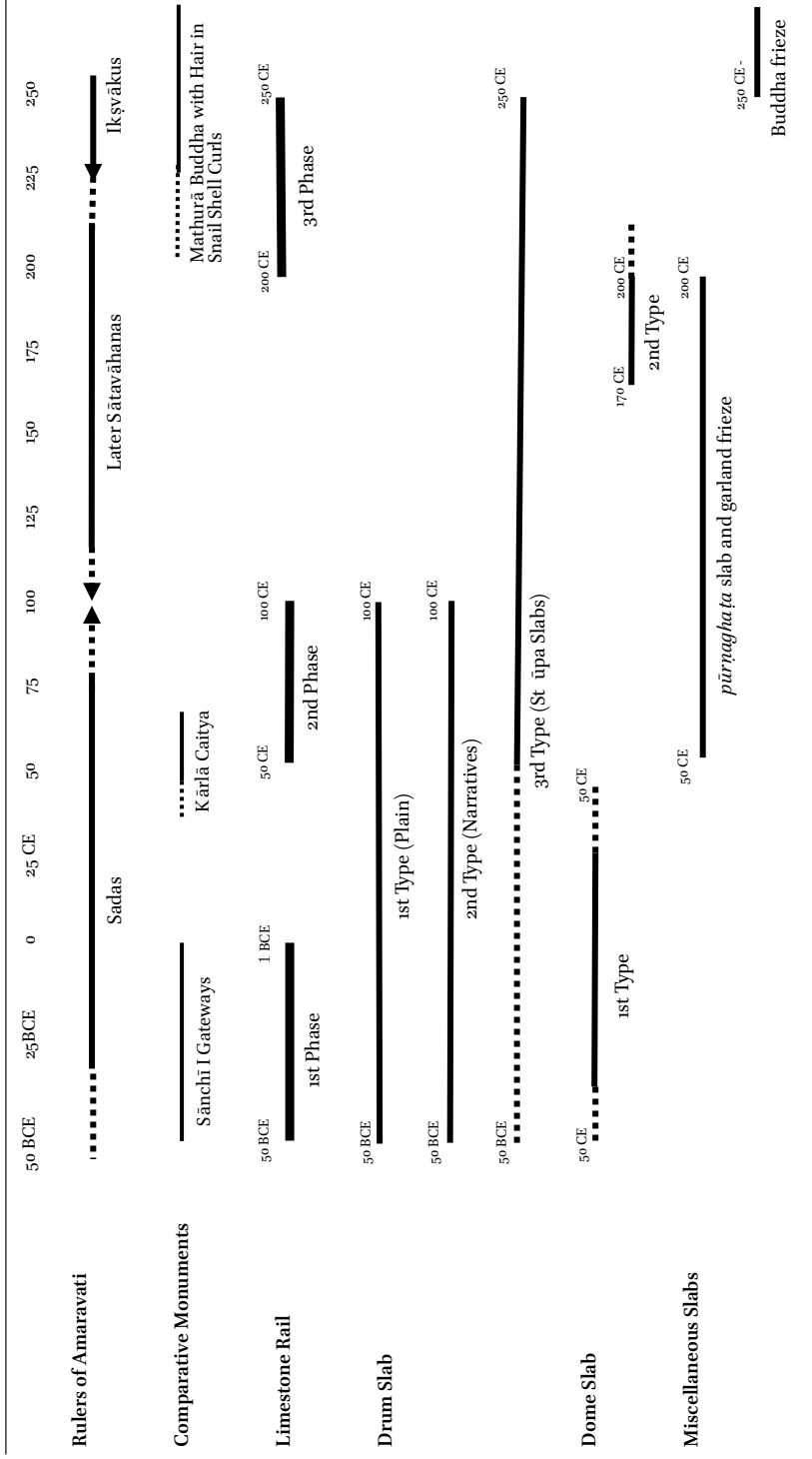


Table 2. Chronology of the Amaravati stūpa (Late Period).



In publishing early Amarāvati inscriptions found in excavation 1958-59, Ghosh assigned a few of the inscriptions on granite pillars to the Aśokan period (Pls. 5, 6). Combining this evidence with the discovery of the 'Aśokan' pillar from Amarāvati (Pl. 4), he suggested an Aśokan foundation for the *stūpa*.<sup>3</sup> Based on the stratigraphical data of his excavations in 1973-75, Sarma has even proposed a pre-Aśokan foundation for the *stūpa* and has identified some architectural remains of an Aśokan *stūpa* as well.<sup>4</sup>

We should note, however, that the archaeological evidence proposed by the above studies is by no means conclusive proof for a Mauryan foundation for the Amaravati *stūpa*. The 'Aśokan' pillar fragment (Pl. 4), for example, has some unusual features for an Aśokan edict.<sup>5</sup> The pillar is not made of so-called Cunar sandstone, the material consistently used for all other Aśokan pillars, but is made of local quartzite found in the nearby Nallamallai hills.<sup>6</sup> The contents of the inscription do not tally exactly with those of known Aśokan edicts. While the paleography of the script may still suggest a Mauryan date for the inscription, it is highly problematic to accept the pillar as an authentic Aśokan edict. A more fundamental problem is that the pillar was not found in proper excavations, but was found incidentally with no record of the precise find spot.<sup>7</sup> Even if the pillar was Aśokan or Mauryan, therefore, it cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for an Aśokan/Mauryan foundation of the *stūpa*, since the link between the *stūpa* and the pillar is unconfirmed.

Sarma's stratigraphical data of the excavations may not securely prove the Mauryan origin of the *stūpa* either. According to the published reports, the excavation confirmed two sub-levels in the earliest phase of the *stūpa* (period I): period I-A (ca. the 4th century BCE in his dating) and I-B (ca. the 3rd century BCE).<sup>8</sup> Neither level yielded any structural evidence

<sup>3</sup> Ghosh 1979, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Sarma 1975, p. 65; Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', pp. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> Sircar, 'Fragmentary Pillar Inscription', p. 40; Falk, *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts*, p. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Falk's study revealed that the 'Cunār' Sandstone used for Aśokan pillar's was not yielded at Cunār but came from Pabhosa, near Kausambi. Falk, *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts*, pp. 154-57.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest report of this inscription only mentions that the inscription was found in the antiquity shed at Amarāvati (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (1959-60), p. 47 [B-20]). Allchin briefly mentions that this pillar was used as a washerman's block, although the source of this information is not confirmed (Allchin, 'Early Cities and States beyond the Ganges Valley', p. 146).

<sup>8</sup> Although more than thirty years have passed since the excavations, the full report of the excavations has not been published yet. I thus referred to the following brief reports and articles on the excavations. See *IAR* 1973-74, pp. 4-5; *IAR* 1974-75, p. 2; Sarma 1975, pp. 60-74; Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', pp. 15-23.

relating to the *stūpa*, although it confirmed occupational layers with abundant pottery.<sup>9</sup> From period I-A, excavation confirmed some post-holes suggesting the existence of wooden structures with an abundance of Northern Black Polished Ware (200 sherds) and Black and Red Ware. The latter type of pottery included an inscribed fragment (*...thisa pāta*). Period I-B yielded numerous NBPW (190 sherds), Black and Red Ware and Red Slipped Ware. Two fragments of Red Slipped Ware have inscriptions, which read '*malasa*' and '*malasya*'.<sup>10</sup> Sarma suggested that these inscriptions represented names of monks, and also opined that the palaeography of the inscriptions showed 'clear Mauryan characters'.<sup>11</sup> He has thus postulated the presence of Buddhist settlement at Amarāvati in the Mauryan period and even earlier.

There are yet some possible problems in his analysis. To give the Mauryan dating to period I, Sarma used Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) as the vital indicator. Although the pottery is well-known as a typical marker of the Mauryan material culture, it was made until ca. 100 BCE even in north India.<sup>12</sup> In south India, the dating of NBPW is more problematic and tends to be late. At Nevasa in the west Deccan, for instance, NBPW was found with early Sātavāhana coins (ca. 100–50 BCE).<sup>13</sup> At Dharanikoṭa, an ancient city site adjacent to the Amarāvati *stūpa*, fragments of NBPW were found with Black and Red Ware commonly associated with the megalithic period and also with Rouletted Wares, which are usually dated to ca. 100 BCE or even later.<sup>14</sup> Although Sarma dated NBPW at Dharanikoṭa between 405 (or 475) ± 95 (or 100) BCE and 145 (or 205) ± 100 BCE based on the C14 data, such wider dating may not be very helpful for assigning a Mauryan date for the pottery at Amarāvati.<sup>15</sup> Equally problematic are the pottery inscriptions. As Roy has pointed out, the palaeography of the inscription does not show 'clear Mauryan character' but

<sup>9</sup> Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> See Sarma 1975, p. 66. Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', pp. 15-16.

<sup>11</sup> Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', p. 16, pl. 11.

<sup>12</sup> G. Erdosy, 'City States of North India and Pakistan at the time of the Buddha', in Allchin ed., *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia*, pp. 100-05.

<sup>13</sup> H.D. Sankalia et al., *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa (1954-60)* (Poona: Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute, 1960), p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> *IAR* 1963-64, p. 2; Vimala Begley, 'From Iron Age to Early Historical in South Indian Archaeology', in J. Jacobson ed., *Studies in the Archaeology of India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH, 1987), pp. 305-16.

<sup>15</sup> I.K. Sarma, 'C14 Dates, N.B.P Ware and Early Historical Archaeology of Peninsular India', *Journal of Indian History*, 52 (1974), pp. 52-53.

indicates much later features dated to the 2–1st century BCE.<sup>16</sup> Considering the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions, it is also doubtful if we may identify them as representing monks' names.

Dating of the 'Mauryan' granite rail pillars and inscriptions confirmed by Sarma and Ghosh would also need further discussions (Pls. 5, 6). These pillars had been reported as early as Burgess's survey in 1882.<sup>17</sup> Rea's excavation in 1905-06 confirmed similar pillars standing on each side of the east and west gates (Fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> The importance of these pillars to reconstruct the chronology of the *stūpa*, however, had gone unnoticed until 1958-59 excavations, which yielded three granite pillars with 'Mauryan' inscriptions (Pls. 5, 6).<sup>19</sup> Sarma also found three pieces of the granite pillars in his excavation, and dated these to period I-B (the Aśokan period).<sup>20</sup>

The first problem for dating these pillars to the Aśokan or Mauryan period is that the granite pillars Sarma excavated were not found *in situ* at the level of the Aśokan phase (period I-B). As he briefly comments in the 1975 article and as is also attested by the section plan, they were in fact found collapsed in the level of period II (the post-Mauryan period of ca. the 2nd century BCE).<sup>21</sup> Sarma thus concluded that the pillars originally stood in period I and, for some reason, fell down in period II. This is certainly a reasonable, but still an inconclusive assumption.

Can the stylistic features of the pillars, then, prove an Aśokan date? According to Ghosh and Sarma, the granite pillars demonstrate two significant stylistic features: (1) the 'Mauryan' polish observed on the surface of the pillars; and (2) the 'Mauryan' character of the inscriptions. Regarding the first feature, it is possible to recognize some polished finish on the surface of these pillars. It is not, however, the mirror-like polish that we observe on the surface of known Aśokan pillars and the Mauryan rock-cut caves in Bihar. Palaeographical analysis of the inscriptions also faces the same difficulty (Pl. 6). The inscriptions on the granite pillars certainly retain some archaic features. For instance, the circular forms of letters *ma* (𑀢) and *va* (𑀶), and the cross-shaped *ka* (𑀓), in which the vertical and horizontal strokes are of the same length, are possibly comparable to Aśokan

<sup>16</sup> Roy, *Amaravati Stupa*, I, p. 168

<sup>17</sup> Burgess 1887, p. 22, Burgess's description of the location of the granite pillars, however, is not very consistent. In his first report published in 1882, the granite pillar is located to the south of the east gate (Burgess 1882, p. 52).

<sup>18</sup> Rea, 'Excavations at Amaravati', *ARASI* (1905-6), p. 119 and pl. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Ghosh 1979, p. 100 (nos. 1-3); Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', pls. 14-16.

<sup>20</sup> Sarma 1975, pp. 62 and 70; Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Sarma 1975, p. 62; Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', fig. 1.

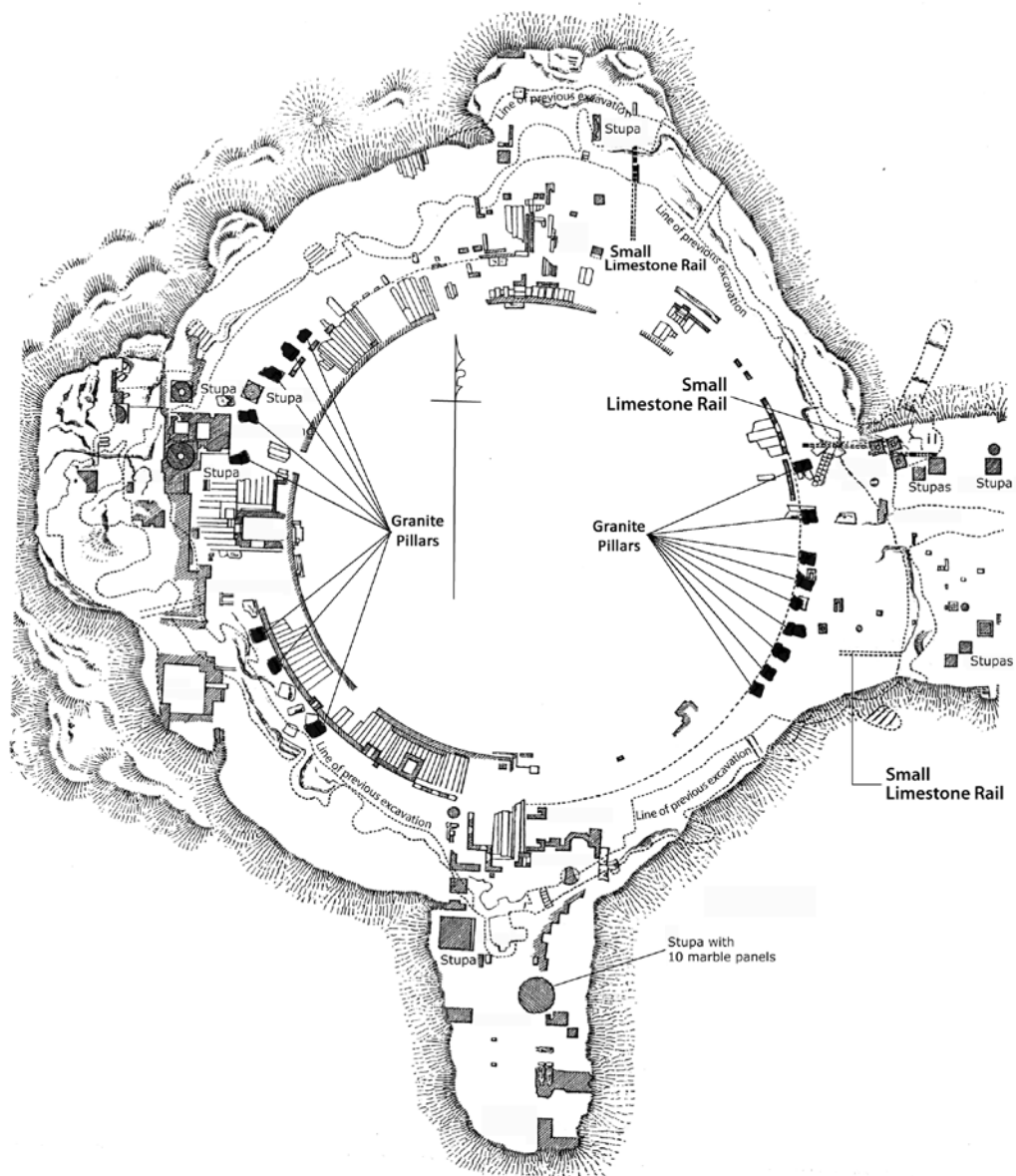


Figure 5. Plan of the Amarāvati stūpa by Alexander Rea. (Based on Rea 1905-06, pl. 46.)

Brāhmī. These features, however, are too meagre to support the designation of these inscriptions to the Mauryan rather than post-Mauryan, since palaeographical changes between the two periods are not very drastic.<sup>22</sup> Another difficulty is that the number of the sample letters is very small (only three short inscriptions). The letters are considerably damaged and small in size as well. In view of these facts, we cannot with certainty assign the granite pillars to the Aśokan period on palaeographical grounds.

To summarize, despite the contention of Ghosh and Sarma, no available architectural remains can confirm a pre-Aśokan, Aśokan or Mauryan origin for the Amarāvati *stūpa*. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that the *stūpa* existed in Mauryan or Aśokan times. As discussed in Chapter One, broader historical circumstances combined with epigraphic and archaeological evidence in the Deccan indicate that the region was under the rule of the Mauryan dynasty. If this is the case, it is possible to assume that Buddhism and Buddhist construction activities started around the same time. At present, however, there is no decisive evidence to prove the presence of the Mauryan *stūpa* at Amarāvati.

## 2. Date for the Earliest Architectural Remains

### (1) Early *Stūpa* Railing

This disproof of Mauryan architectural remains at Amarāvati leads us to another question. If the *stūpa* does not contain any Mauryan remains, what date can be assigned to the earliest surviving pieces of the *stūpa*? As recent studies have agreed that the earliest architectural remains of the *stūpa* is granite rail pillars, let us start from assigning a more appropriate dating to them.

In my view, an important clue for establishing the date of these pillars may lie in the architectural relationship with the other components of early railing. Obviously, the granite pillars were not the only components of the early rail, since they have mortise holes for crossbars on the sides, and mortise for coping on the top. Considering that the granite pillars were found exclusively from the east and west sides of the rail (Fig. 5), it is also reasonable to assume that the other part of the rail was composed of other railing pieces, which may not have been made of granite.<sup>23</sup> As far as the current evidence is concerned, the most probable pieces which constituted the early rail with granite pillars were simple railing pieces

<sup>22</sup> Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 31.

<sup>23</sup> Rea, 'Excavations at Amaravati', *ARASI* (1905-6), p. 119.

made of limestone (Table 3). These railing pieces, although they have had little scholarly attention, consist of several types of rail pillars, crossbars and copings. According to my observation, they can be broadly divided into two types based on their size. The smaller type (Table 3 (3)), as we will see later, is perhaps disproportionately small to encircle the large *stūpa*. The larger type (Table 3 (2)), on the other hand, probably surrounded the early *stūpa* (Pls. 7-11, 22). The rail pillars and crossbars of this larger type are mostly plain with a few exceptions.<sup>24</sup> As affirmed by Ghosh, the palaeography of the accompanying inscriptions, such as the angular shape and straight-lined strokes of the individual letters, can be compared with the post-Mauryan inscriptions such as the one at Bhārhut.<sup>25</sup> There is little doubt that these rail components were closely associated with the granite rail architecturally, because, estimating from the size of the mortise holes, both the granite and plain limestone rail pillars were connected with limestone crossbars of the same size (Table 3 (1),(2)). This view is further corroborated by Burgess's excavation, which found a number of plain limestone crossbars near the granite pillars. Burgess affirmed that these crossbars went with the granite pillars since they fit with their mortise holes.<sup>26</sup> As for the rail coping that went with this plain limestone and granite railing, there exist two types. One type is plain limestone with a post-Mauryan inscription (Pl. 9). Another type depicts running youths and animals on one side (Pl. 11).<sup>27</sup> The sculptures, featuring very shallow carving and stiff movement, look similar to the Bhārhut sculptures (ca. 150-100 BCE).

Chronologically and architecturally, then, how were these limestone railings related to the granite pillars? Sarma has commented on this point, suggesting that the early rail was constructed in two different periods. The first one is the Aśokan granite rail, which stood on the eastern and western side of the *stūpa*. The second is the plain limestone rail in the post-Mauryan period, which filled the gap between the two sections of granite rail.<sup>28</sup> The Aśokan rail thus stood on the eastern and western parts, and the remaining parts were not completed until the post-Mauryan period. Although such a construction process may not be impossible, it seems unlikely. Rather, the two types of rails seem to have been built in close

<sup>24</sup> See Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', pl. 21

<sup>25</sup> Ghosh 1979, pp. 98-99

<sup>26</sup> Burgess 1882, p. 52; Burgess 1887, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Knox, nos. 32-34; Sivaramamurti pl. 16.4

<sup>28</sup> Sarma 1975, pp. 63 and 73 (n. 11).

Table 3. Types of early railings at the Amarāvati *stūpa*.

Types	General Features	Size (cm)	Palaeography of Inscriptions
1	<p><i>Material</i> Granite and limestone</p> <p><i>Decoration</i> Coping 2 has a relief of running youths and animals; others are plain.**</p>	<p><i>Pillars (granite):</i> H: ca. 200 (or taller)* W: ca. 100 D: ca. 35-40</p> <p><i>Crossbars (limestone):</i> H: ca. 40-70</p> <p><i>Copings 1 (limestone):</i> H: ca. 45-50 W: ca. 150 D: ca. 20-40</p> <p><i>Coping 2 (limestone):</i> Ht: ca. 60 W: ca. 160 D: ca. 25</p>	<p><i>Early</i> ca. 150-100 BCE</p>
2	<p><i>Material</i> Limestone</p> <p><i>Decoration</i> Coping 2 has a relief of running youths and animals; others are plain.**</p>	<p><i>Pillars</i> H: ca. 240 W: 70 D: 25</p> <p><i>Crossbars</i> H: ca. 40-70</p> <p><i>Coping 1</i> H: ca. 45-50 W: ca. 150 D: ca. 20-40</p> <p><i>Coping 2</i> H: ca. 60 W: ca. 160 D: ca. 25</p>	<p><i>Early</i> ca. 150-100 BCE</p>
3	<p><i>Material</i> Limestone</p> <p><i>Decoration</i> Plain</p>	<p><i>Pillars</i> H: ca. 100 W: ca. 20 D: ca. 15</p> <p><i>Crossbars</i> H: ca. 30</p> <p><i>Copings</i> H: ca. 25-35 W: ca. 200 D: ca. 15</p>	<p><i>Early</i> ca. 150-100 BCE</p> <p><i>Late</i> ca. 50 BCE–200 CE</p>

\* Since there are no intact granite pillars, their heights were estimated from the height of the surviving pieces and Burgess's comments on the pillars (cf. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas*, 23).

\*\* One granite pillar displays the so-called *nandipada* symbol; two limestone pillars have relief sculpture; one crossbar depicts a tree and *stūpa* with incised lines (cf. Sarma, *Early Sculptures and Epigraphs*, pls. 16, 17, 21).

association because, as we have already examined, the granite rail pillars and the limestone rail pillars probably shared the same post-Mauryan crossbars.<sup>29</sup> How can the 'Aśokan' granite rail pillars have had post-Mauryan crossbars? Although a possibility is that these crossbars were later replacements of Aśokan crossbars, it is difficult to take this idea seriously since such replacements would have required unreasonable labour (requiring the removal of the heavy granite pillars). It seems there is only one reasonable answer to this problem: the date of the granite pillars must be close to the post-Mauryan limestone crossbars. Even if we consider the early features of the granite pillars, therefore, the date of the early rail may be accommodated between ca. 200-100 BCE (see Table 1).

## (2) *Small Limestone Railing*

Besides the early railing surrounding the *stūpa*, earlier excavations found another series of railing of smaller size (Table 3 (3)) (Pl. 12).<sup>30</sup> Although there is no clear data to confirm the original architectural position of these rails, it is unlikely that they were part of the early railing which surrounded the *stūpa*, considering their small size (less than half the size of the granite and plain limestone railing). It is also unlikely that they were part of the *harmikā* railing on the top of the *stūpa*, since they were too numerous. To the best of my knowledge, the only reference to the position of these small rails is found in Rea's excavation report, which records 'small marble rails with lenticular panels and plain posts' at the gates, especially 'the east and north' (Fig. 5).<sup>31</sup> Although it is unclear if this record shows the original position of these rails or the result of the repair works in the later

<sup>29</sup> Sarma tries to distinguish 'Aśokan' crossbars fitted with granite uprights and those of 'post-Mauryan' fitted with limestone rail pillars by their sizes and palaeography (Sarma 1975, pp. 62-63; Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', p. 18 and pls. 17 and 18). According to my observation and measurement, such identification is not possible.

<sup>30</sup> My survey confirmed the following pieces in the reserve collection of the Amarāvati Museum (acc. nos. 276, 313, 314, 315, 316, 372, 395/582, 398, 495, 542, 545, 807). Ghosh and Sarma published the measurement of these pieces and the accompanying inscriptions (Ghosh 1979, no. 4-7, 7A; Sarma 1980, nos. 86-88). Chanda also published early inscriptions on fragments of plain rail pillars and crossbars, which should be in the Chennai Government Museum (Chanda, nos. 1, 3-10, 12-20; Sivaramamurti, I.F.3-10; I.G.3-13; II. E.28.). Although I could not examine all of these pieces, which should be in Chennai, some of the pieces such as Chanda no. 4 certainly belong to this type of small rail. We may also note that some rail pillars of this type were re-used as friezes depicting narratives or seated Buddhas and *stūpa*-s (Sewell 1880, nos. 49, 51; Burgess 1882, nos. 11B, 13B, 14B).

<sup>31</sup> Rea, 'Excavations at Amaravati', *ARASI* (1905-6), p. 117, pl. 46.

period, it may well be that the rails demarcated entranceways to the *stūpa* and, possibly, the outer boundary of the entire *stūpa* complex.

Because all the pieces are entirely plain and have no stratigraphical data, their dates have to be determined entirely by the palaeography of the accompanying inscriptions on them. Their palaeography, however, varies considerably. While large numbers of the inscriptions (Pl. 13) show early features similar to the larger plain limestone rail, some coping inscriptions have distinctly late features, such as so-called 'head-marks' on the top of each stroke, and curved vowel signs.<sup>32</sup> As we will discuss later, these late features appeared in Amarāvati only after ca. 50 BCE. It may be reasonable, therefore, to date these rails and inscriptions roughly to ca. 150-50 BCE or even later.

### (3) *Drum Copings*

In the reserve collection at the Amarāvati Museum, there also exist a considerable number of friezes carved with a three-barred rail pattern (Pl. 14). They are not flat panels but are angled at the bottom into an 'L' shape so that they can stand up. There is no surviving example with accompanying inscriptions. Presumably they were attached to the edge of the *stūpa* drum, as some drum slabs depicting simple (probably early-shaped) *stūpa*-s, show a similar railing on the drums (Pl. 15). Sarma's excavation in 1973-75 yielded one of these friezes from period II (ca. the 2nd century BCE). Sarma argued that the frieze originally belonged to period I-B (the Aśokan period in his dating), because it was found re-used as the foundation of a brick structure.<sup>33</sup> In my view, the Aśokan date of this frieze is still debatable because, as explained, it is not possible to fix a Mauryan date for period I due to the problematic nature of NBPW. At the moment, it would be safer to follow the stratigraphical evidence and roughly date the pieces to ca. 200-100 BCE.

### (4) *Other Early Sculptures*

Besides these drum-copings, former excavations have yielded various fragments of early limestone sculptures which seem to have belonged to the early *stūpa*. They can be divided into the following major types.

<sup>32</sup> For early examples, see Chanda, no. 4; Ghosh 1979, no. 4. For the late examples, see Sarma 1980, nos. 86-88.

<sup>33</sup> Sarma, 'Early Sculptures', p. 19. In his earlier report, however, Sarma mentioned that the frieze and the brick structure were associated with Period I-B (Aśokan Period) and the frieze thus originally belonged to I-A (Sarma 1975, p. 61).

1. Pillars topped with animal capitals.<sup>34</sup>
2. Drum slabs with human figures (Pl. 20).<sup>35</sup>
3. A statue representing a male devotee or *yakṣa* (Pl. 16).<sup>36</sup>
4. Fragments of pillars or steles representing narrative relief (Pls. 18, 19).<sup>37</sup>

Because most of these pieces were found in the early excavations during the 19th and early 20th century, there is no stratigraphical data indicating the dates of these sculptures. Concerning the fragmentary condition of these pieces, however, Burgess made the following remark in his 1882 excavations:

It is noteworthy that wherever one digs at the back of the outer rail, broken slabs, statues &c., are found jammed in behind it. The dark slate slabs too of the procession path are laid on a sort of concrete formed of marble chips, broken slabs, pillars &c., as if it were, in the present form, a part of the work of reconstruction executed centuries later than the original.<sup>38</sup>

The broken condition of these pieces therefore may suggest that they belonged originally to the early *stūpa* which was later renovated.

In some cases, these early sculptures were not crushed entirely but were re-used in the later renovation. A clear example of this is a plinth in Chennai (Pls. 18, 19).<sup>39</sup> Although the plinth is obviously a later piece, the bottom of the plinth, which must have been under the ground when the plinth was erected, contains a set of early narrative sculptures (Pl. 19). This shows that the piece was originally an early period sculpture (possibly a quadrangular pillar) and was re-shaped as a plinth in the late period. A similar example is a drum slab at the British Museum (Pls. 20, 21). This panel has an early relief on one face representing the 'Buddha's Enlightenment' (Pl. 20), and on the reverse a much later sculpture representing a miniature *stūpa* with a standing Buddha (Pl. 21). Perhaps the slab was detached from the early *stūpa* at the time of the enlargement of the drum, and re-used with a newly carved sculpture for the embellishment of the later *stūpa*.

<sup>34</sup> Dehejia, 'Early Activity at Amarāvati', figs. 2-5; Sivaramamurti, pl. 16.5.

<sup>35</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 16.1.

<sup>36</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 18.2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 17.1-3; Ghosh and Sarkar, pls. 39-43.

<sup>38</sup> Burgess 1882, p. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Ramachandran, 'An Inscribed Pillar-Carving', pp. 135-53; Kempers, 'Note on an Ancient Sculpture', pp. 364-71.

As former studies have already pointed out, these sculptures exhibit several distinct stylistic features similar to the Bhārhut style, including flat modelling, shallow linear carving and the rigid postures of the figures.<sup>40</sup> These features are clearly different from the pieces of the late period which, as we shall see, are deeply carved and attain a three-dimensional volume. The palaeographical features of the accompanying inscriptions are also similar to those on the early rail and the Bhārhut examples. Considering these stylistic links to Bhārhut sculptures and inscriptions, it is reasonable to date these early Amarāvati sculptures close to the Bhārhut sculptures (ca. 150-100 BCE).

### 3. *Dimensions of the Early Stūpa*

Current evidence thus suggests that the extant architectural components of the early Amarāvati *stūpa* are mostly dated to the post-Mauryan period (ca. 200-100 BCE), although a part of the small limestone rail seems to have been built even later (see Table 1). These pieces thus may not represent features of an original Aśokan *stūpa*, if we postulate its existence. They do show, however, that the early Amarāvati *stūpa* had a massive granite rail and was decorated with a number of limestone reliefs as early as the post-Mauryan period. The *stūpa* thus seems to have undergone extensive construction work at that time.

Through this construction work, then, what scale did the *stūpa* attain in the post-Mauryan period? We obviously cannot be precise about this question, since the early *stūpa* was destroyed during later construction work. There are, however, a few clues which give a rough idea of the size of the early *stūpa*. One good indication is the size of the early rail. Although there is no intact example of a granite rail pillar, their widths are consistently between 90 and 100 centimetres (Table 3 (1)). The height of the remaining pieces also suggests that they may originally have reached around ca. 2-2.5 metres in height. This view is supported by Burgess's observation which reported a granite rail measuring over 7 1/2 feet (ca. 2.3 metres) in length.<sup>41</sup> Regarding the plain limestone pillars, which also constituted the early rail, the height may have reached about 240 centimetres above the ground according to the measurement of a nearly intact piece at the site (Pl. 22). The height of the early rail thus exceeded that of the

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<sup>40</sup> Siravaramamurti, pp. 27-29; Stern and Bénisti, *Évolution du style*, pp. 72-73; Ghosh and Sarkar, p. 176; Knox, pp. 32-33; Willis, 'Early Indian Sculpture', p. 55.

<sup>41</sup> Burgess 1887, p. 22.

outer rail pillars at Sānchī II (ca. 170 centimetres above ground), and is close to that of Bhārhut (ca. 2.1 metres), Jagannātha Tekḍī at Pauni (ca. 2.3 metres) and Sānchī I (ca. 2.5 metres),<sup>42</sup> where the diameters of the drums were ca. 20.5 metres (67.85 feet), 41.2 metres and 36.6 metres respectively.<sup>43</sup> It is possible, therefore, to speculate that the early Amarāvati *stūpa* may have been of equal size.

This estimate finds further support from the structural features of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. As is well known, one of the distinct structural features of Andhran *stūpa*-s, including Amarāvati, is the 'cylindrical' or 'wheel-shaped' structure, in which multiple brick walls in concentric circles were built to support the structure (Fig. 6). According to Kuwayama's study, a consistent feature of this structure in Andhran *stūpa*-s was that they made the outermost circumference wall remarkably thick.<sup>44</sup> In support of this theory, Kuwayama has referred to a massive brick wall at the Amarāvati *stūpa*, which was shown in Mackenzie's *stūpa* plan dated June 1817 as a pink band at the southwest quadrant (Pl. 29).<sup>45</sup> Kuwayama has understood this wall to be the outermost wall of the *stūpa*, and assumed that at Amarāvati the outer wall was the thickest.<sup>46</sup> Kuwayama's interesting observation on this feature of Andhra *stūpa*-s, however, is untenable with reference to Amarāvati. A careful look at Mackenzie's *stūpa* plan in fact shows that the masonry cannot be the outermost wall, since it was located far inside the row of the drum slabs. Another *stūpa* plan in the

<sup>42</sup> The heights of rail pillars at Bhārhut and Sānchī are based on my measurements. On the height of the rail pillar at Pauni, see S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation 1969-70* (Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1972), p. 27 and fig. 8. We should note that there is a discrepancy in accounts of the size of the outer rail pillars at Pauni. The excavation report says that the height of the pillars above ground level was 1.35 metre (p. 27). However the reconstruction plan of the railing in the same report shows that the height of pillars above ground reached about 2.3 metres (fig. 8). I presume the latter information is correct since the pillars have four sockets whose average heights are about fifty centimetres according to the report, as well as my measurements. The pillars, therefore, had to exceed at least 200 centimetres (=50 centimetres×4) to accommodate four crossbars.

<sup>43</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrated of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century bc* (London: W.H. Allen, 1879), p. 4; Debala Mitra, *Sanchi*, 5th edition (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1984), p. 15; Deo and Joshi, *Pauni Excavations*, p. 26.

<sup>44</sup> Kuwayama, 'A Hidden Import', p. 148.

<sup>45</sup> See folios 7 and 8 of Mackenzie Amarāvati Album, available at the British Library website (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/c0333-02large.jpg>). In his 1823 report, Mackenzie left the following comments on the feature of the wall: "On the south side, within the circles, a strong work of masonry is discernible, which may probably be the remains of an interior wall, as the people of the village informed me that a similar work had been observed all round" (Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amurvarty', p. 468).

<sup>46</sup> Kuwayama, 'A Hidden Import', pp. 128-30.

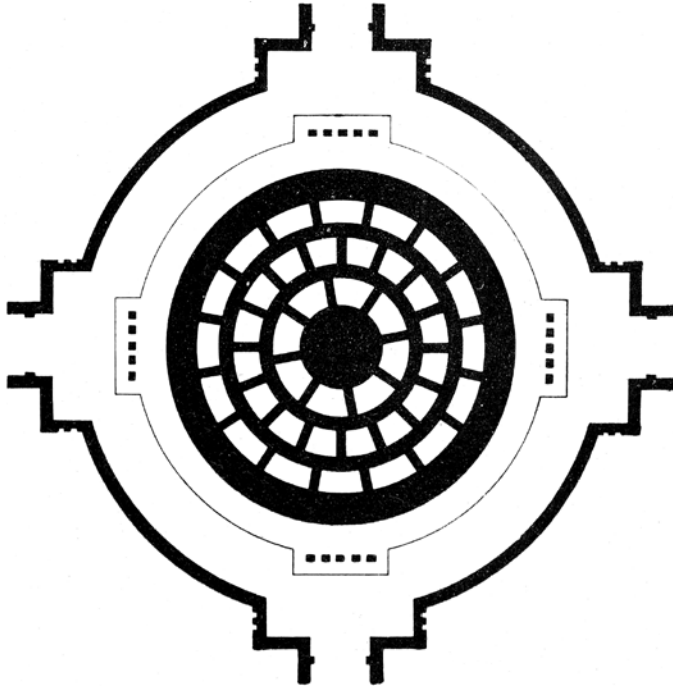


Figure 6. Plan of *stūpa* 1, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. (Based on Longhurst 1936, pl. 12.)

Mackenzie drawings, dated March 1816, further supports this view (Pl. 28).<sup>47</sup> This second plan not only records the south-west masonry measurement as 8 feet (ca. 2.5 metres) in width and 40 feet (ca. 12.2 metres) in length, but also documents another wall located 4 feet (ca. 1.2 metres) outside the line of the masonry at the south-east quadrant. Mackenzie describes the wall as 4 feet (ca. 1.2 metres) in width and as supporting the ‘inner rail’, which is nothing but drum slabs. Contrary to the general rule of the Andhran *stūpa*-s, the outermost drum wall of the Amarāvati *stūpa* was thinner than the inner wall.

This irregularity of the Amarāvati *stūpa* may be explained as a result of the later enlargement work of the *stūpa*. As we shall see, there is evidence to show that the *stūpa* was enlarged around ca. 50 BCE. The outermost drum wall was thus the result of this enlargement. Had there been enough space surrounding the *stūpa*, the architect of Amarāvati would have made

<sup>47</sup> See folio 6 of Mackenzie Amarāvati Album (BL, WD 1061). Also see the British Library website (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/c0333-03large.jpg>).

this wall the thickest of all the concentric walls after the general tendency of Andhran *stūpa*-s. However, he could not achieve this goal because, possibly, there was not enough space for it. As far as the present archaeological evidence is concerned, the only possible architectural component which may have caused such an obstruction was the early railing. It is likely, therefore, that the early railing had already been constructed around the *stūpa* when the new drum wall was built. The railing was not removed for the full enlargement of the *stūpa*, since such work might have required a large amount of labour. Instead, the builders reduced the width of the outermost wall to leave enough space for the circumambulatory pathway.

Following this speculation, the dimension of the early railing would have been almost the same as that of the limestone railing constructed in the later period. Although there is no definite archaeological evidence to prove this assumption, there are two circumstantial clues. One is Rea's remark on the position of the granite pillars. As mentioned above, his excavation exposed a number of large granite pillars, which 'originally stood against the outside of the great marble rail, forming another rail at a lower level' (Fig. 5).<sup>48</sup> Another clue is the construction process of the new limestone railing which was built after the enlargement of the *stūpa*. As we will argue later, this new railing was not built all at once in a short period, but constructed gradually between ca. 50 BCE and ca. 250 CE in three distinct phases. This slow process is hard to explain, unless one supposes the presence of an earlier railing, which had occupied almost the same position. This also means that the early *stūpa* itself must have had a size equivalent to the railing. In our available evidence, the most likely vestige of the early drum before the final enlargement may be 'the strong masonry' which Mackenzie confirmed 12 feet inside the drum. If this is the case, the diameter of the early *stūpa* could be estimated as 138 feet (42.1 metres) (Fig. 7), which is larger than Sānchī I and almost the same as the *stūpa* at Pauni. In Andhra, the size was almost equal to the Bhaṭṭiproḷu *stūpa* (45.14 metres), which was built about the same time as the post-Mauryan *stūpa* at Amarāvātī.

#### 4. *Link to Pre-Buddhist Building Traditions*

As discussed above, the early Amarāvātī *stūpa*, besides its gigantic scale, was also characterised by the wheel-shaped structure with a thick outermost ring wall. This leads us to another question. Why and how did the

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<sup>48</sup> Rea, 'Excavations at Amaravati', *ARASI* (1905-6), p. 119.

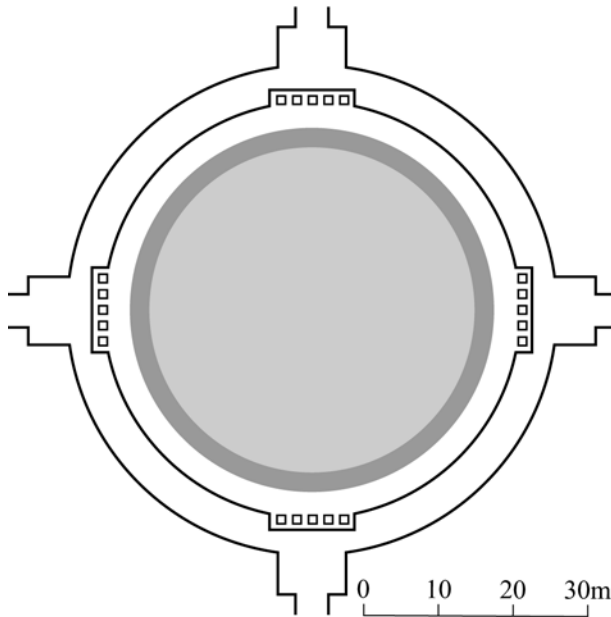


Figure 7. Dimension of the early *stūpa* and scale of later enlargement. (Grey: Early *Stūpa*; Dark Grey: Enlarged Part.)

early Amarāvātī *stūpa*, undoubtedly one of the earliest *stūpa*-s in this region, take such a distinct structure?

To address this question, it is useful to start from Kuwayama's above-mentioned study, the latest and probably the only dedicated research on this topic. Interestingly, Kuwayama was opposed to the traditional view which interprets the structure as representing a Buddhist sacred-wheel (*dharmacakra*),<sup>49</sup> and suggests that the structure was a practical architectural devise. As the main evidence supporting his view, Kuwayama notices the thick ring wall constituting the drum of the Andhran *stūpa*-s. According to his theory, such thick wall worked as a device for supporting the high drum of the *stūpa*-s.<sup>50</sup> He further sought the origin of this structure in the circular imperial tombs built in the Roman Empire (particularly the Mausoleum of Augustus), which developed a commercial relationship with

<sup>49</sup> Kuwayama, 'Hidden Import', p. 149-154; For the *dharmacakra* symbolism manifested in Andhran *stūpas*, see H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, 2nd edition (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993), p. 85; S.L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, pp. 179-80

<sup>50</sup> Kuwayama, 'Hidden Import', pp. 148-49.

the Andhra region in the 1-3rd century CE. Kuwayama thus defined the structure as an Indian assimilation of Roman architectural technique in the 1st century CE.<sup>51</sup>

His hypothesis, however, is strongly challenged by current archaeological and art-historical evidence from Andhran *stūpa*-s. First, his dating of the 'wheel-shaped' structure in Andhran *stūpa*-s overlooks an important example at Vaddamānu, located near Amarāvati. The excavation revealed a *stūpa* with a 'wheel-shaped' structure from the level of period I (ca. the 3rd-2nd century BCE) (Fig. 8). Thus in Andhra, the beginning of the 'wheel-shaped' *stūpa* may date back far before the 1st century CE.<sup>52</sup> Second, Kuwayama's theory, which assumes that Andhran *stūpa*-s with wheel-shaped structures had high drums, does not find strong support from the available archaeological evidence. Although it is difficult to know the exact heights of the drums of the Andhran *stūpa*-s since many of them have lost the upper structures, it is possible to estimate the approximate heights from the size of the limestone panels which encased the drums. These panels normally consist of rectangular slabs depicting miniature *stūpa*-s, and often have friezes attached above. These drum slabs and friezes were found at many Andhran *stūpa*-s, including six examples with 'wheel-shaped' structures, i.e. Chandavarān, Gummadidurru, Amarāvati (early and late) and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (site 3 and 9) (Table 4).<sup>53</sup> It is noteworthy that the size of these slabs and friezes is consistent regardless of the size of the *stūpa*-s: the slabs are ca. 120-130 centimetres in height; and the friezes are ca. 35-40 centimetres in height. Thus the total height of the components which encased the drum cannot exceed ca. 170 centimetres. Taking this data as indicating the height of the drums, they are much lower than the drum height of Sānchī I (ca. 4.7 metres),<sup>54</sup> which Kuwayama mentions as an example of a *stūpa* with a low drum.<sup>55</sup> Of six Andhran *stūpa*-s with a cylindrical structure, three examples (Gummadidurru and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Site 3 and Site 9) have much smaller drum dimensions compared to Sānchī I (ca. 36.6 metres). The ratio of height to the diameter of the drum, however, is still not very different between these *stūpa*-s and

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-67.

<sup>52</sup> Sastri, Bai and Veender, *Vaddamanu*, pp. 32-35.

<sup>53</sup> Kuraishi, 'Trial Excavations', p. 155, pls. 35 and 36; A.H. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Madras Presidency', *MASI*, 54 (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938), pp. 19-20 and pl. 15-a (*stūpa* 3); T.N. Ramachandran, 'Nāgārjunakoṇḍa 1938', *MASI*, 71 (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1953), pp. 8-9.

<sup>54</sup> Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sānchī*, I, p. 29.

<sup>55</sup> Kuwayama, 'Hidden Import', pp. 148-49.

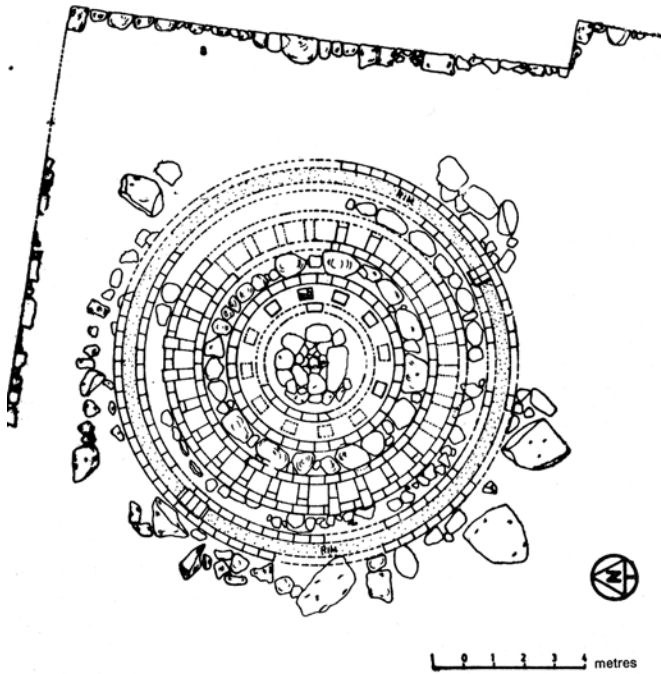


Figure 8. Plan of the boulder *stūpa*, Vaddamānu. (Courtesy: Birla Archaeological & Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad.)

Sānchī I. In the case of Amarāvati, which was larger than Sānchī, the drum may have looked even lower as assumed by Dubreuil, Barrett and Knox (Figs. 1, 2, 4). It is thus impossible to assume that Andhran *stūpa*-s with thick outermost walls always had high drums. Rather, it is more likely that many of these *stūpa*-s had comparatively low drums despite the fact that they were furnished with thick outermost walls.

These two points yet highlight the importance of Kuwayama's main question: why did Andhra people employ a wheel-shaped structure with thick ring walls to build *stūpa*-s? If we discount influence from Roman imperial architecture and practical architectural functions for this structure, what other reasons can we postulate for this? Besides the theory of *dharmacakra* symbolism, which is certainly possible but also difficult to prove, what I would take seriously is the influence from local building traditions. As mentioned in the last chapter, so-called megalithic culture flourished in pre-historic Andhra before the coming of Buddhism. A significant vestige of that culture is the presence of megalithic burials, which

Table 4. Heights of drum slabs found at Andhran *stūpa*-s.

Sites	Dates	Heights of Drum Slab	Heights of Drum Frieze	Diameters of the Drum	Inner Structure
Chandavaran	1st-2nd CE	ca. 130 cm		ca. 40 m	Wheel-shaped
Amarāvati (Early)	2nd BCE	ca. 130 cm		ca. 42 m	Wheel-shaped
Amarāvati (Late)	3rd CE	ca. 120-30 cm	ca. 35-40 cm	ca. 46.8 m	Wheel-shaped
Dupadu	1st-2nd CE	ca. 135-40 cm			
Nandayapalem	3rd CE	ca. 135 cm			
Dhūlicatta	2nd BCE	ca. 125 cm		ca. 18-20 m	
Gummadidurru	3rd CE	ca. 125 cm	ca. 30 cm	ca. 16.5 m	Wheel-shaped
Jaggayyapeta	2nd BCE	ca. 120 cm		ca. 19 m	
Ghaṅṭasāla	3rd CE	ca. 130-40 cm	ca. 40 cm	ca. 37 m	
Goli	3rd CE	ca. 125 cm	ca. 30 cm		
Vemavaran	2nd BCE	ca. 120 cm			
Vemuru	1st BCE	ca. 120 cm			
Takkellapadu	1st-2nd CE	ca. 120 cm			
Sannati	1st CE	ca. 130 cm			
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa					
Site 3	3rd CE	ca. 120 cm		ca. 12.5 m	Wheel-shaped
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa					
Site 9	3rd CE	ca. 120 cm		ca. 15.2 m	Wheel-shaped

are commonly characterized by impressive stone circles that encircle corporeal remains. As some scholars have already pointed out, there are some remarkable similarities between the local burial structures, which continued to be built after the advent of Buddhism, and *stūpa*-s.<sup>56</sup> It is well-known, for instance, that some megalithic burials consisted of cists in a *svastika* shape.<sup>57</sup> A similar feature is observed in some of the Andhran *stūpa*-s, such as Pedda Ganjan, Bhaṭṭiprolu and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which have a *svastika* shape inside the drum or a relic casket.<sup>58</sup> V.V. Krishna Sastry reported that megalithic burials at Gondimalla (in Mahbubnagar district) have paved stones surrounding cists, like the pavement stones of the *stūpa*. Cist burials at Chagatur (Karimnagar district) place large vertical

<sup>56</sup> A.H. Longhurst, *The Story of the Stūpa* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1936), pp. 12-13; F.R. Allchin, 'Sanskrit "Eduka"—Pali "Eduka"', *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 20-1 (1957), pp. 1-4; D.D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1962), p. 140; Takusyu Sugimoto, *Indo butto no kenkyū: butto suhai no seisei to kibān* (Studies in Buddhist Stūpa-Cult in India) (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1984), pp. 223-33.

<sup>57</sup> *IAR* 1962-63, p. 2 (Mirapuram); *IAR* 1979-80, p. 3, pl. I-A (Satanikota).

<sup>58</sup> On *svastika stūpa* at Pedda Ganjan and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, see Madras Proceedings 1888, 14th July, No. 703, Public (BL, IOR, P/3284); J.D. Das, *The Buddhist Architecture in Andhra* (New Delhi: Books & Books, 1993), p. 65, pls. XVI and XV (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). On *svastika* shape found at Bhaṭṭiprolu relic casket, see Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, p. 12 and pl. IV-13.

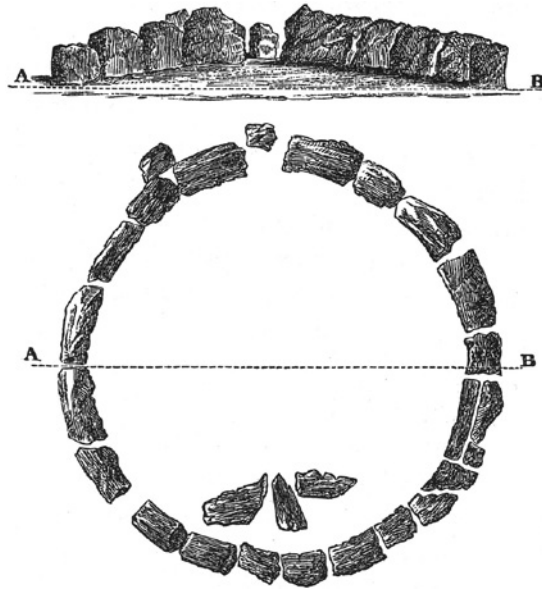


Figure 9. Stone circles observed by at Amarāvati area by Colin Mackenzie. (After Fergusson 1868, fig. 6.)

stones at each cardinal point, which remind us of the *āyaka* projections of the Andhran *stūpa*-s.<sup>59</sup> Although the chronological relationship between these burials and *stūpa*-s is not clear, it is likely that the local burials and *stūpa*-s influenced each other, as both of these structures functioned as monuments to commemorate the dead and enshrined human bones.

This view seems to bring a perspective to our understanding of the main question: the meaning of the thick outer wall of the Andhran *stūpa*-s. As already mentioned, the most prominent architectural feature of megalithic burials are stone circles that commonly consist of large granite boulders. Such stone circles were indeed numerous in the region surrounding Amarāvati (Map 3 and Fig. 9). Mackenzie reported that there were about seventeen or eighteen stone circles of black granite a mile west from Dharanikoṭa (a city site adjacent to the Amarāvati *stūpa*), and numerous similar circles skirting the hills of Vaddamānu. Some of the circles were reported to yield human bones and earthen pots containing ashes.<sup>60</sup> This

<sup>59</sup> V.V. Krishna Sastry, *The Proto and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>60</sup> Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amurvarty', pp. 467-68. Also see folios 4 and 5 of Mackenzie Amarāvati Album (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/co333-01large.jpg>).

architectural feature i.e., encircling the dead with single or multiple concentric walls, may have influenced *stūpa*-s. The most striking example in this regard is the above-mentioned 'wheel-shaped' *stūpa* in Vaddamānu (Fig. 8). The *stūpa*, built around ca. 200 BCE, consists of three pairs of concentric brick circles and three granite boulder circles. As is mentioned in the excavation report, it is not difficult to posit a link between this building technique and megalithic stone circles.<sup>61</sup> In the case of Amarāvati, it is noticeable that hard granite was partly used to constitute the early railing. The preference for granite cannot be fully understood, unless we postulate the influence from the megalithic tradition. Considering these conceptual and physical similarities between the megalithic tradition and early *stūpa* architecture, it would not be implausible to understand the wheel-shaped structure encircled by the thick circumference wall as a remnant of the megalithic tradition. It is not necessary, at the very least, to assume foreign influence for establishing this feature.

## II. LATE PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION (CA. 50 BCE–250 CE)

Some decades after the completion of the early construction work, another large building project started at Amarāvati. In this period, the *stūpa* was surrounded by a new limestone rail decorated by intricate narrative sculptures. Numerous sculptural panels encased the surface of the *stūpa*. In fact, the bulk of sculptural pieces found at the *stūpa* belong to this late period of construction. Because of the quantity of these sculptures and the highly sophisticated sculptural representation, former studies of Amarāvati have called this construction phase the 'classical' or 'high' period.

### 1. *Enlargement of the Stūpa*

The *stūpa* in this period has clear indications of enlargement (Fig. 7). One notable trait is the presence of palimpsest slabs, which consist of later sculptures carved on the back of earlier sculptures (Pls. 20, 21). Another important clue is a plain rail pillar found in the southern *āyaka* (projections of the drum at the cardinal points) in the 1958-59 excavation (Pl. 22). The pillar, whose shape indicates that it had been part of the early *stūpa* rail, was lying flat at the bottom inside the *āyaka*. It contained five crystal relic

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<sup>61</sup> Sastri, Bai and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, p. 35.

caskets each in one of five slots cut into the pillar.<sup>62</sup> When later construction work enlarged the drum, this early rail was placed in the *āyaka* for enshrining relics.

To what extent, then, was the *stūpa* enlarged in this period? As has been already argued, at the Amarāvati *stūpa* the width of the outermost drum wall (ca. 1.2 metres) is narrower than that of the adjacent inner wall (ca. 2.4 metres). This configuration does not correspond to the general profile of the 'wheel-shaped' structure of Andhran *stūpa*-s, and may indicate a vestige of the later enlargement. Following this view, the extent of the enlargement from the early building could be estimated as 2.4 metres (1.2 metre thick wall plus the 1.2 metre wide space between the new and old drum walls) from the previous wall. Corresponding with the growth of the drum, the dome may have been enlarged too. Supposing that the drum wall of the early *stūpa* (2.4 metres thick) was used to support the new dome, the dimension of the new dome could be the same size as the early drum (ca. 42.1 metres). If this is the case, the *stūpa* became the largest of all existing monuments in Andhra at this stage.

## 2. Construction of a New Limestone Railing

The refurbishment of the *stūpa* in this period also involved other construction work, the outstanding component of which was the construction of a new limestone railing. This new railing was about fifty-nine metres in diameter, more than three metres in height, and was fully carved with sculptures depicting auspicious motifs as well as tales from the life of the Buddha. According to Burgess' calculation, the completed railing would have contained 136 pillars with 348 crossbars and 803 lineal feet of copings.<sup>63</sup>

Those who have written on Amarāvati have long noted that the limestone railing exhibits a variety of sculptural styles which appear to have been produced during different construction periods.<sup>64</sup> Although there are various opinions as to how many stylistic periods can be discerned, the theory of three periods or phases, first proposed by Douglas Barrett, is the most reasonable, since it accords with the different sizes of the extant railing components, as well as with the obvious stylistic differences in the

<sup>62</sup> IAR 1958-59, p. 5 and pl. 2-a; Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), photo 123.

<sup>63</sup> Burgess 1887, p. 25.

<sup>64</sup> Sivaramamurti, pp. 26-43; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 40-45; Stern and Bénisti, *Évolution du style*, pp. 72-76; Knox, pp. 34-40.

Table 5. Types of late railings at the Amarāvati *stūpa*.

Types	Rail Pillars (cm)	Crossbars (cm)	Copings (cm)
First Phase	H: ca. 240 W: ca. 70 D: ca. 15 Inner: Lotus medallions Outer: Plain	H: ca. 70 Inner: Lotus medallions Outer: Plain	H: ca. 70 Inner: <i>Yakṣa</i> -s carrying garlands Outer: Plain
Second Phase	H: ca. 270 W: ca. 80-85 D: ca. 30 Inner: Narratives Outer: Lotus medallions	H: ca. 80-85 Inner: Narratives Outer: Lotus medallions	H: ca. 80-85 Inner: Narratives Outer: Youths carrying garlands
Third Phase	H: ca. 300* W: ca. 85-90 D: ca. 30 Inner: Narratives Outer: Lotus medallions	H: ca. 85-90 Inner: Narratives Outer: Lotus medallions	H: ca. 85 Inner: Narratives Outer: Youths carrying garlands

\* The heights of the rail pillars denote those above the ground (= sculptured or smoothly dressed parts) based on my measurements of the pieces. Since no third phase pillar remains intact, I measured the heights of existing pieces from the bottom of the sculptured part to the centre of the central medallions, then doubled the average data.

railing sculptures (Table 5).<sup>65</sup> According to Barrett's theory, the railing of the first phase was relatively small and simple (Pl. 23). The components—rail pillars, crossbars, and coping stones—are carved on their inner faces only with non-narrative motifs such as lotus medallions and *yakṣa*-s carrying garlands. The carving is shallow but sharp. In the second phase, the railing becomes larger (Pl. 25). Both inner and outer faces are fully sculpted and the figures given a degree of three-dimensional volume. The inner sides are carved with various narrative reliefs.<sup>66</sup> Finally, in the third phase, the railing becomes larger again and the sculptural features change significantly (Pl. 26).<sup>67</sup> The lower borders of the pillars show a frieze of run-

<sup>65</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 40-45. Barrett's theory is widely accepted by other scholars such as Huntington. See S.L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, pp. 176-78. Knox also follows Barrett's view (Knox, pp. 34-40).

<sup>66</sup> Barrett, and Knox following him, pointed out that some rail pillars are richer in decoration than the first-phase pillars but simpler than the second-phase pillars (Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 41 [types 2-4]; Knox, pp. 36-38, 48-49 [types 2-4]). According to my measurements, these pillars are the same size as the second-phase rail pillars. Thus these pillars should be regarded as a variation of the second-phase railing.

<sup>67</sup> The precise heights of the third-phase pillars are not clear because there is no intact example. According to my measurements, the existing fragments of this type measure ca. 140-145 centimetres from the bottom of the lower border to the centre of the central roundel (Knox, nos. 11-14; Sivaramamurti, pls. 33.1-2, 38.2). The same part of the second-phase pillars,

ning animals, unlike those of the second phase, which always depict intricate floral devices (Pl. 27). The figures in the third phase are now more slender and their action more dramatic. These figures are also densely packed, and wear a greater variety of ornaments. It is only in this third phase that images of the Buddha appear.<sup>68</sup> These stylistic and iconographic features prefigure the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the Ikṣvāku period (particularly the ones after the reign of Virapurisadata), a phase not represented in the Amarāvati railing.<sup>69</sup>

These three types of rail, whose stylistic features and sizes are distinctly different, lead us to an obvious question: how and why were different types of rails brought together to form a single rail? Because each type of rail has a consistent size, it is reasonable to guess that the railing was not a chaotic mixture of pieces of three types, but each type occupied a certain part of the entire railing. But in which part did each type of railing stand? To solve these and related problems, we need to reconstruct the final configuration of the railing in as much detail as possible. To this end, the available data from the Amarāvati excavations of the nineteenth century, the period when most of the railings were obtained, needs to be examined.

(1) *Reconstruction of the Railing*

(a) *Colonel Colin Mackenzie's Survey (1816-1817)*

The earliest survey which documented the position of the rail was undertaken by Colonel Colin Mackenzie in 1816 and 1817. As already mentioned in the Introduction, when he started recording the site, local people had already destroyed the *stūpa*. Because of the destruction at the *stūpa* mound, early studies have assumed that the *stūpa* had lost its architectural and archaeological contexts before Mackenzie's survey. In terms of the railing,

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on the other hand, measure ca. 125-130 centimetres (Knox, nos. 4-6, 8-10; Sivaramamurti, pls. 32.1-2, 34.1-2; 35.1-2). Thus, we can estimate that pillars of the third phase are 20-30 centimetres taller than those of the second phase.

<sup>68</sup> As far as I am aware, the only piece that might represent a Buddha image in the second phase is a coping in the British Museum, which Barrett understands as representing King Śuddhodana's meeting with Buddha at Kapilavastu (Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 67, no. 43; Knox, *Amaravati*, no. 36). Barrett identifies a monk-like figure being adored by lay people and other monks as the Buddha. However, there is no evidence to identify this figure as Buddha since, as Barrett admits, it has no halo. It is more likely that it represents a disciple of Buddha or an important monk.

<sup>69</sup> Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 21-82

however, this assumption is not correct. According to Mackenzie's site plan dated March 1816, when his team started the survey, the limestone railing was still mostly covered with soil except for twenty-one rail pillars in the south-east quadrant (Pl. 28).<sup>70</sup> This railing configuration was basically unchanged in another site plan dated June 1817, although Mackenzie's team seems to have further uncovered the southern end of the quadrant and the south gate by this time (Pl. 29).<sup>71</sup> This observation is corroborated by Mackenzie's survey report in 1823, which states, 'A great part of the mound remains uncleared; of the exterior row (i.e. the railing) only the south-east quarter, and the entrance in that direction have been opened.'<sup>72</sup> In terms of the limestone railing, therefore, Mackenzie's 1816-17 survey focused exclusively on the south-eastern part, more specifically the south gate and parts of the railing to the east of it.<sup>73</sup>

Fortunately, Mackenzie's records also tell us what railing types stood in the area surveyed. Fourteen drawings of rail pillars made by Mackenzie are an important source of evidence in this regard. Although the pillars in these drawings no longer survive except for a few pieces, the detailed drawings clearly show their typological and iconographic features (Fig. 10). In addition, Howes's study has confirmed two more rail pillars found by Mackenzie, now in London and Chennai, which were not recorded in the surviving drawings.<sup>74</sup> We thus have a record of sixteen pillars that almost certainly stood in the south-east quadrant (Table 6). An examination of their stylistic features yields an important finding: a full thirteen of them undoubtedly belong to the third phase; the remaining three are second phase. We may assume, therefore, that the south-east part of the railing, including the south gate, consisted mainly of third-phase pieces (Fig. 13).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Mackenzie *Amarāvati Album*, folio 6 (BL, WD 1061); Sewell 1880, pl. 1. Also see the British Library website (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/co333-03large.jpg>).

<sup>71</sup> Mackenzie *Amarāvati Album*, folios 7 and 8 (BL, WD 1061); Fergusson 1873, pl. 2. Also see (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/co333-02large.jpg>).

<sup>72</sup> Mackenzie, 'Ruins of Amurvarty', p. 469.

<sup>73</sup> Howes has reached the same conclusion. See Howes, 'Colin Mackenzie', p. 63.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>75</sup> Mackenzie's record even enables us to partially reconstruct the sequence of the rail pillars on the eastern side of the south gate, thanks to field numbers recorded on the Mackenzie *Amarāvati album* at the British Library. For the detail, see Shimada 'The Great Railing at Amarāvati', p. 93.

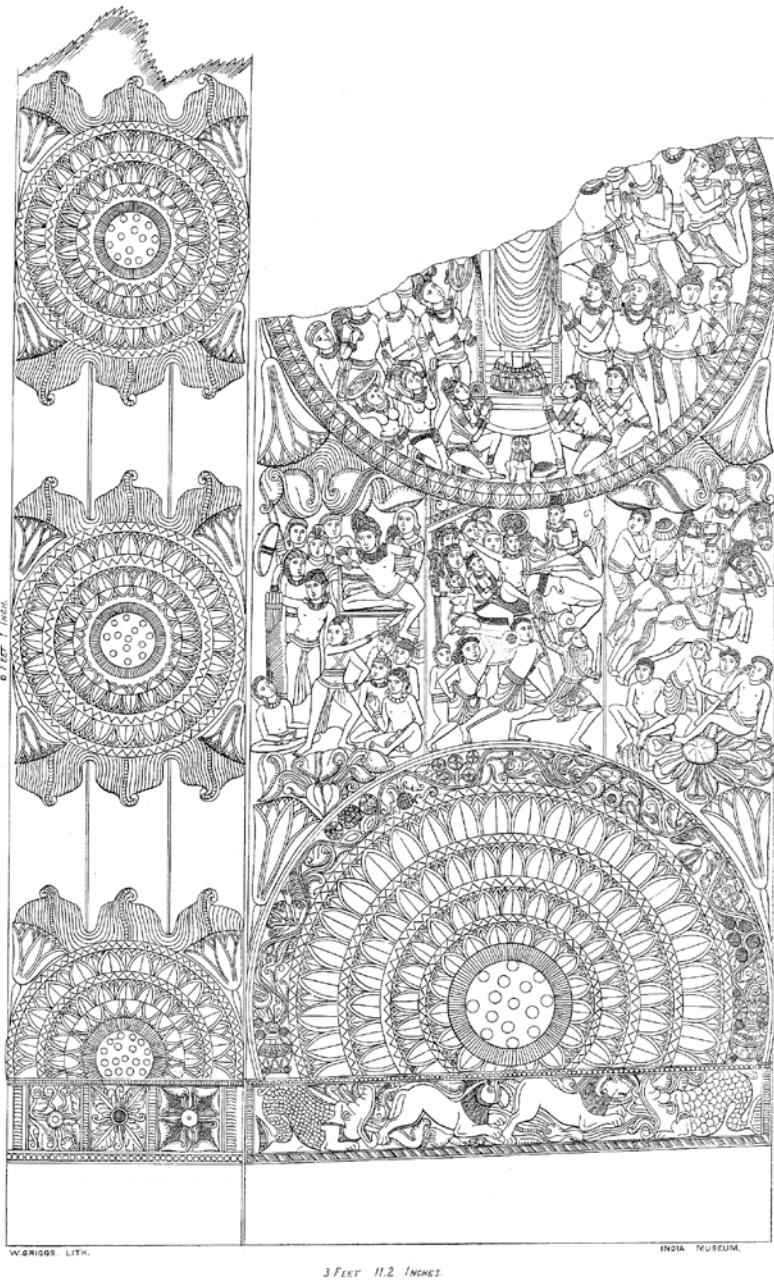


Figure 10. A rail pillar surveyed by Colin Mackenzie. (After Fergusson 1873, pl. 46.)

Table 6. Rail pillars surveyed by Colin Mackenzie, 1816-17.

Types	Catalogue Numbers	Mackenzie Drawings	Notes
<i>Second Phase</i>	Knox 5	folio 36	Transported from the <i>stūpa</i> (?) to Madras between 1856-58. Reached London in 1860.
	Burgess 15-1	folio 37	no longer extant
	Knox 15	no record	Transported from Masulipatan to Madras in 1856. Reached London in 1860.
<i>Third Phase</i>	Knox 12	folio 61	Transported from the <i>stūpa</i> (?) to Madras between 1856-58. Reached London in 1860.
	Knox 14	folio 60	Transported from the <i>stūpa</i> (?) to Madras between 1856-58. Reached London in 1860.
	Burgess 5	no record	Transported from Masulipatan to Madras in 1856.
	Burgess 15-2	folio 43	no longer extant
	Fergusson 70	folio 48	no longer extant
	Burgess 16-1	folio 53	no longer extant
	Burgess 32-1	folio 54	no longer extant
	Fergusson 68	folio 58	no longer extant
	Burgess 15-3	folio 64	no longer extant
	Burgess 16-2	folio 72	no longer extant
	Fergusson 67	folio 73	no longer extant
	Fergusson 66	folio 74	no longer extant
	Fergusson 69	folio 75	no longer extant

(b) *Walter Elliot's Excavation (1845)*

The second record of the railing comes from the excavation by Walter Elliot in 1845. Although he seems to have made a considerable number of notes and sketches in the excavation, most of the documents of his excavations were lost during their transportation to England. Elliot did leave a brief account of his work in letters of 1854 and 1871, and an extract from his 1871 letter was published in 1872.<sup>76</sup> Besides these accounts which were written considerably later than the excavations, the surviving field records of this excavation are only a few pencil sketches and notes. Around 1880, these sketches and notes were hand copied by Robert Sewell, who excavated the *stūpa* after Elliot. Elliot's original sketches and Sewell's hand copy of the sketches were found in the Sewell's own copy of his 1877 excavation report,

<sup>76</sup> A letter from Walter Elliot to the Chief Secretary of the Government, dated 23 November 1854 (BL, IOR, F/4/2648, No. 172608); a letter from Walter Elliot to the Secretary of the State of India, dated on 18th February, 1871 (BL, IOR, P/507, pp. 4614-4615); Elliot, 'Archaeology in the Krishna District', pp. 346-348.

now preserved in the Department of Asia at the British Museum (Pls. 30-33),<sup>77</sup>

An important clue for reconstructing his survey lies in Elliot's two sketches depicting parts of the gates. One of Elliot's sketches clearly represents the north side of the west gate since it accompanies notes describing the west gate (Pl. 30) (see also Appendix A-1). Because of this sketch and the 1872 report—the only published record of his excavation that mentions one of the four entrances—most scholars believed that Elliot excavated around the west gate only.<sup>78</sup> This is not correct. A second sketch also depicts part of a gate, and according to my survey, this is in fact part of the north gate (Pl. 31). Three pieces of evidence support this view. First is a comment by Elliot at the bottom left of the second sketch, which can be read as 'N. Gateway East.' Second is Elliot's undated letter to a person named Shaw, now in the British Museum (Appendix A-2). This letter includes a detailed account of the north gate, which exactly agrees with the sketch in question. The letter was most certainly studied by Sewell since his document 'The North Gateway as seen by Sir Walter Elliot in 1845' precisely corresponds to this letter. The third piece of evidence is a photograph recording a panoramic view of the *stūpa* after J.G. Horsfall's excavation in 1880 (Pl. 35). At the location of the north gate, the photograph shows a corner rail pillar that is also recorded in Sewell's hand-made copy describing the north gate.<sup>79</sup> There is little doubt, therefore, that Elliot uncovered the north gate. The only problem with this interpretation is that Elliot did not mention two gates in his 1854 letter and 1872 report. In fact, careful reading of his accounts suggests that Elliot might not have

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<sup>77</sup> A published letter from Elliot to Sewell mentions some rough sketches of the rail and the *stūpa* (Sewell 1880, p. 68). It is likely that the sketches mentioned in the letter are the ones we see in the British Museum now.

<sup>78</sup> Elliot, 'Archaeology in the Krishna District', p. 346; Burgess 1887, p. 18; Knox, pp. 27, 227-229; Singh, 'The Dismembering', p. 258. However, Robert Sewell, who studied Elliot's sketches and notes, understood that Elliot excavated the north gate in addition to the west gate. See a letter from R. Sewell to Chief Secretary to Government, dated Greenwood, Ootakamund, 20th August 1881, no. 639, Madras Public Proceeding, 5th September 1881, no. 1199 (BL, IOR, P/1746). Barrett, who must have studied Elliot's materials and Sewell's notes, comments that Elliot found some sculptures at the north gate, although he basically thinks that Elliot excavated the south-west part of the mound (Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 23 [n. 12]). Barrett was also aware of Elliot's unpublished letter of 1854, which mentions his survey at the north gate (BL, IOR, F/4/2648, No. 172608). These remarks by Sewell and Barrett, however, were not pursued by subsequent studies.

<sup>79</sup> The pillar is now in Chennai (Sivaramamurti, pl. 31.2). Burgess, who surveyed the *stūpa* in 1881-82, also found this pillar at the north gate (Burgess 1882, no. 164; Burgess 1887, pl. 11.3-4).

remembered the precise spots of his excavation areas when he wrote the accounts. In a letter of 1854, for instance, he mentions a discovery of a lion statue at the very beginning of the excavation at an unspecified gate and seems to have found another lion statue 'in the Northern entrance' later.<sup>80</sup> The letter of 1871, however, says that the excavation hits 'one of the four gates' and the first remarkable objects he discovered there were 'two lions'. In a letter to Robert Sewell, he mentions that he 'began to dig quite haphazard, I think, about the S.W. (?) side of the mound', and discovered 'one of the lions' first.<sup>81</sup> Such confusion was probably inevitable, because he had by then lost all his excavation documents except for a few sketches. Consequently, it is not surprising that he did not describe the details of the excavation with complete accuracy.

The two Elliot sketches are precious documents depicting the west and north gates of the railing. Can we work out from these sketches what type of railings formed each gate? Focusing on the rail pillars depicted in the sketch of the west gate, we notice that no single pillar depicts a narrative relief (Pl. 30).<sup>82</sup> This is underpinned by Elliot's accompanying comment describing the pillars simply as 'fluted' (see Appendix A-1). This leads us to assume that the west gate consisted of simple pillars with no narrative sculptures, i.e. the first phase of railing (Pl. 23).

The north gate, unlike the west, had rail pillars filled with narrative sculptures, according to Elliot's second sketch (Pl. 31). Three of the rail pillars depicted are now in the Government Museum, Chennai.<sup>83</sup> Elliot's notes on this sketch, which mention three rail copings and two rail pillars as well as one octagonal pillar (Appendix A-2), help us identify five more components as having been located at the north gate (in the order described in Elliot's notes):

- (a) a coping at the Government Museum, Chennai (Pls. 32, 33).<sup>84</sup>
- (b) a coping at the British Museum (Pl. 34)<sup>85</sup>
- (c) a coping at the British Museum<sup>86</sup>

<sup>80</sup> BL, IOR, F/4/2648, No. 172608

<sup>81</sup> Sewell 1877, p. 68.

<sup>82</sup> The sketch shows that the gate had small shrines containing Buddha statues and bodhisattva panels. These are obviously later additions dated to around the seventh and eighth centuries CE and thus do not concern us here (Knox, pp. 227-229). On this later Amarāvati sculpture, see Barrett, 'The Later School of Amarāvati', pp. 129-44.

<sup>83</sup> See Sivaramamurti, pls. 31.1, 32.1-2, and 37.1. Knox (p. 27) identified these pillars.

<sup>84</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 42.

<sup>85</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, no. 43; Knox, no. 36.

<sup>86</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, no. 44; Knox, no. 37.

- (d) a rail pillar at the Government Museum, Chennai <sup>87</sup>  
 (e) a rail pillar at the British Museum (Pl. 25).<sup>88</sup>

In addition to these various pieces recorded by Elliot, we have one more north gate piece whose inscription declares that it formed a part of the gate.<sup>89</sup> The stylistic features of all these pieces are those of the second phase. The inescapable conclusion, therefore, is that the north gate belonged to the second phase, while the west gate belonged to the first phase (Fig. 13).

(c) *Robert Sewell's Excavation (1877)*

The architectural reconstruction of the railing between the west gate and the north gate is furthered by the record of the excavation carried out by Robert Sewell, who uncovered the north-west part of the passageway between the *stūpa* and the limestone railing in 1877.<sup>90</sup> In this segment Sewell found a total of fifty-nine sculptures, including twenty-eight railing pieces. Unlike the earlier surveyors, he diligently described each piece, recording their size and original location, and even had a few photographs taken of them.<sup>91</sup>

The twenty-eight railing pieces found in the north-west, which include nine rail pillars, eight crossbars, and eight copings, deserve attention (Fig. 11).<sup>92</sup> Six small fragments were never photographed and are described so vaguely that they cannot be classified. Of the remaining twenty-two pieces, however, we can positively assign twelve to the first phase, nine to the second phase, and one to the third phase.<sup>93</sup> Despite the existence of the latter piece—a fragment of coping—the rest of the pieces suggest that the north-west quadrant consisted of first- and second-phase pieces. Sewell's report also shows that the first-phase pieces, including parts of *in situ* rail pillars and crossbars, were clustered toward the western part.<sup>94</sup> The second-phase pieces, on the other hand, were clustered toward the

<sup>87</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 31.2.

<sup>88</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, no. 30; Knox no. 6

<sup>89</sup> Sivaramamurti, p. 291 (III B. 11; no. 73); pl. 51.1-2.

<sup>90</sup> Sewell 1880, pp. 31-55.

<sup>91</sup> The photographs are now in the Department of Asia, the British Museum. See Knox, fig. 16.

<sup>92</sup> Sewell 1880, nos. 26-28, 31, 34, 37, 39-44, 46, 55, 59, 62, 64, 66, 69, 76-79, 80, 82-84, 86.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 31, 34, 37, 40, 44, 55, 62, 69, 76 (first phase); nos. 39, 41, 42, 43, 46, 78, 79, 80, 84 (second phase); no. 82 and Burgess 1887, pl. 26.1 (third phase); nos. 59, 64, 66, 77, 83, and 86 (unidentified). The unidentified pieces are all small fragments with little conspicuous sculpture.

<sup>94</sup> Sewell 1880, nos. 26-28; Knox, p. 36, fig. 16.

PLATE III.

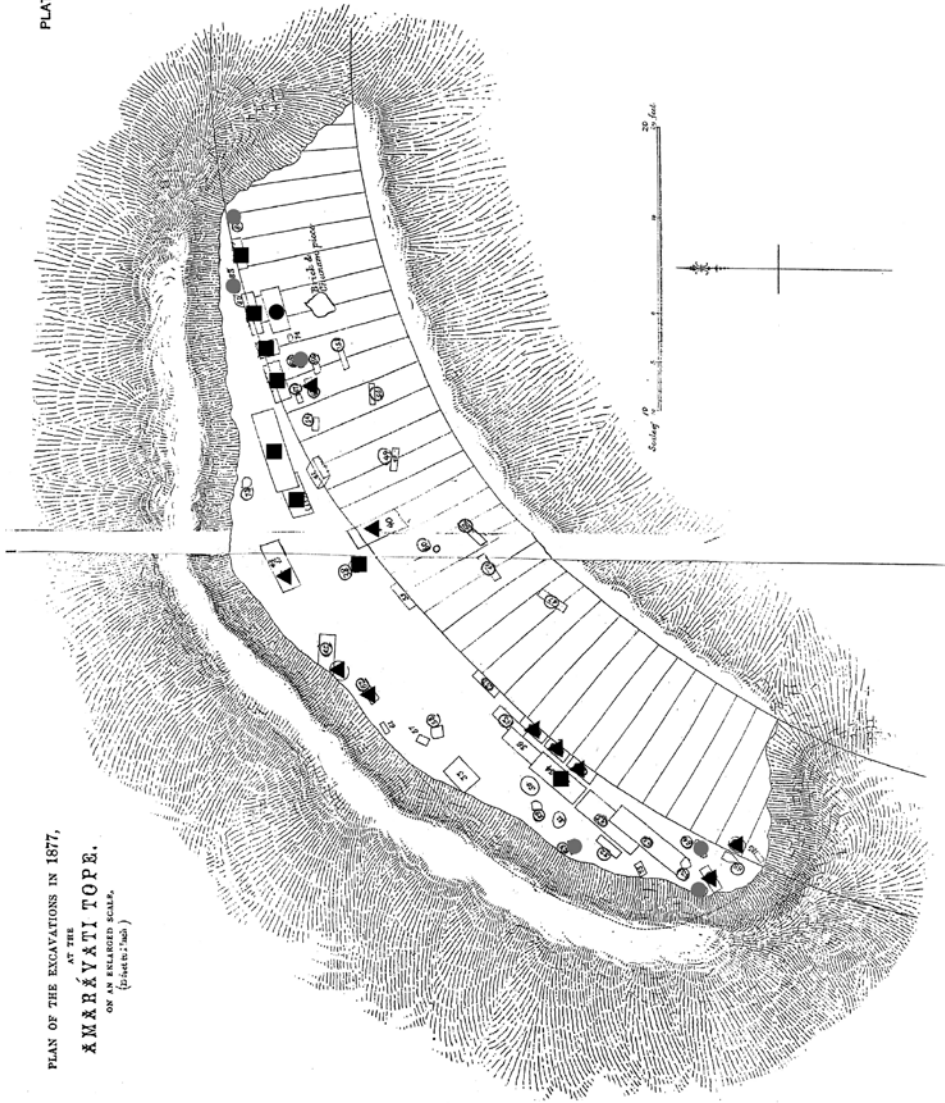


Figure 11. Railing components excavated by Robert Sewell from the northwest quadrant of the Amaravati stupa, 1877. ▲ = first phase; ■ = second phase; ● = third phase; ○ = unidentified. (Based on Sewell 1880, pl. 3.)

northern part. This arrangement agrees with the configuration of the west and the north gates reconstructed through Elliot's records (Fig. 13).

(d) *J.G. Horsfall's Excavation (1880) and J. Burgess's Survey (1882)*

The last clue in establishing the arrangement of the rail comes from the excavation in 1880 by J.G. Horsfall. As described, his excavations uncovered the entire passageway around the *stūpa* and found numerous sculptures. Although Horsfall did not record them properly, he numbered the pieces and took panoramic photographs of the passageway to record the general configuration of the excavated sculptures (Pl. 35).<sup>1</sup> In 1881-82, these sculptures were examined by James Burgess, who added new finds to them from his own excavation.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the complete 'clearance' of the *stūpa* by Horsfall, his excavation has been regarded as nothing short of a destruction of the site. However, the panoramic photographs, preserved at the British Museum and the British Library, are still useful for determining the general location of excavated pieces; the sculpture's stylistic features may be ascertained from the report by Burgess, who published notes on each stone, and by the actual pieces preserved in the Government Museum, Chennai, and the Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati.<sup>3</sup> An examination of this data yields a conclusion of some significance: railing types were not in fact mixed up chaotically, but clustered in specific locations according to type (Fig. 12). The first-phase railing was located in the south-west and north-west; the second-phase railing occupied the north-west and north-east;

<sup>1</sup> A letter from J.G. Horsfall Esq Collector, Kistna District, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated Masulipatam 16 April 1880, No. 794, Madras Public Proceeding, 5th September, 1881, no. 1199 (BL, IOR, P/1746). A set of Horsfall's photographs is preserved in the Department of Asia, the British Museum. Another set is preserved in the British Library (BL, IOR, Photo 1000/13 [1350]). Some of the photographs in the British Museum are published in Knox, figs. 3, 4, 14. A drawing of the photographs was also preserved in the India Office Records. See a letter dated 12 June 1882, from H.H. Cole to the Secretary to the Government of India, India Home Proceedings, Archaeology, June 1882, No. 7 (BL, IOR, P/1681).

<sup>2</sup> Burgess 1882, pp. 5-49. A crossbar gifted from Madras Government Museum to the University of Pennsylvania Museum still preserves Burgess's field number on the sculpture.

<sup>3</sup> A possible problem with this data is that Horsfall's team may have moved excavated pieces at will when they took the photographs. Horsfall however reported that 'no demolition of the Tope had taken place, and that all that had been done was to remove the earth from the fallen marbles so as to expose them to view'. See H. Cole, 'Memorandum on the Present Condition of Amaravati Tope,' India Home Proceedings, Archaeology June 1882, p. 64 (BL, IOR, P/1681). His statement is corroborated by the fact that the pieces surveyed and buried by Sewell had been little moved when Burgess surveyed these pieces (Burgess 1882, pp. 27-32).

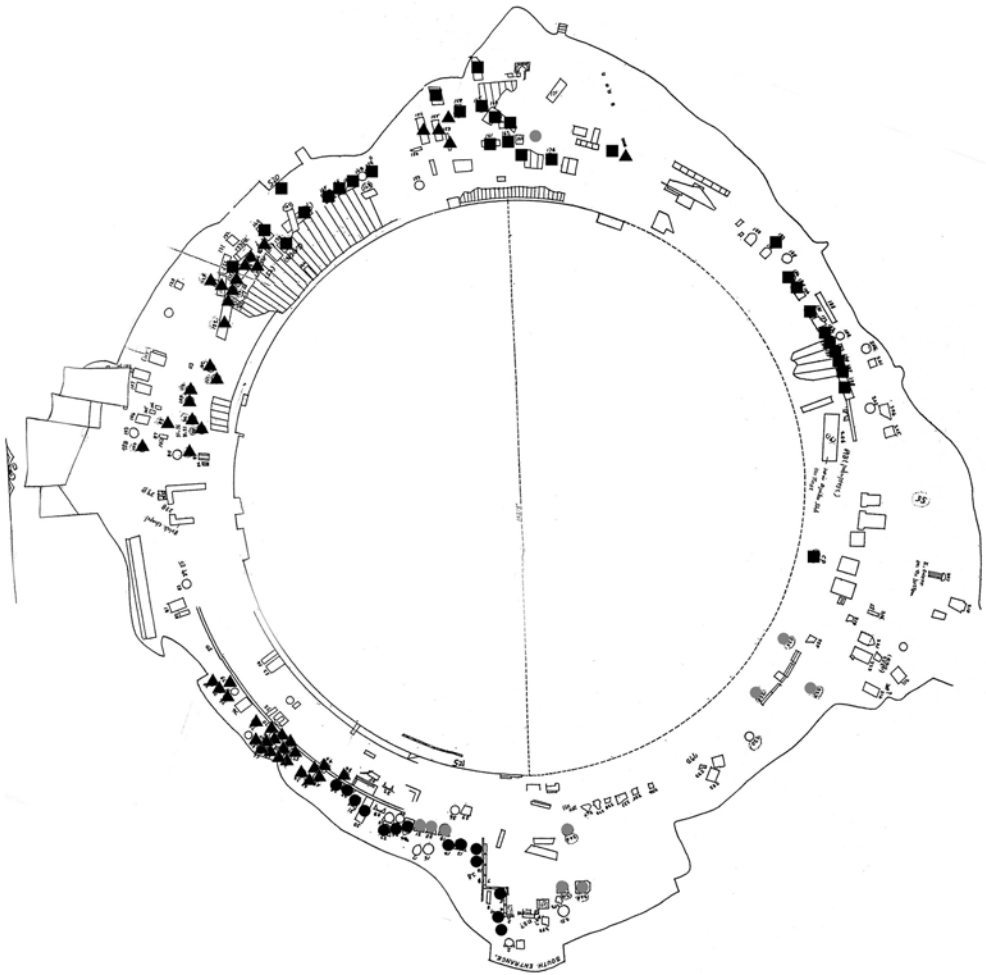


Figure 12. Types of railings found by J. G. Horsfall and James Burgess. ▲ = first phase; ■ = second phase; ● = third phase; ● = second or third phase. (Based on Burgess 1882, pl. 1.)

and the third-phase railing occupied the south gate and the area immediately west of this gate. The south-east segment was empty because Mackenzie had already removed that portion of the railing in 1817.

This survey of the early excavations thus produces a key finding: there was a consistency in the arrangement of the three types of railing around the Amarāvati stūpa. As shown in Fig. 13, the first-phase railing seems to have stood along the south-west and the west gate; the second-phase rail-

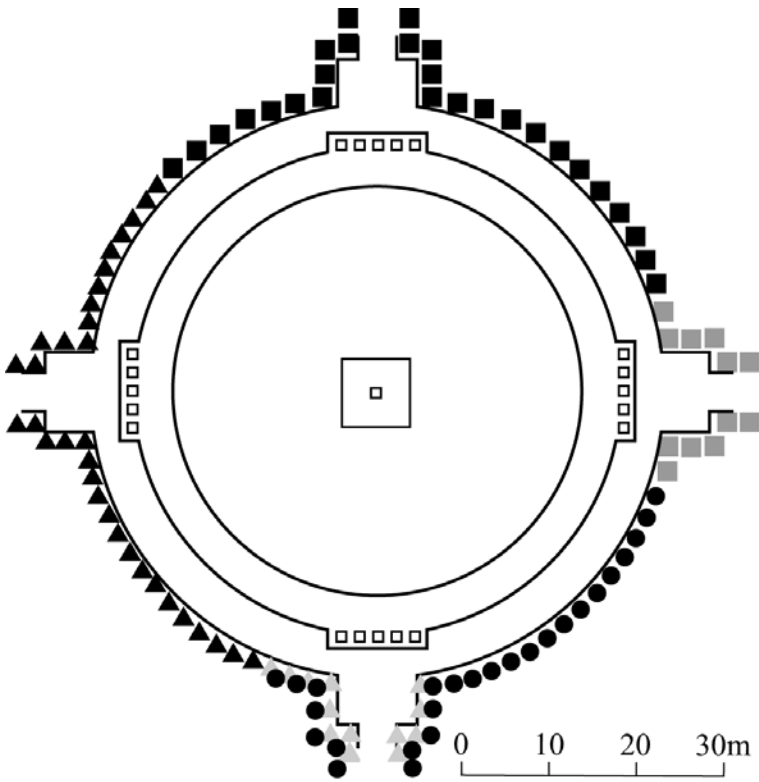


Figure 13. Reconstruction of the late railing of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. ▲ = first phase; ▲ = first phase, replaced in the third phase; ■ = second phase; ■ = second phase (?); ● = third phase.

ing stood between the north-west and north-east including the north gate; and the third-phase railing stood along the south-east, south and south-west including the south gate. In short, the three phases of the railings were arranged chronologically in a clockwise fashion. This finding is further supported by two circumstantial clues. First, the arrangement of the railing shows that it was built in accordance with the proper direction for circumambulating the *stūpa*. This is reasonable if we assume that the changes of railing sizes and sculptural styles resulted from a process of construction over time. Second, the sequence of work seems to have begun at the south gate, proceeded clockwise, and finished with a reconstruction of the south gate. This accords with the archaeological evidence at the southern projection (*āyaka*) that yielded five crystal relic caskets.<sup>4</sup> As

<sup>4</sup> See IAR (1958-59), p. 5 and pl. 2-a; Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, photo 123.

with the main *stūpa* at Sānchī, the south gate may be designated the main gate. It will be clear from this analysis that the commencement and completion of the railing at the south gate shows the Amarāvātī railing was not a haphazard assemblage of miscellaneous pieces, but was an authentic project following an ordered plan. Because the three phases of the railing are quite different in terms of size and style, the work must have proceeded gradually over a substantial period of time. This is understandable if we consider the presence of the early rail, whose possible dimension and dates have already been discussed. The three-phased construction of the later limestone railing was not an entirely new architectural project, but rather a gradual replacement of the earlier railing.

### (2) *Date of the Railing*

The foregoing arguments have revealed the relative chronology of the railing and its construction process. The remaining issue is the date the construction work was undertaken. Earlier studies of Amarāvātī have proposed a variety of answers to this question. Sivaramamurti, who published the first comprehensive study of the chronology in 1942, divided the construction into two periods. He dated the railing of the early period (which corresponds to the first-phase railing in our classification) to between ca. 200 and 100 BCE by comparison with Bhārhut. The railing of the late period (equivalent to our second and third phases) he dated to ca. 150 CE, when the later Sātavāhanas ruled the Andhra region.<sup>5</sup> Barrett subsequently opined that the entire railing, made in three phases, was built exclusively under the rule of the later Sātavāhanas. He thus dated its period of construction to between ca. 125 and 240 CE.<sup>6</sup> Stern and Bénisti, who in 1961 attempted a chronological classification of various motifs in the Amarāvātī sculptures, compared the pieces of their first period, including our first-phase railing, to the Sānchī I and III gateways. The remaining pieces, divided into three periods, were assigned to the later Sātavāhana period and even later.<sup>7</sup> In 1970, Dehejia accepted Barrett's chronology, and revised the date of his early phase to the late first century CE on the basis of palaeographic comparisons with Kārlā inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Knox, writing in 1992, dated the first-phase coping to the first century BCE, while largely

<sup>5</sup> Sivaramamurti, pp. 26-43.

<sup>6</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 45. In a later article, Barrett redated the early phase (= first phase) to ca. 80 CE. See Barrett, 'The Early Phase at Amarāvātī', p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Stern and Bénisti, *Évolution du style*, pp. 72-76, 83-85.

<sup>8</sup> Dehejia, 'Early Activity at Amarāvātī', pp. 48-53.

accepting Barrett's dating of the remaining pieces, including the first-phase rail pillars and crossbars.<sup>9</sup>

These studies have all suggested considerably different dates for the first-phase railing, with its plain and shallow carving. On the other hand, the railings in the fully developed style—the second and third phases—have been universally deemed products of the later Sātavāhana period, commonly dated to the second and third centuries CE. As already argued in the last chapter, however, recent work on the dynastic history of India requires that all these interpretations be completely set aside. One crucial discovery in this respect is that coins of Nahapāna, a powerful *kṣatrapa* and rival of Gotamīputa, have been found re-struck by an Indo-Parthian king Sasan. This dates Nahapāna and his rival Gotamīputa to the mid 1st century CE. The other important evidence is the confirmation of the Sada dynasty, which ruled coastal Andhra between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE before the rule of the Sātavāhanas. It is particularly noteworthy that a Sada king, named Sivamaka Sada, recorded his name in an Amarāvati inscription on a second-phase coping (Pls. 38, 39).<sup>10</sup> Although scholars have been troubled by this name and tried to identify him as a Sātavāhana king, such as Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Sātakaṇi or Sivaskanda Sātakaṇi, it is now clear that it refers to the Sada king Sivamaka, whose coins have been found in Vaddamānu.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to these two pieces of evidence, another important breakthrough for dating early Indian sculpture is the proposed new dating for the inauguration of the Kaniṣka era (Kaniṣka I era). Although scholarly opinion on this era has been split between 78 CE (the Śaka era) and 100-140 CE,<sup>12</sup> separate studies by Joe Cribb and Harry Falk have reached a convincing conclusion to end the debate. A comprehensive consideration of

<sup>9</sup> Knox, pp. 34-39.

<sup>10</sup> Burgess 1887, pl. 56.2; Sivaramamurti, p. 291 (no. 72) and pl. 48.2.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding the former identifications of this king, see Burgess 1887, p. 61; Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. lii (no. 19); Sircar, 'The Sātavāhanas and the Chedis', p. 205; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 43-44. For the Sivamaka Sada coins found from Vaddamānu, see Sastri, Bai and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, pp. 164-68.

<sup>12</sup> Major works on this debate are as follows. F.W. Thomas, 'The Date of Kaniska', *JRAS* (1913), pp. 627-50; R.D. Banerji, 'The Scythian Period of Indian History', *Indian Antiquary*, 37 (1908), pp. 25-75; R. Ghirshman, 'Fouilles de Bégram', *Journal Asiatique*, 234 (1943-45), pp. 59-71; A.L. Basham ed., *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka Submitted to the Conference on the Date of Kaniṣka, London, 20-22 April, 1960* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, 'From an Art Historical Perspective: Problems of Chronology in the Kuṣāṇa Period', in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter ed., *Coins, Art, and Chronology, Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 3-18.

the available numismatic, epigraphic, and textual evidence has led Cribb to argue that the beginning of the era can be placed between ca. 100 and 120 CE. Especially important in this dating is the newly discovered Rabatak inscription.<sup>13</sup> Falk has refined the date even further using passages in the *Yavana-jātaka* that distinguish the Śaka era from the Kaniṣka era. Falk demonstrated that this text describes specific astronomical events during the early centuries CE. Based on this, he has fixed the Kaniṣka II era to 227 CE and, following van Lohuizen, who set the era of Kaniṣka II at 100 years after that of Kaniṣka I, assigned the Kaniṣka I era to ca. 127 CE.<sup>14</sup> The Cribb and Falk studies corroborate each other and show that the Kaniṣka I era started in ca. 127 CE. As a result, the theory that equates the Śaka and Kaniṣka eras can be safely set aside.

These three pieces of evidence have important implications which affect the chronological framework of Amarāvati. The revised Sātavāhana chronology suggests that we should review the dating of Buddhist monuments containing inscriptions by Nahapāna, Gotamīputa, or Puṣumāyi. The identification of the Sadas as local rulers indicates that the second-phase railing, long regarded as a specimen of the “high period” of Amarāvati, was actually constructed under a dynasty that ruled the region before the Sātavāhanas. The new date for the beginning of the Kaniṣka I era, 127 CE, is a crucial breakthrough for dating the Kuṣāṇa sculptures, which have been compared to a number of the Amarāvati pieces. In light of this new evidence, it is necessary to re-examine the chronological framework of the Amarāvati railing.

(a) *The First Phase*

As mentioned, among the three phases of railing construction, the most problematic to date is the first phase (Pl. 23). As noted above, dates proposed in earlier studies have ranged from the second century BCE to the early second century CE. A significant clue as to the date of the railing is provided by the palaeography of the votive inscriptions on the railing components. Despite the archaic appearance of the sculptures, the inscriptions on the rail pillars and crossbars of this first-phase railing show late features, such as head-marks on each stroke and curved vowel signs (Pl. 24). Such advanced features can be observed in the coping inscriptions as well.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cribb, ‘Early Indian History’, pp. 46-51.

<sup>14</sup> Harry Falk, ‘The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kuṣāṇas’, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001), pp. 121-136.

<sup>15</sup> Dehejia has pointed out that two inscriptions on a first-phase rail pillar (III-1, III-2) show later paleographic features than inscriptions on the first-phase coping (I-2, I-3). She

These features are unmistakably different from those observed in the early Amarāvati inscriptions cut on the sculpture of the post-Mauryan phase, which, like the Bhārhut inscriptions, have plain shapes with linear strokes (Pls. 10, 13, 17). This clearly demonstrates that the first-phase railing is considerably later than the earliest Amarāvati sculptures, which belong to the post-Mauryan period (ca. 200-100 BCE). From a palaeographic standpoint, the features observed in the first-phase railing, i.e. head-marks and curved vowel signs, do not appear in the Brāhmī script before the Hāthigumphā inscriptions of king Khāravēla and the Sānchī I south *torāṇa* inscriptions (ca. mid 1st century BCE).<sup>16</sup> This indicates that the first-phase railing should be dated to the time of the Sānchī I gateways or later. How much later, then, may the first-phase railing be than the Sānchī I gateways? Barrett, who tried to prove a chronological link between the first-phase railing and the rule of the later Sātavāhanas, compared the format of the first-phase pillars with a pilaster relief at Nāsik cave 3, which is datable to the later Sātavāhana period.<sup>17</sup> This comparison was adopted by Knox as well.<sup>18</sup> As they admitted, however, this comparison yielded no conclusions as to whether the Amarāvati rail pillar pre-dated or post-dated the Nāsik pilaster. Indeed, the simple design of the rail pillar can be observed in much earlier rail pillars, such as those at Bhārhut and at Sānchī II.

Perhaps a more appropriate way of determining the date of this railing lies in examining the relief sculptures on the rail copings, which show a garland supported by dwarves (Pl. 36). These coping sculptures are characterized by their shallow carving, which is certainly different from that on the second-phase railing. As Sivaramamurti and Knox have noted, the style at first glance looks similar to Bhārhut and the earliest group of Amarāvati sculptures. However, the fine detail of these carvings shows distinctly advanced stylistic features. A good example is a relief stone at Chennai featuring a seated female and dwarves.<sup>19</sup> While the female figure's shallow carving and almond-shaped eyes may look archaic, her body is well-proportioned and her sitting posture reasonably natural (Pl. 37). The carving of the accompanying dwarves is also shallow, but well represents soft flesh and flexible body movement. These figures are unmistakably

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thus assumes that the rail pillar inscriptions were inscribed about a half century later than the coping inscriptions (Dehejia, 'Early Activity at Amarāvati', pp. 51-52). It seems problematic to construct such a detailed chronology on the basis of the paleography only.

<sup>16</sup> Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 52-53; Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 31-34.

<sup>17</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 45.

<sup>18</sup> Knox, pp. 34-36.

<sup>19</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 15.3.

different from the earliest Amarāvātī sculptures such as those on an early drum slab at the British Museum (Pl. 20), in which the male figures have awkward jerky poses and disproportionately large hands and faces. The closest parallel to the natural modelling and movement of the first-phase coping, although outside Andhra, is found at the south *torāṇa* at Sānchī *stūpa* I.<sup>20</sup> This observation is corroborated by Stern and Bénisti, who find iconographic similarities between the motifs on the first-phase railing and those on Sānchī I *torāṇa*-s.<sup>21</sup> The first-phase railing at Amarāvātī, therefore, may be placed around the time of the Sānchī I gateways, which we tentatively dated to ca. 50-1 BCE.

(b) *The Second Phase*

Concerning the date of the second-phase railing (Pls. 25, 34, 38, 40), the reign of Sivamaka Sada, whose name is recorded in a coping inscription of this phase, is an important clue (Pls. 38, 39). As noted in the previous chapter, recent studies agree that Sivamaka Sada was probably the last of the line, since a type of coin issued by Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi, the first Sātavāhana ruler in this region, is the direct successor of Sivamaka's issues.<sup>22</sup> If we follow the most recent chronology of the later Sātavāhanas and date Puḷumāyi to around the late first century CE, the reign of Sivamaka should be placed at about the same time or a little earlier. Accordingly, the date of the second-phase railing could be posited to fall in the mid- to late first century CE.

Our concern now is to determine if this dating, which assigns the second-phase railing to about a half century earlier than prevailing chronologies, fits other evidence. Particularly important in this regard are the stylistic and iconographic features of the sculptures that earlier studies have regarded as crucial for dating. In these chronological studies, the second phase has been compared to the following dated or datable corpora of material: (1) rock-cut sculptures at Nāsik and Kārlā in the western Deccan (Pl. 41), and (2) Kuṣāṇa sculptures in Mathurā dated around the reign of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (Pl. 42).<sup>23</sup> According to the new chronology

<sup>20</sup> Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sānchī*, II, pl. 11 (bottom).

<sup>21</sup> Stern and Bénisti, *Évolution du style*, 50, 56, 73. Kaoru Nagata's study, which points out the similarities between the vine scrolls of Sānchī I and the first-phase rail copings, supports this view as well. Kaoru Nagata, "Minami indo no renge tsurukusa ni kansuru ichi kosatu – Roma teiseiki no akansasu karakusa no juyo to tenkai wo chusin ni" (A consideration of the Lotus Scroll of South India: Mainly on the reception of the Roman acanthus and its development), *Bukkyo Geijutsu* (ARS Buddhica) 246 (1999), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Prasad, "Pre-Sātavāhana Phase," p. 337; Bhandare 'Historical Analysis', p. 290.

<sup>23</sup> Stern and Bénisti, *Évolution du style*, p. 87; Sivaramamurti, pp. 34-43; Spink, 'On the Development', p. 99. Barrett argues that the style of the Kārlā sculptures is comparable to

for the later Sātavāhanas, Kārlā and Nāsik, which contain Gotamīputa and Nahapāna inscriptions, are now dated to the mid- and late first century CE.<sup>24</sup> The synchronism between Kārlā and the second-phase railing is thus tenable in our chronology. For Kuṣāṇa sculptures at Mathurā, however, the synchronism theory does not hold, since the Kaniṣka era is now known to have started in 127 CE rather than 78 CE. In short, the second-phase railing of Amarāvātī can be dated close to Kārlā and Nāsik, but should be placed earlier than the Kuṣāṇa sculptures at Mathurā.

In my observation, stylistic and iconographic features in the second-phase railing sculptures support this chronological proposal. Stylistically, all of the foregoing sculptures basically show fully developed features with well-rounded and sturdy bodies. Iconographically, however, the sculptures of the second-phase railing and those at Kārlā and Nāsik differ from those of Mathurā in that they never represent the Buddha in anthropomorphic form; in contrast, Buddha images were fully established in the Kuṣāṇa sculptures at Mathurā. Although this might reflect the conservative nature of Buddhist practices in the Deccan, it is more likely that the Deccan sites actually pre-date Kuṣāṇa Mathurā sculptures.

A second iconographic difference can be seen in the shapes of the male headdresses. Stern and Bénisti have pointed out, as has Sadakane in a more recent study, that the shape of the male headdress in early historic sculpture has evolved consistently (Fig. 14). The earliest type, observed in the Bhārhut railing and the Sānchī I *torāṇa*-s, wraps the big hair knot with a broad cloth (Fig. 14A). The male headdress seen in a *mithuna* couple at Kārlā *caitya* retains some features of this early type, but the hair knot is smaller (Pl. 41, Fig. 14B). In the second-phase railing at Amarāvātī, we observe a headdress similar to the one at Kārlā (Fig. 14C), but also a new type with a round frill surrounding a small hair knot (Fig. 14D). A similar headdress is observed in guardian figures at the entrance of Nāsik cave 3 (Fig. 14E) (though these figures may have been added after the original *vihāra* was completed by Gotamīputa).<sup>25</sup> Finally, in Kuṣāṇa sculpture at

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the early phase of Amarāvātī which, in his chronology, is dated to the early second century CE; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>24</sup> Willis, 'Early Indian Sculpture', pp. 61-62.

<sup>25</sup> These guardians are fitted awkwardly into narrow spaces between the central doorway to the hall and two windows of the *vihāra*; parts of the sculptures thus intrude unnaturally into the space below the windows. This seems to suggest that these figures had not been planned when the doorway and windows were completed during the reign of Gotamīputa. It is more likely that they were added in the time of Puṣumāyi or even later.



Figure 14. Male headdresses in early Indian sculpture. A: Sanchi I, B: Kairā, C & D: Amaravati (Second Phase Railing); E: Nasik; F: Mathura; G: Amaravati (Third Phase Railing).

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Willis's dating of these figures to the reign of Gotamiputa thus needs to be revisited; Willis, 'Early Indian Sculpture', p. 61.

Mathurā, this new type becomes the standard (Pl. 42, Fig. 14F):<sup>26</sup> the frill surrounding the hair knot is more elaborate than those at Amarāvātī and Nāsik and is now pointed, a shape seen in the third-phase Amarāvātī railing and in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures (Fig. 14G). This evolution suggests that the second-phase railing can with good reason be dated later than the Kārlā *mithuna* but earlier than the early Kuṣāṇa sculpture at Mathurā. As mentioned above, the date of the Kārlā *caitya* is now fixed to the mid-first century CE because of a long inscription by Uṣavadāta (a son-in-law of Nahapāna), which records a land grant to the monks at Kārlā.<sup>27</sup> The second-phase railing at Amarāvātī, accommodated between Kārlā and Mathurā, may thus be dated to between ca. 50 and 100 CE.

(c) *The Third Phase*

Finally, for the dating of the third phase (Pl. 26), one of the most important clues is provided by a dome slab with an inscription mentioning Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi (ca. 170-200 CE), although it is not a railing piece (Pl. 43).<sup>28</sup> As will be discussed later, this slab is one of two types at Amarāvātī, and its stylistic and iconographic features look similar to the second phase, although it exhibits some later features. Stylistically, the sculpture retains the sturdy bodies of the second phase, while the rather dramatic poses of the flying figures anticipate the third phase. In terms of iconography, most of the slabs of this type still represent the presence of the Buddha with various symbols such as thrones, footprints, trees, and *stūpa*-s (Pl. 44), with three exceptions (Pl. 45).<sup>29</sup> In the third-phase railing, on the other hand, the style of the sculpture is distinctly different from this dome slab, and shows considerable similarity to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures of the mid-late Ikṣvāku period (ca. 250-300 CE). Buddha images, including narrative scenes, become an established convention throughout this last phase. This suggests that the third-phase railing cannot be accommodated before the dome slab, which can be dated to the reign of Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi.

Another significant clue to the dating of the third phase rail can be found in the iconographical features of the Buddha images. Every Buddha image at Amarāvātī, without exception, has hair composed of snail-shell

<sup>26</sup> Stern and Bénisti, *Évolution du style*, pp. 52-54; Sadakane Keiji, 'Ajantā dai 9 kutsu dai 10 kutsu hekiga—seisaku nendai no mondai wo chusin ni' (A study of the wall paintings in caves 9 and 10 at Ajanta: With special reference to their chronological problems), *Toho Gakuho* 70 (1998), pp. 467-471.

<sup>27</sup> Willis, 'Early Indian Sculpture', pp. 60-61; E. Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', *Et*, 7 (1902-03), no. 13; Lüders, no. 1099.

<sup>28</sup> Sarkar 1971, no. 60.

<sup>29</sup> Burgess 1887, pls. 46.1-2 and 48.3.



Figure 15. Hair in early Mathurā Buddha (Left: 'Kapardin' Type; Right: Semi-Circular Type).  
(After Lohuizen-De Leeuw 1949, figs. 68, 69.)

curls (Pl. 46). It is well known that this distinctive hairstyle did not appear in the early Buddha images of Gandhāra and Mathurā. Notably in Mathurā, the appearance of the hairstyle can be traced rather clearly by a series of dated images. These images show that the earliest sculptures consistently represented the hair like a tight cap, with an additional top-knot (Pl. 42, Fig. 15 left). This so-called *kapardin* type did not change until the seated Buddha from Añor (year 51 of the Kaniṣka era), which depicts rows of semi-circles in the hair (Fig. 15 right). The earliest dated image with hair in the form of snail-shell curls is a seated Jina dated year 12 of the Kaniṣka II era.<sup>30</sup> If we follow Falk's dating for the inauguration of the Kuṣāṇa era, the Añor Buddha should be dated to ca. 178 CE and the Jina, the first Mathurā image with snail-shell curls, to ca. 239 CE. If we concede that the snail-shell curls were adopted in Buddha images between these two dated sculptures, then it seems reasonable to assume that this hairstyle appeared about 200 CE. While this does not necessarily mean that the Buddha images at Amarāvati adopted the hairstyle directly from Mathurā, it is hard

<sup>30</sup> E.J. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period: An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy, and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century BC to the 3rd century AD* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), pp. 180-231; Stanislaw J. Czuma, with the assistance of Rekha Morris, *Kushan Sculptures: Images from Early India* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 227-232.

to believe that the hairstyle was invented independently for the Amarāvati Buddhas much before the Mathurā. If this logic is correct, the third-phase railing, which features such Buddha hairstyles, cannot be dated much before ca. 200 CE. As mentioned in the last chapter, this art-historical evidence supports Bhandare's dating of Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi (ca. 170-200 CE). If we followed Cribb's dates (ca. 106-132 CE), we would have to accept that Amarāvati sculptors produced Buddha images with hair in snail-shell curls at least seventy years before Mathurā.

Having established a plausible starting date for the third-phase railing, our final question is how much later in time the railing can be placed after 200 CE? As mentioned above, the dome slabs carved in Siri Yaña's reign (ca. 170-200 CE) largely retain the stylistic and iconographic features of the second-phase railing. The features of the third-phase railing, on the other hand, are clearly different from those of the dome slabs, and show a greater affinity with the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures dated to the mid-late 3rd century CE. Considering these late stylistic features, the date of the railing may be extended to ca. 250 CE or even slightly later.

### 3. *Refurbishment of the Stūpa*

The above dating of the new limestone rail may give us reasonable criteria for estimating approximate dates of the other sculpted panels, which encased the enlarged body of the *stūpa* in this period. Architecturally, the panels were categorized into three: (1) slabs for encasing the drum; (2) slabs on the dome; (3) miscellaneous pieces (Table 7). For completing the chronological framework of the *stūpa*, we may now argue the dates of these pieces.

#### (1) *The Drum*

The panels which encased the *stūpa* drum basically consisted of rectangular panels (drum slabs) and friezes (drum friezes) mounted above the slabs. They are divided into three types (Table 7 (1)).

##### (a) *The First Type*

The first type, the simplest one, is largely plain except for representations of pilasters. They may be sub-divided into two sets: (1) slabs with narrative friezes at the top (Pl. 47); (2) slabs with no top friezes (Pl. 50), although there exist separated friezes which may have been attached to this type (Pl. 53). The design of the drum slabs is simple and the carving is relatively shallow. The narratives on the friezes retain the early iconographic

convention and do not represent the Buddha in human form. Because of these features, former studies have assigned the slabs to the 'early' phase and correspondingly have given them widely differing dates. While Sivaramamurti correlated them with the early drum slabs and dated them to ca. 200-100 BCE, Barrett dated them to the same period as the first-phase rail (the late 1st-2nd century CE in his chronology).<sup>31</sup>

The main reason for this confusion is that the former studies regarded all archaic drum slabs as 'early' and assigned them to one period. In my view, this type of 'early' drum slab should be later than post-Mauryan types for the following three reasons. First, while this type of slab and the early drum slab look similar in terms of general design representing pilasters, their details are significantly different from each other. As shown in a piece at the British Museum (Pl. 20), the early drum slabs of the post-Mauryan period represent archaic human figures on the pilaster shaft. The bell-shaped capital on the shaft shows a wavy outline with wider bottom. The band of bead-and-reel motif above the capital is thick and large. These features are common to other early Amarāvati sculpture and early drum slabs of other sites such as Jaggayyapeta (Pl. 52). The 'early' drum slabs under discussion, on the other hand, have shafts of pilasters decorated with full and half lotuses which correspond to the design of the first-phase rail pillars (Pl. 51). The bell-shaped capital shows a more or less straight outline. The band of bead-and-reel motif becomes narrow and small. Second, the inscriptions of the post-Mauryan drum slabs and those of the 'early' drum slabs (Pl. 48) are clearly different in terms of the palaeography and the latter display more advanced features, similar to the first-phase rail (Pl. 24). Third, although the carving of these slabs is shallow, the human figures in the friezes show a clear departure from early sculpture in terms of balanced proportion and natural posture (Pl. 49). This feature is further articulated in the separated type of friezes (Pl. 53), in which figures are carved in reasonable depth and with natural modelling. Considering these advanced stylistic features, it is reasonable to correlate this type with the first- and even the second-phase rails: between ca. 50 BCE and ca. 100 CE.

(b) *The Second Type*

The second type of drum slab has the same height as the first type, but represents narratives or human figures on the slabs (Pls. 54, 55). Although

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<sup>31</sup> Sivaramamurti, p. 160 (1. B. 16); Barrett, 'The Early Phase at Amarāvati', pp. 90-91. Also see D. Barrett, 'Two Unpublished Sculptures from Amarāvati', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 20 (1956), pp. 73-75

there is no example of this type of slab having a frieze at the top, it is possible that the separated friezes of the first type (Pl. 53) were also associated with this type of slab. Barrett and Knox have commented that this type of slab could be placed on the *āyaka* platforms.<sup>32</sup> This is not an unreasonable assumption, since some *stūpas* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are reported to have narrative sculptures only around the *āyaka* platforms.<sup>33</sup>

As in the first type, this type of panel does not include examples which represent the Buddha in human form. This indicates that the dates of these slabs may correspond to the first- and second-phase rails although, as we will see later, this is not an absolute criterion for dating. The style of the sculptures also fits this rough dating. A panel in Chennai representing a man and a boy, for instance, shows a peculiar mixture of old and new stylistic features (Pl. 54). Unlike the early drum slabs of the post-Mauryan period, the figures are deeply carved, standing out in high-relief, and their shoulders, belly and waist attain reasonable volume. Their posture, however, is still rather rigid. The man's arm placed on the boy's head bends unnaturally. The man's feet point outward at an angle of 180 degrees. This standing posture is comparable to a male figure on the Sānchī I *torāṇa* (ca. 50–1 BCE), although the example at Sānchī is comparatively refined in terms of soft modelling and natural posture.<sup>34</sup> In the other example, however, this second type of drum slab displays a highly sophisticated style. A panel depicting a cycle related to the Buddha's birth is a typical example in this category (Pl. 55).<sup>35</sup> Here the human figures have rounded bodies with ample volume. They have natural postures as if detached from the back. We may safely compare these features to the sculptures of the second-phase railing (Pls. 25, 34, 38, 40). Like the first type of drum slab, therefore, the date of this type of slab may extend between the first and second type railing (ca. 50 BCE-100 CE).

### (c) *The Third Type*

The last type, the most prevalent of the three, is distinguished by the representation of miniature *stūpa*-s. Although there are a few panels depicting plain *stūpa*-s with simpler decoration (Pl. 15), a large number of them depict richly decorated *stūpa*-s with numerous ornaments and narratives in deep carving (Pl. 61). As represented in a famous panel at Chennai (Cover Photograph), the most ornamented specimens of this type were framed

<sup>32</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 48; Knox, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup> Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', p. 30 and pl. 27-b, c.

<sup>34</sup> Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sānchī*, II, pls. 36, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Knox, no. 61

with pilasters at the sides and friezes at the top. The friezes attached to such slabs are slightly higher (ca. 37-40 centimetres in height) than those of the first type of slab, and depict various narrative scenes divided by couples (*mithuna*-s) and rows of three lotuses arranged vertically (Pl. 56). In these narratives, Buddha is often depicted in human form.

These features of the sculptures indicate that these panels were mostly associated with the second- and third-phase rail. It is difficult, however, to divide these *stūpa* panels into either the second or the third phases clearly. In terms of size, there are few differences between them (ca. 120-130 centimetres in height; ca. 80-100 centimetres in width). Besides the presence of Buddha images, there are few reliable iconographical and stylistic markers to point to any detailed chronological sequence for the panels, although, broadly speaking, the more the panels are decorated, the later they may be.<sup>36</sup> At the moment, therefore, it would be reasonable to date them roughly between ca. 50–250 CE.

## (2) *The Dome*

Apart from the drum slabs, which are relatively small in size, the excavations uncovered a series of high, rectangular slabs from the *stūpa*. Although there is no decisive evidence to fix the exact position of these slabs in the *stūpa* architecture, it is most likely that they encased the base of the dome.<sup>37</sup> These dome slabs may be divided into two types (Table 7 (2)).

### (a) *The First Type*

The first type, which is perhaps the earlier of the two, represents various narratives in three registers (Pl. 57). The bottom of the lower registers represents plain rail patterns. Former studies pointed out that this type might have encased the cardinal points of the dome.<sup>38</sup> Although surviving pieces of this type are all in fragmentary condition, one of the Mackenzie drawing records a nearly intact piece with its size, which reached 11 feet 2 inches (ca. 340 centimetres) in height and 3 feet 10 inches (ca. 115 centimetres) in width.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Philippe Stern et Mireille Bénisti, 'Evolution du stūpa figure dans les sculptures d' Amarāvati', *Bulletin de la Société des études Indochinoises*, Nouvelle Série, 27 (1952), 375-380; Stern and Bénisti, *Evolution du style*, pp. 9-16. Barrett argued, however, that this cannot be an absolute rule. See Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 36 (n. 51).

<sup>37</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 37-38, 47; Knox, pp. 28-30.

<sup>38</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 47; Knox, pp. 30, 42.

<sup>39</sup> See Fergusson 1873, pl. 98 and Knox fig. 13. Also see Mackenzie Amarāvati Album, folio 29 (BL, WD 1061) (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/c0335-06large.jpg>).

(Table 7) Types of late limestone slabs at the Amāravatī *stūpa*.

## (1) Drum Slabs

Types	General Features	Size (cm)	Palaeography of Inscriptions
1	<i>Material:</i> Limestone <i>Decoration:</i> Plain surface separated by pilasters; narrative friezes were mounted on the top	<i>Slabs</i> H: ca. 120-130* (excluding top-friezes) <i>Friezes</i> H. ca. 35	Late (ca. 50 BCE and later)
2	<i>Material:</i> Limestone <i>Decoration:</i> Figurative or narrative scenes; detached narrative friezes were mounted on the top (?)	H: ca. 120-130* W: ca. 80-100	Late (ca. 50 BCE and later)
3	<i>Material:</i> Limestone. <i>Decoration:</i> Miniature <i>stūpa</i> -s framed with narrative friezes and pilasters	<i>Slabs</i> H: ca. 120-130* (excluding top-friezes) W: ca. 80-100 (excluding pilasters) <i>Friezes</i> H: ca. 40 Pilasters H: ca. 120-130* W: ca. 20	Late (ca. 50 BCE and later)

## (2) Dome Slabs

Types	General Features	Size (cm)	Palaeography of Inscriptions
1	<i>Material:</i> Limestone <i>Decoration:</i> Narratives	H: ca. 340 (?)* W: ca. 115	Late (ca. 50 BCE and later)
2	<i>Material:</i> Limestone <i>Decoration:</i> Figurative/ narrative scenes (Trees, thrones, <i>stūpa</i> -s)	H: ca. 300* W: ca. 90	Late (ca. 50 BCE and later)

## (3) Miscellaneous Slabs

Types	General Features	Size (cm)	Paleography of Inscriptions
1	<i>Material:</i> Limestone <i>Decoration:</i> Vases filled with lotuses ( <i>pūrṇaghaṭa</i> )	Ht: ca. 125-130 W: ca. 80	Late (ca. 50 BCE and later)
2	<i>Material:</i> Limestone <i>Decoration:</i> Youth carrying garlands	Ht: ca. 80	No Example

\*Heights above the ground

The style and iconography of the sculpture on this type of panels are chiefly comparable to the first- and second-phase railings. Following the traditional iconographic convention, this type of panel does not represent Buddha images, save for some later re-cut examples.<sup>40</sup> The plain rail pattern at the bottom of the narratives is also an early iconographical feature common to Bhārhut, Sānchī I and other early sculptures at Amarāvati (Pl. 20). Stylistically, male and female figures on the panels (Pl. 57) have well-balanced bodies. In comparison with the second-phase railing sculpture, however, the carving is slightly shallow, which is comparable to the coping sculpture of the first-phase railing (Pl. 36). Also comparable, although outside Amarāvati, are human figures carved on large vertical slabs of the Kanganhalli *stūpa*, although the dates of these recently-found slabs are still under discussion.<sup>41</sup> At the moment, this type of dome slab therefore can be accommodated roughly to the period of the first-phase railing or slightly later (ca. 50 BCE–50 CE).

(b) *The Second Type*

The second type of dome slab, the commoner variety of the two types, exhibits a consistent design: a sacred tree with a throne; sacred wheels (*dharmacakra*) with a throne; and *stūpas* depicted in three registers of a panel (Pl. 44). There are bands of running animals and so-called *tri-ratna* motifs at the top of the three registers. A complete piece in the Amarāvati Museum shows that the height of this type of panel is ca. 300 centimetres and the width is ca. 90 centimetres.

As already mentioned, dome slabs of this type include a piece with an inscription mentioning Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi (ca. 170–200 CE) (Pl. 43). Stylistic

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<sup>40</sup> There are four examples which represent Buddha images in this type of panel. As Barrett noted, the frieze of seated Buddhas carved on a slab in the British Museum (Knox no. 102) was re-cut over a frieze of birds (Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 58, n. 6). Another dome slab in the Amarāvati Archaeological Museum depicts a seated Buddha image in on a roundel (see V. Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997), fig. 30). The carving of the Buddha image is however shallow and rather unusual. The iconography of the seated Buddha, whose left hand is held at the shoulder to hold a fold of robe, is the same as the re-cut Buddha image at the British Museum and many seated Buddhas in the Ikṣvāku period. The third and fourth examples are depicted on panels recorded in Mackenzie Amarāvati Album (BL, WD 1061, folios 25 and 28; also see <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/c0335-02large.jpg>; <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/amaravati/images/c0335-05large.jpg>). As commented by Barrett, it is likely that these images were also re-cut, as far as we may see from the drawings (Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 58, n. 6).

<sup>41</sup> See *IAR* 1997–98, pl. 72.

and iconographic features also support this dating. Stylistically, while the sculpture retains the features of the second phase in the sturdy bodies of the figures and simple ornaments, the rather dramatic posture of the flying figures anticipates the features of the third phase. In Andhra, comparable figures with the similar stylistic features can be found on early Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture that Stone dated to the reign of Vāsiṭhiputa Cāmtamūla or Cāmtamūla I (ca. 225–40 CE).<sup>42</sup> In terms of the iconography, an important clue for the dating is that three examples depict the Buddha in human form, while most of the examples represent his existence symbolically. These features suggest that these dome slabs should be dated close to the third-phase railing, which I dated to ca. 200–250 CE. A reasonable dating for these slabs would thus be ca. 170–200 CE or even later.

### (3) *Miscellaneous Pieces*

Finally, we have to mention the three types of slabs which cannot be connected to any architectural part of the *stūpa* at the moment (Table 7 (3)): (a) rectangular panels representing a vase sprouting lotuses (*pūrṇaghata*) (Pl. 58);<sup>43</sup> (b) friezes depicting garlands carried by youths (Pl. 59);<sup>44</sup> (c) narrow friezes depicting a row of seated Buddhas or Buddhas and *stūpa*-s (Pl. 60).<sup>45</sup> Concerning the first two types of pieces, Barrett and Knox tentatively attribute the *pūrṇaghata* slabs to a type of dome slab, but with no conclusive evidence.<sup>46</sup> Regarding the garland friezes, while Barrett categorized them as miscellaneous pieces, Knox attempted to identify them as rail copings, although the latter identification is rather dubious as the friezes are carved on one face only (the back is roughly dressed) and there is no mortise hole on the bottom.<sup>47</sup> A possible, although not conclusive, clue for speculating the original positions of these two types of slabs in *stūpa* architecture is the representation of the drum slabs depicting *stūpa* (Pls. 61, 62). Some of these *stūpa* slabs depict bands of garlands, vases, *triratna* and running animals above the narratives on the dome (Pl. 62).<sup>48</sup> If this reflects the actual decoration scheme of the dome, the garlands frieze and vase slabs could be placed above the high dome slabs. A dome slab

<sup>42</sup> Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 24–31, figs. 41–44.

<sup>43</sup> Knox, nos. 106–108; Sivaramamurti, pl. 23.1.

<sup>44</sup> Knox nos. 43, 44; Sivaramamurti, pl. 45.2.

<sup>45</sup> Knox, nos. 52, 53; Burgess 1887, pls. 42.9, 43.1–13. This includes three narrative reliefs as well (Burgess 1887, pls. 42.9, 43.1–2).

<sup>46</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 69–70 [nos. 75–77]; Knox, pp. 42, nos. 106–108.

<sup>47</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 79 [nos. 78–80]; Knox, pp. 39, nos. 43–44.

<sup>48</sup> For example, see Knox, no. 77

found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, which depicts bands of garlands above the vases, also supports this speculation (Pl. 63). As for the dating of these slabs, former studies agreed to assign them to the 'Sātavāhana' phase (the 2nd century CE).<sup>49</sup> Although the designs are too simple and repetitive to permit detailed stylistic analysis, the deep carving and softly modelled human figures reasonably support this dating. Thus as a working hypothesis, it is possible to date these two components to ca. 50–200 CE.

Finally, on the narrow friezes depicting seated Buddhas (Pl. 60), Barrett and Knox speculated that they were attached to smaller *stūpa*-s located in the vicinity of the main *stūpa*, because of their smaller sizes in comparison with usual drum friezes.<sup>50</sup> The relief sculpture on these friezes is considerably cruder than other late phase sculpture at Amarāvati. It is also notable that quite a large number of examples of this type of frieze were made of re-used small rail pillars (Table 3 (3)).<sup>51</sup> In terms of the date, the fact that they depict Buddhas clearly shows that the friezes were dated to after ca. 200 CE. Considering their crude carving and heavy reliance on old rail pillars as materials, these friezes should be placed to the very end of the major construction phase of Amarāvati (ca. 250 CE) or even later.

The construction work in the late period (ca. 50 BCE–250 CE) thus can be described as follows (Table 2). In this period, the drum and dome of the *stūpa* were enlarged. Subsequently, the old rail, which consisted of granite and limestone, started being replaced by new limestone rails covered with sculptures. This project went on gradually in three phases: the first phase (ca. 50–1 BCE); the second phase (ca. 50–100 CE); and the third phase (ca. 200–250 CE). In terms of the dynastic framework, the first and second phases largely overlapped with the rule of the Sadas, although the beginning of the first phase and the termination of the second phase may not have been included in the Sada period. The construction of the third phase was undertaken at the end of Sātavāhana rule and may have been extended into the mid-Ikṣvāku period. While the rail replacement work proceeded, the enlarged drum and the dome of the *stūpa* were also decorated with numerous limestone panels. From a stylistic comparison, we can estimate that the refurbishment work on the drum seems to have started at almost the same time as the first-phase rail and continued up

<sup>49</sup> Sivaramamurti, pl. 23.1; Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, pp. 69–70 [nos. 75–80]; Knox, pp. 39 and 42.

<sup>50</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 74 [nos. 119, 120]; Knox, pp. 112–13 [nos. 52, 53].

<sup>51</sup> Burgess 1882, 11B, 12B, 13B, 14B, 26B; Sewell 1880, nos. 49, 51; Burgess 1887, pl. 43.1–2, 4–5, 8, 10.

to ca. 250 CE. Encasement of the dome may have started almost at the same time as that of the drum, and was carried out in two periods: ca. 50 BCE–50 CE (the first type); ca. 70–200 CE (the second type).

#### SUMMARY

The chronological framework suggested here is still tentative in nature since a detailed chronology of the Sadas and the Sātavāhanas has not been fixed conclusively. However, this new framework has significant implications for our historical understanding of the Amarāvati *stūpa*.

First of all, our new framework indicates that active construction of the *stūpa* continued for a remarkably long period. Although there is no definite evidence to prove the presence of an Aśokan *stūpa* at Amarāvati, the *stūpa* attained a magnificent scale in the post-Mauryan period (ca. 200–100 BCE), and was surrounded by a massive railing consisting of heavy granite and limestone. In the late period of construction, the *stūpa* was enlarged again, and was fully refurbished with numerous limestone sculptures. We do not know of any other comparable example of an Andhran *stūpa* which experienced such long and continuous construction/refurbishment activities on such a large scale.<sup>52</sup> This evidently shows the *stūpa*'s exceptional importance for Buddhist worship in this region.

Secondly, it is significant that the long construction process of the *stūpa* shows no clear link to the rule of the powerful dynasties such as the Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas. Present archaeological and epigraphic knowledge reveals no concrete remains of an Aśokan *stūpa* in Amarāvati. The available evidence suggests that the bulk of the construction work at the site was undertaken in the post-Mauryan phase when small local kingdoms co-existed in the region. The construction work of the late period, which has been deemed an accomplishment of the Sātavāhana rule, actually took place before the rule of the Sātavāhanas and actively continued even in their decline. Although this does not mean that there was no construction work in the Mauryan and Sātavāhana period, it would be incorrect to designate the construction of the *stūpa* as the accomplishment of powerful dynasties. Despite changes of dynastic rule, the construction of the *stūpa* received consistent support from the local society.

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<sup>52</sup> Ghaṅṭasāla *stūpa* (Krishna District) seems to have undergone a similar construction and refurbishment process continuing between ca. 200 BCE–250 CE. According to our understanding of the present remains, however, the size of the *stūpa* and the scale of the refurbishment were smaller than at Amarāvati.

## CHAPTER THREE

### SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The last chapter confirmed that the construction of the Amarāvati *stūpa* continued for a long period ranging between ca. 200 BCE and ca. 250 CE. The construction period had no strong link with the rule of powerful dynasties such as the Mauryas and later Sātavāhanas. The assumption prevalent in former studies of a decisive role for these dynasties in accomplishing the *stūpa*'s construction thus needs reconsideration. For a better understanding of the historical circumstances surrounding the *stūpa*, this chapter will examine in detail socio-political and socio-economic developments of the lower Krishna valley during the Mauryan and late Sātavāhana periods based on archaeological evidence and an analysis of the Amarāvati inscriptions.

#### I. TRANSITION TO EARLY HISTORIC SOCIETY: THE MAURYAN PERIOD

As mentioned in Chapter One, the lower Krishna valley before the Mauryan period was characterised by the megalithic culture. Although the nature of this culture is still largely unknown in any detail, present archaeological data suggests that it took the form of an agricultural-cum-pastoral society. While the construction of monumental burials and luxury items in some burials strongly suggests the existence of privileged and powerful elites, there is no clear evidence of an organized ruling system or bureaucracy. There is no vestige of writing or coinage either. It is likely that the most important units of social organization were tribe and kin based.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the Mauryas, possibly the earliest dynasty ruling this region, have been associated with highly advanced features. As rulers of the first imperial state in the subcontinent, the Mauryas not only possessed a well-developed material culture including deluxe pottery (NBPW), currency (PMC), and scripts (Aśokan Brāhmī), but also had a refined ruling structure. According to the account of Megasthenes and the Aśokan inscriptions, the empire had officials who dealt with public affairs such as

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<sup>1</sup> See Sudharshan Seneviratne, 'The Process of Secondary State Formation in Early India', *The Indian Historical Review*, 7 (1981), pp. 59-60.

collecting taxes, building roads and supervising commerce. These officials, particularly the executive officers (*mahāmātra*-s), appear to have been sent to the provincial areas from the capital as supervisors.<sup>2</sup> The presence of such officials is also indicated by the Aśokan inscriptions themselves, which are mostly written in a single dialect spoken in the Gangetic valley, despite their wide distribution throughout the empire.<sup>3</sup> This set of data tempts us to speculate that Andhra was fully integrated into the Mauryan state system and constituted a part of the empire.

A major problem of this model, however, is that archaeological data so far has yielded surprisingly little evidence for the establishment of the Mauryan state in the valley. Except for Amarāvati/Dharanikoṭa, there are only three sites that have yielded NBPW fragments in the valley, i.e. Vaddamānu, Chebrolu and Kesarapalle (Map 4).<sup>4</sup> There is no clear evidence of Mauryan habitations at these sites either. The Kesarapalle excavation, for example, succeeded in differentiating the level of the Megalithic period (period II), which yielded plenty of Black and Red Ware, and that of the Early Historic Period (period III), which contained Rouletted Ware. However, the excavation cannot confirm any sign of a Mauryan habitation level except for an NBPW fragment found on the upper level of the Megalithic occupation.<sup>5</sup> Even if we are bold enough to ignore the problematic nature of NBP, the date of which is not well established in the south, the scarcity of the data strongly suggests little penetration of northern material culture in the lower Krishna valley.

The distinctly unimpressive nature of the Mauryan evidence corresponds with other Mauryan sites in the Deccan such as the Mysore plateau. Excavations in this region, famous for the location of a cluster of Aśokan rock edicts, have yielded no identifiable Mauryan remains. At Maski (ancient Suvarṇagiri), for instance, megalithic Black and Red Ware continue into the post-Mauryan period. The first change in the types of pottery occurs with the Russet-Coated Painted Ware, which is usually associated with the Sātavāhana period.<sup>6</sup> Although Begley's study tries to confirm

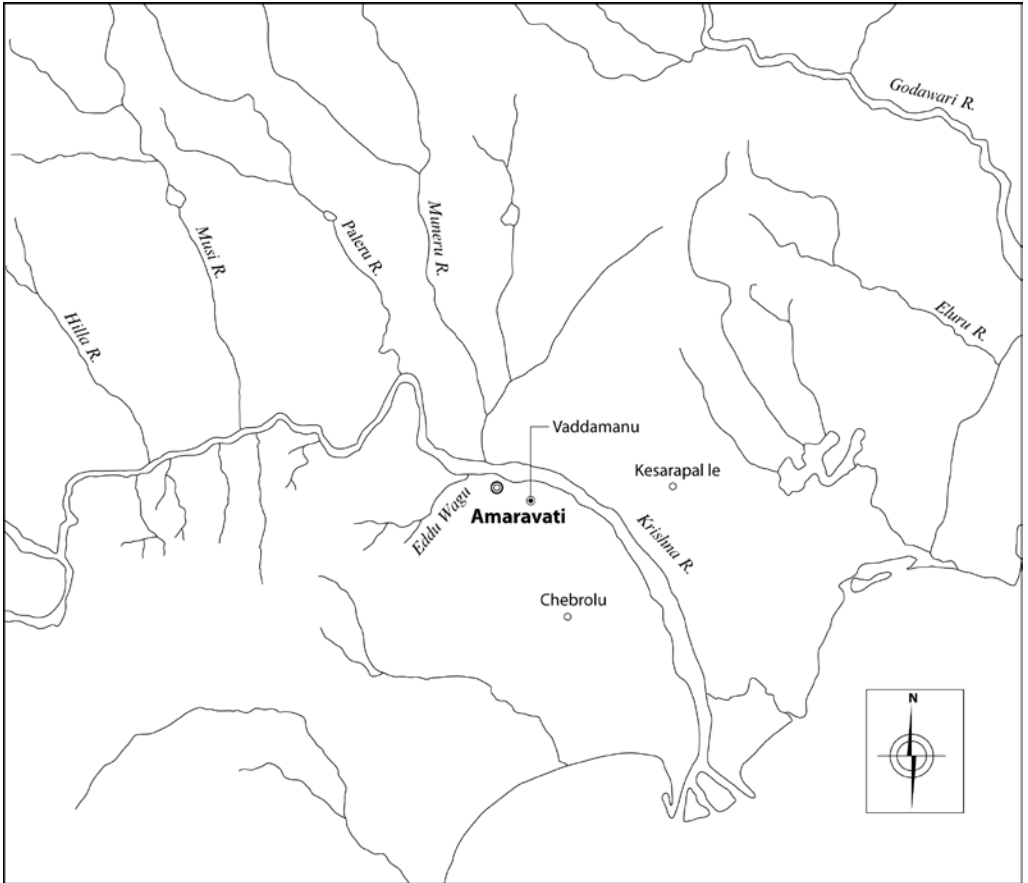
<sup>2</sup> Rock Edicts III, XII, XVI, Pillar Edicts I. *Strabo*, XV 47-52 cited in John, W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901), pp. 53-55.

<sup>3</sup> Gérard Fussman, 'Central and Provincial Administration in Ancient India: The Problems of the Mauryan Empire', *The Indian Historical Review*, 14 (1987-88), p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *IAR* 1960-61, p. 1; H. Sarkar, 'Kesarapalle 1962', *Ancient India*, 22 (1966), pp. 43-45; Sastri, Kasturi Bai and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Sarkar, 'Kesarapalle', pp. 43-46.

<sup>6</sup> B.K. Thapar, 'Maski 1954: A Chalcolithic Site of the Southern Deccan', *Ancient India*, 13 (1957), pp. 13-16.



Map 4. Major settlements in the lower Krishna valley and the surroundings in the Mauryan period; ● =Buddhist sites, ○ =non-Buddhist sites.

Mauryan levels at these sites, the obscurity of the Mauryan habitations in this area remain significant.<sup>7</sup> The recent archaeological survey by Allchin has also pointed out that while there existed a few possible 'Mauryan' cities in the Deccan and coastal Andhra (such as Dharanikoṭa and Sannati in Karnataka), they were distinctly small in scale compared with the cities of the Gangetic valley.<sup>8</sup>

As recent historical studies have argued, such insignificant Mauryan presence in the Deccan may represent the non-unified nature of the Mauryan empire.<sup>9</sup> Although the dynasty succeeded in holding vast territory through its military power and refined ruling structure, it was probably almost impossible to constitute a united empire controlled by central government due to the absence of an efficient communication network and the great diversity of regional traditions. It is more likely that Mauryan rule in the provincial areas was primarily a supervisory role which remained at the upper level. The main concern in the provincial areas was extracting revenue from existing resources to enrich the core region (i.e. the lower Gangetic Valley) rather than changing local societies to establish unified rule in the empire. Although the Mauryas could possibly have had direct control over a few key locales such as Amarāvati /Dhamṇakaṭaka, the remaining areas, which most probably retained their megalithic culture, may have been beyond their concern. In short, the Mauryan imperial expansion did not cause immediate and fundamental social changes in the lower Krishna valley.

## II. FORMATION OF PROTO STATES: THE POST-MAURYAN PERIOD

### 1. *Localization of State Infrastructures*

The obscure social conditions of the valley, however, may have changed greatly in the post-Mauryan period. As mentioned in Chapter One, this phenomenon was first manifested in the emergence of small local kingships

<sup>7</sup> Begley, 'From Iron Age to Early Historical in South Indian Archaeology', pp. 300-02.

<sup>8</sup> F.R. Allchin, 'City and State Formation in Early Historic South Asia', *SAS*, 5 (1989), pp. 14-15; Allchin, 'The Mauryan States and Empire', pp. 206-09.

<sup>9</sup> See Fussman, 'Central and Provincial Administration', pp. 53-72; Seneviratne, 'The Process of Secondary State Formation', pp. 60-63; Romila Thapar *The Mauryas Revisited* (Calcutta and New Delhi: K.P. Bagchi, 1987), pp. 1-3; H.P. Ray, 'Interpreting the Mauryan Empire: Centralized State or Multiple Centers of Control?', in G. Parker and Carla M. Sinopoli eds., *Ancient India in Its Wider World* (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 2008), pp. 13-51

such as *rāja Kuberaka* in Bhaṭṭiproḷu casket inscriptions; and *rāja Samaka* in the Vaddamānu inscriptions. Along with local kingships, inscriptions of this period mention other socio-political and socio-economic institutions, particularly as *nigama* and *goṭhi*.<sup>10</sup> Although it is not possible to comprehend the precise nature of these institutions in this period of coastal Andhra, textual and epigraphic evidence indicates that a *nigama* was an important economic and social unit larger than a village (*gāma*), and was composed of integrated members of kin groups and occupational or professional groups.<sup>11</sup> A *goṭhi* (skt. *goṣṭhi*), was another important social institution particularly for urban elites.<sup>12</sup> Bhaṭṭiproḷu inscriptions also show that these urban institutions and local kings were closely connected, as the inscriptions describe the king Kuberaka as the chief (*pāmukha*=skt. *pramukha*) of a *nigama* and a *goṭhi*.<sup>13</sup> This seems to indicate that the kings in this period of Andhra were not absolute rulers with invincible powers, but were close to chiefdoms or, in Chattopadhyaya's word, 'localities' that derived possibly from the foundations of megalithic chiefs.<sup>14</sup> These 'localities' seem to have consolidated their powers in close association with urban elites that also started appearing in this period.

This political development was paralleled by the rise of a monetary system. Besides the use of PMCs, this period saw the emergence and development of local currencies throughout the Deccan. Numismatic studies have agreed that such local currencies first appeared as uninscribed cast and die-struck coins in semi-precious metals like lead and copper.<sup>15</sup> In Andhra, excavations at Kotalingala (Karimnagar district) and Veerapuram (Kurnool district) have found similar uninscribed coins from post-PMC levels.<sup>16</sup> Amarāvātī and Dharanikoṭa have also yielded numerous die-struck copper coins (more than 2000 in number) in hoards as well as surface finds, although they lack any archaeological context. According

<sup>10</sup> Chanda nos. 4, 5; Ghosh and Sarkar, no. H; Ghosh, no. 6; Bühler, 'The Bhattiproḷu Inscriptions', nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiproḷu nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha*, p. 21; Ray, 'Interpreting the Mauryan Empire', pp. 22-23.

<sup>12</sup> *Kāmasūtra*, 1.4.34-36.

<sup>13</sup> Bühler, 'The Bhattiproḷu Inscriptions', nos. 6; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiproḷu no. 7.

<sup>14</sup> B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Transition to the Early Historical Phase in the Deccan: A Note', in *Archaeology and History: Essays in Memory of Sri A. Ghosh*, II, p. 729.

<sup>15</sup> Shastri, 'Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana Coinage', pp. 2-4; Chattopadhyaya, 'Transition to the Early Historical Phase in the Deccan', p. 729.

<sup>16</sup> Parabrahma Sastry, 'Some More Coins', pp. 17-18; Parabrahma Sastry, *Satavahana Epoch*, pp. 25-27; T.G.V. Sastri, M. Kasturi Bai and J. Vara Prasada Rao, *Veerapuram: A Type Site for Cultural Study in the Krishna Valley* (Hyderabad: Bhavani Printers, 1984), pp. 76-80.

to Prasad, the minting technique, metallic composition and design (standing lion facing a tree in a railing) of these coins may locate them chronologically just after PMCs.<sup>17</sup> The prevalence of currency is also attested by sculptural evidence. The famous *cakravartin* relief from the Jaggayyapeta *stūpa*, dated ca. 150-100 BCE, represents square objects with small dots falling from heaven (Pl. 64). As Barrett and Agrawala pointed out, these objects most likely represent coins.<sup>18</sup> Similar coins are also shown in an early Amarāvati sculpture, which depicts a story of the offering of Jetavanārāma.<sup>19</sup>

The localization of political power and development of local currency systems also entailed the usage of scripts. In the Mauryan period, the lower Krishna valley had only one example showing the presence of a written script, the so-called 'Aśokan' pillar inscription found at Amarāvati (Pl. 4). From the post-Mauryan period onward, however, we have numerous Buddhist votive inscriptions as well as inscribed pottery, seals and coins from many parts of the lower Krishna valley. Unlike Aśokan Brāhmī, which shows distinct conformity regardless of the region, the Brāhmī inscriptions in this period started showing some regional features. The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions, for example, are famous for having considerably different characters in shape as well as notation of vowels.<sup>20</sup> Equally notable is that an Amarāvati inscription of this period records the existence of a royal scribe (*rājalekhaka*).<sup>21</sup> This may indicate that record-keeping started to play an integral part in local political administration as well as in commercial activities in this period.

This appearance of kingship, currency and writing indicates that the basic infrastructures of a state system, which had been introduced in the Mauryan period, started functioning at the local level and transforming the megalithic/tribal society into proto or early states, basically characterized by centralized administration, stable kingship and social stratification.<sup>22</sup> According to Seneviratne, this slightly late penetration of a state

<sup>17</sup> P.R.K. Prasad, 'A Hoard of Miniature Copper Coins from Amarāvati', *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, II, pp. 312-26.

<sup>18</sup> Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, p. 68 (no. 54); P.K. Agrawala, 'The Depiction of Punch-Marked Coins in Early Indian Art', *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 27 (1965), p. 174.

<sup>19</sup> Ghosh and Sarkar, pp. 173-75 and pl. 41

<sup>20</sup> Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>21</sup> Chanda, no. 12.

<sup>22</sup> For the definition of the early state, see Henri J.M. Claessen and Peter Skalnic, 'The Early State: Theories and Hypothesis', in J.M. Claessen and P. Skalnic ed., *The Early State* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), pp. 21-22.

system and the development of society can be understood by using Morton Fried's theory of secondary state formation, which defines the emergence of states in peripheral areas (= the secondary states) as the combined result of internal economic growth of the areas and the internalization of external impetus from the metropolitan states, such as the Mauryas.<sup>23</sup> If we follow this model, the post-Mauryan period of the Andhra region may be understood as a crucial stage of state formation, in which society internalized the impetus of the Mauryas, the metropolitan state.

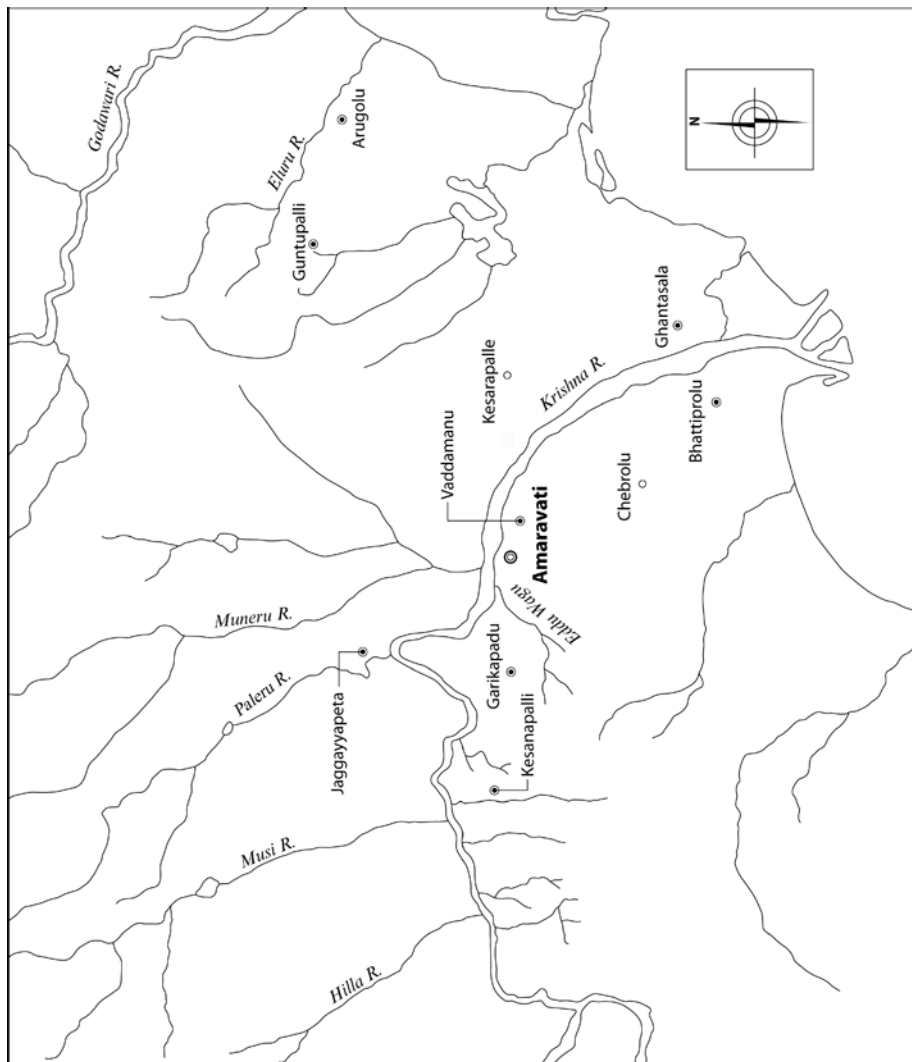
## 2. Socio-Economic Development

This internalization of the basic infrastructures of advanced social organization enabled the region to attain significant socio-economic development in this period. In terms of the archaeological evidence, this development is clearly indicated by the emergence of monumental and durable architecture, mostly in the form of Buddhist *stūpa*-s and monasteries. Except for a few sites in the inland region (eg. Dhūlikattā) and in the area between the Krishna and Godavari deltas (eg. Arugolu and Guṇṭupalli), this phenomenon is mainly observed in the lower Krishna valley (Map 5). The Amarāvātī *stūpa*, which might have been built in the Mauryan period, attained a magnificent scale around ca. 200-100 BCE. Other Buddhist sites surrounding Amarāvātī, such as Jaggayyapeta, Vaddamānu and Garikāpādu, were also established or enlarged at about the same time. Along the Krishna river, the Kesānapalli *stūpa* was built in the plateau area and the Bhaṭṭiproḷu *stūpa* in the deltaic region. Although the evidence is less clear, the Ghaṇṭasāla *stūpa* in the deltaic region may also have been founded in this period, since a limestone sculpture found at an adjacent village clearly shows early stylistic features.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, because of the paucity of the archaeological data, it is difficult to develop a clear view of the local settlements that supported these monastic sites. The presence of impressive religious architecture decorated with sculptures however indicates that such supporting communities must have existed near the monasteries and that they were wealthy enough to support the local *saṃgha*-s. Particularly significant in this regard is the establishment of two large

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<sup>23</sup> Seneviratne, 'The Process of Secondary State Formation', pp. 54-69; Morton H. Fried, *The Evolution of Political Society* (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 240-42. Chattopadhyaya explains the emergence of 'localities' in the Deccan as the result of interaction (not integration) with northern and central India (Chattopadhyaya, 'Transition to the Early Historical Phase in the Deccan', pp. 727-30).

<sup>24</sup> *IAR* 1994-95, p. 90.



Map 5. Major settlements in the lower Krishna valley and the surroundings by the post-Mauryan period; ● = Buddhist sites, ○ = non-Buddhist sites.

Buddhist *stūpa*-s (Bhaṭṭiproḷu and Ghaṇṭasāla) near the mouth of the Krishna. As already mentioned, this area had few traces of habitation in the pre-historic period, because of environmental difficulties such as the danger of flooding and heavy alluvial soil.<sup>25</sup> The construction of the two *stūpa*-s suggests that this habitation pattern had begun to change by the post-Mauryan period. Probably growing population pressure and the increasing importance of coastal areas for trade caused the expansion of major settlements on the coast.

This growth of major settlements seems to have been interconnected with the development of communication networks. Strong evidence supporting this assumption is the wide distribution of the so-called Palnad limestone. The above Buddhist sites, including those in the coastal region such as Amarāvati, Bhaṭṭiproḷu and Ghaṇṭasāla, all use this greenish white limestone for encasing the *stūpa*-s. As the name itself suggests, however, the limestone is obtained exclusively in the plateau area around Palnad (especially the Dachepalli area) in Guntur District. Although ancient quarries of this limestone have yet to be confirmed, it is highly probable that the stone was distributed from the plateau area to coastal areas using local transport networks developed along the Krishna. Excavations at Dharanikoṭa (=Dhaṃṇakaṭaka) indeed found a number of roughly dressed limestone pieces from the remains of ancient wharfs. Raghavachary, who undertook the excavation, has suggested that these pieces were imported through the Krishna river.<sup>26</sup>

This transport network not only integrated the lower Krishna valley, but also connected it to other regions. The most striking evidence indicating the existence of such an inter-regional network lies in the Buddhist relic caskets discovered from *stūpa*-s in Coastal Andhra.<sup>27</sup> Bhaṭṭiproḷu relic caskets (ca. 200-100 BCE), for instance, are famous for their contents of abundant precious objects such as PMCs, crystal reliquaries, gold rings and flowers, and various beads made of gold, garnet, coral and pearl.<sup>28</sup> There is no doubt that these materials, not available locally, were brought from outside the lower Krishna valley. The PMCs were most likely im-

<sup>25</sup> Moorti, *Megalithic Culture*, figs. 1.2, 1.4, 2.2, 2.4.

<sup>26</sup> K. Raghavachary, 'Dharanikota and its Western Contacts', *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, 12 (1972-73), p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> For an archaeological study on the Buddhist relic caskets in Andhra, see B. Subrahmanyan, *Buddhist Relic Caskets in South India* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 1998).

<sup>28</sup> Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp. 9-14, pls. 4-6; Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 40-44, 102-04.

ported from the Gangetic valley although they are smaller than those of so-called 'imperial issues'.<sup>29</sup> The gold and crystal were probably brought from the upper Krishna river valley in northern Karnataka, where rich gold mines existed even before the Mauryan period.<sup>30</sup> The pearls were likely to have come from Sri Lanka or the adjacent Tamil region, which the *Periplus* as well as the *Arthaśāstra* describe as famous for yielding pearls.<sup>31</sup> The coral may have come from the Mediterranean world as the *Periplus* lists it as a major export item to India.<sup>32</sup> Another indicator of such inter-regional networks is the wide distribution of Rouletted Ware. This particular type of early historic pottery was found in almost all major settlements along the east coast ranging from Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka and Chandraketurgarh in Bengal. Recent excavations confirmed Rouletted Ware even in South-east Asia, including Western Java, Bali, Vietnam, and Southern Thailand.<sup>33</sup> Although the appearance of this type of pottery used to be dated to the end of 1st century BCE or the early 1st century CE based on Wheeler's excavation at Arikamedu, recent scholarship has pushed back the date to the 2nd–1st century BCE.<sup>34</sup> It is thus likely that the east coast of the Indian subcontinent, including coastal Andhra and the lower Krishna valley, had started developing extensive maritime networks long before the Christian era.<sup>35</sup>

Amarāvati/Dhaṃṇakatakā, the nodal point of regional transport since pre-historic times, may have functioned as a crucial hub of this network.

<sup>29</sup> Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments*, p. 103.

<sup>30</sup> F.R. Allchin, 'Upon the Antiquity and Methods of Gold Mining in Ancient India', *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1962), pp. 200–211; Allchin, 'Antiquity of Gold Mining in the Gadag Region, Karnataka' in M.S. Nagaraja Rao ed., *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1981), pp. 81–83.

<sup>31</sup> *Periplus*, sec. 59; *Arthaśāstra* 2.11.2.

<sup>32</sup> *Periplus*, secs. 28, 39, 49, 56.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Belwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, 2nd edition (Canberra: ANU e-Press, 2007), pp. 293–95; Roxanna M. Brown and Pariwat Thammapreechakorn ed., 'Indian Rouletted Ware Discovered in Thailand', *Southeast Asian Ceramics Museum Newsletter*, vol. 2–7 (2005).

<sup>34</sup> As for the early view on the date of Rouletted Ware, see Wheeler, Ghosh and Deva, 'Arikamedu', pp. 45–46. Regarding the recent views, see Begley, 'From Iron Age', pp. 305–16; H.P. Ray, *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 33.

<sup>35</sup> A recent discovery of Stamped Ware, a common pottery in archipelago South-east Asia, from the Andhran coast also supports this view. See P. Krishna Mohan Reddi, 'Maritime Trade of Early South India: New Archaeological Evidences from Motupalli, Andhra Pradesh', *East and West*, 51 (2001), pp. 143–56; K.P. Rao, 'Early Trade and Contacts between South India and Southeast Asia (300 BC–AD 200)', *East and West* 51 (2001), pp. 385–94.

Large ships sailing from the mouth of the Krishna to Amarāvati presumably had to terminate there to unload trade items, because the onward flow of the river becomes narrow and rapid. Various commodities from the upward plateau areas, on the other hand, may have been gathered and loaded onto the large ships here as well. This hypothesis seems to find strong support from archaeological evidence at Dharanikoṭa (=Dhamñakaṭaka). Excavations at the city site yielded massive remains of moat-cum-wharfs surrounding the fortifications. They were originally made of wood supported by wooden posts in phase II, and were renovated with bricks in phase III. Although the published reports do not give detailed dates of these phases, they are certainly earlier than the later Sātavāhana phase (phase VI).<sup>36</sup> The excavator of the site also affirms that the active period of the wharf is dated well before the Christian era.<sup>37</sup> It is highly likely that the city had developed shipping activities by the post-Mauryan period.

### III. EXPANSION AND INTENSIFICATION: THE SADA-SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

#### 1. *From Regional State to Inter-regional State*

This political and economic development in the post-Mauryan period progressed further under the Sadas, a regional dynasty which ruled the larger part of coastal Andhra for at least a century (five or six generations). Although the historical evidence on this recently-found dynasty is still meagre, a few epigraphic records indicate the presence of a regular administrative structure indicated by titles such as an irrigation officer (?) (*pan-iyagharika*) and a scribe (*lekhaka*).<sup>38</sup> There is also little doubt that the dynasty maintained royal coinage. Unlike the post-Mauryan coinage, which was basically uninscribed, the Sada coins were consistently inscribed with the ruler's name and kept the same design, a standing lion facing a tree

<sup>36</sup> *IAR* (1962-63), pp. 1-2.

<sup>37</sup> See Raghavachary, 'Dharanikota and its Western Contacts', pp. 169-70. Although this remnant of the wharf was covered over after the excavations, my field survey confirmed a similar remnant, consisting of rows of wooden posts based upon limestone pavestones and typical early historic bricks (ca. 25×25×7 centimetres), at the bank of the Krishna about a half kilometer west of the city.

<sup>38</sup> Sivaramamurti, no. 72; Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments*, p. 68. Another official which may have existed in the Sada reign was *uparaka*, mentioned in an Amarāvati inscription (Chanda, no. 33) carved on a crossbar of the first phase railing (ca. 50 BCE). Chanda suggests that this could denote a viceroy (skt: *uparika*), although he also points out the *uppara* in Terugu means a caste of diggers of tanks and wells.

with a railing on the obverse. Interestingly, the design continues that of the above-mentioned die-struck copper coins found in the Amarāvati area. As Prasad has noticed, the coinage of the Sadas adopted the design of their predecessors' currency whose value had already been recognized.<sup>39</sup> So far larger numbers of Sada coins have been found in Amarāvati and its surrounding settlements (Dharanikoṭa and Vaddamānu), but the discovery sites extend along the east coast from Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district to the north and Padugupādu in Nellore district to the south.<sup>40</sup> We may assume that the larger part of the lower Krishna valley and coastal Andhra region attained further political and economic integration under the rule of the Sadas, while they must also have competed with other local rulers.

It is also likely that the later Sātavāhanas, the imperial dynasty which defeated the Sadas, further extended and refined the socio-political and socio-economic structure of the Andhra region. At the moment, primary evidence to support any enquiry into the political structure of the Sātavāhana empire is largely confined to a limited amount of epigraphic data in the western Deccan and Karnataka. These records inform us that the dynasty sent officials to the territory for inspections and tax collection.<sup>41</sup> Their territory was divided into administrative units called *āhāra-s*. A Nāsik Buddhist cave inscription, for instance, records Govardhanāhāra, which was located near the Buddhist cave.<sup>42</sup> Similarly a Kaṅherī inscription mentions Sopārahāra, obviously denoting Sopāra, a famous trade centre near Kaṅherī.<sup>43</sup> These *āhāra-s* may have been further divided into smaller units, since the above mentioned Nāsik inscription uses the terms *dakṣiṇamagge* (south road) and *pūvamagge* (east road) to designate the location of a *gāma* (village) in Govardhanāhāra. Besides the *āhāra-s*, there may have been another different territorial category called *patha* such as Paithānapatha, mentioned in a Kaṅherī inscription.<sup>44</sup> According to H.P. Ray, while *āhāra-s* may have been administrative boundaries based on agricultural units, *patha-s* may denote non-agricultural boundaries developed near trade routes.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> P.R.K. Prasad, 'Pre-Sada Phase at Sri Dhanyakataka' *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress, 19th Session* (1995), p. 31; Prasad 'A Hoard of Miniature Copper Coins', pp. 322-23.

<sup>40</sup> Prasad, 'Sada Coins', p. 53.

<sup>41</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', no. 19; Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', nos. 4, 19; Lüders, no. 1105, 1125, 1141.

<sup>42</sup> Senart 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 3; Lüders, no. 1124.

<sup>43</sup> Ghokale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, no. 6.

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

<sup>45</sup> Ray, *Monastery and Guild*, p. 57.

In these *āhāra*-s, royal officers (*amaca* = skt: *amātya*) were assigned to execute orders from the Sātavāhana kings. Nāsik inscriptions record three different *amaca*-s at Govardhanāhāra (named Viṅhupālita, Sivaguta and Sāmaka), within the six-year reign of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi.<sup>46</sup> In the 22th year of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāyi, the same *āhāra* had another *amaca* named Sivakhadila.<sup>47</sup> R.S. Sharma argues that these frequent changes of the *amaca*-s indicate the inheritable nature of this position, and equates them with the *mahāmātra*-s of the Mauryas.<sup>48</sup> Although the relationship with the Sātavāhana is not clear, other epigraphic evidence indicates the presence of *amaca*-s in coastal Andhra and Karnataka around the same period.<sup>49</sup>

We must note, however, that this ruling system may not have been entirely new in the Deccan. Notable in this regard is the origin of *āhāra*-s. Epigraphic evidence shows that this territorial division was used not only by the later Sātavāhanas, but also by the Kṣaharātas who were defeated by Gotamīputa.<sup>50</sup> If we accept the chronological sequence of the existing epigraphic evidence, this might indicate that the later Sātavāhanas adopted the prevailing territorial division used by the Kṣaharātas. If this is the case, it would suggest that the Sātavāhanas did not create the ruling structure in the Deccan from scratch, but used existing administrative structures.

This view finds further support in epigraphic evidence showing the presence of minor rulers within the empire. Inscriptions at Buddhist caves in the western Deccan, dated between ca. 50 BCE and 200 CE, record a considerable number of donations from the Mahārathis and the Mahābhajas.<sup>51</sup> Although it is unclear if these titles denote names of families or aristocratic titles under the Sātavāhanas, there is little doubt that they formed hereditary groups, since an inscription at Kārlā, in the reign of Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāyi, records a *mahārathi* whose father was also a

<sup>46</sup> Senart 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', nos. 4 and 5; Lüders, no. 1125, 1126.

<sup>47</sup> Senart 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 3; Lüders, no. 1124.

<sup>48</sup> R.S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, 3rd rev. edition (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991), pp. 276-77.

<sup>49</sup> H. Krishna Sastri, 'The Kodavali Rock-Inscription of Chandasati, the Second Year of Reign', *EI*, 18 (1925-26), pp. 316-19; P. Seshadri Sastri, 'Dharanikota Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription', *EI* 24 (1937-38), p. 259; B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, 'Inscribed Sealings from Chebrolu' *Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress, nth Session* (1987), pp. 45-48.

<sup>50</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 12; Lüders, 1133. The term appears as early as the 2nd century BCE in Sānchī I railing inscription. See Lüders, no. 268 and Tsukamoto, Sānchī no. 150.

<sup>51</sup> Lüders, nos. 1037, 1045, 1052, 1058, 1100, 1111, 1112.

*mahārathi*.<sup>52</sup> The same inscription also records a donation of a whole village from the *mahārathi*. This suggests that the *mahārathi* held territorial rights even in the Sātavāhana period. Further, it is remarkable that the Sātavāhanas, Mahārathis and Mahābhojas seem to have had marital relationships with each other.<sup>53</sup> The earliest record to show this relationship is the Nānaghāt inscription (ca. 50 BCE or earlier), which describes the wife of king Sātakaṇi as a daughter of a *mahārathi*.<sup>54</sup> An inscription at Kaṇherī (ca. 200 CE) also records a donor who was not only the wife of a *mahārathi*, but also the sister of a *mahābhoja*. She is also described as the daughter of a *mahārāja*, which probably denotes a Sātavāhana king.<sup>55</sup> The importance of marital alliance for the diplomatic policy of the later Sātavāhanas finds further support in their attempts to keep marital links with the *kṣatrapa*-s, although this failed to prevent conflicts between them.<sup>56</sup> These records all suggest that the Sātavāhana rule in the western Deccan was based on diplomatic alliances with local chiefs, who seem to have enjoyed hereditary status in their territories even under the hegemony of the Sātavāhanas. In the newly conquered area in Andhra, it is less clear how the Sātavāhanas treated the local rulers. According to Mangalam, numismatic evidence shows that the Sātavāhanas controlled currency and did not allow local rulers to issue new coins after their dominance.<sup>57</sup> As shown by the rise of the Ikṣvākus in the 3rd century CE, however, local rulers most likely survived and retained some political power in their land. This situation probably continued in the Ikṣvāku period, since the Pātagaṇḍigūden grant mentions the presence of local kings (*ettakā rājāṇo*), *talavara*-s and *mahātaravara*-s who seem to have enjoyed power in their areas.<sup>58</sup>

This non-unified nature of Sātavāhana rule seems to have been reflected in the economic structure as well. The dynasty, ruling almost the entire Deccan in the peak period, is known to have issued a number of regional currencies which circulated in different parts of the empire, while it also

<sup>52</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', no. 14; Lüders, no. 1100.

<sup>53</sup> Thomas R. Trautmann, *The Dravidian Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 363-75; Ray, *Monastery and Guild*, p. 178.

<sup>54</sup> Bühler 'The Nānāghāt Inscription', pp. 60 (line 3) and 61; Lüders, no. 1112.

<sup>55</sup> Lüders, no. 1021; Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, no. 39.

<sup>56</sup> Lüders, nos. 965, 994.

<sup>57</sup> Mangalam, 'Coins of Feudatories and Contemporaries of the Sātavāhanas', pp. 360-72.

<sup>58</sup> Falk, 'The Pātagaṇḍigūdem Copper-plate Grant', pp. 279-80.

issued 'universal' currency used throughout the empire.<sup>59</sup> In newly conquered areas, they even adopted the design of the local currencies which had circulated before their rule for their regional currencies. In the case of coastal Andhra, one of such regional issues by the later Sātavāhanas was the ship design, apparently reflecting the flourishing sea trade in the Bay of Bengal.<sup>60</sup> Another intriguing regional currency, issued by Vāsiṭhi-puta Siri Puḷumāyi and his successor Vāsiṭhi-puta Siri Sātakaṇi in coastal Andhra, has the design of a standing lion on the obverse. As mentioned above, this was the traditional design of local currency in this area used in the post-Mauryan copper coins in Amarāvati as well as in the Sada coins.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps these two Sātavāhana rulers intentionally adopted this design to facilitate the acceptability of their currency in this region. It is also important to note that the Sātavāhanas did not abolish pre-Sātavāhana currency. Important evidence supporting this assumption is the presence of Sada coins counter-struck with *nandipada* symbols in the reign of Vāsiṭhi-puta Sātakaṇi. As Prasad has argued, this symbol was probably the sign of re-authorizing old currency under his rule.<sup>62</sup>

The above numismatic evidence suggests that the currency system of the Sātavāhana empire had a fairly complex structure. In contrast to the Mauryas, who seem to have circulated a single type of PMC (the Imperial issue) in the greater part of their empire, the Sātavāhanas issued many types of regional currencies besides their universal currency. They also authorized the re-circulation of older currencies issued by predecessors as well. If the Sātavāhanas had been the first agent of a complex economic system to the Deccan, why didn't they employ the single currency system as the Mauryas had done before them? A possible reason was that local commercial networks and currency systems were already well established in various parts of the Deccan and coastal Andhra, including the lower Krishna valley. For the Sātavāhana rulers, it would have been unwise and unrealistic to abolish these local systems. Instead, they tried to control regional commercial networks by admitting regional currencies, while circulating their own universal currencies to integrate local commercial

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<sup>59</sup> P.L. Gupta, 'The Coinage of the Sātavāhanas: Types and their Regional Distribution', in A.M. Shastri ed., *Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from excavations* (Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1972), pp. 41-62; Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana*, pp. 76-106; Bhandare, 'Historical Analysis', pp. 49-142.

<sup>60</sup> Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana*, p. 68; H.P. Ray, 'Early Trade in the Bay of Bengal', *The Indian Historical Review*, 14 (1987-88), p. 85.

<sup>61</sup> Prasad, 'Sada Coins', p. 56.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

networks into the inter-regional networks of the empire. Their rule, therefore, did not create entirely new political and economic structures. Rather, the success of their empire may have relied on the effective unification of already existing local political and economic units in the Deccan and Andhra.

## 2. *Expansion of Socio-Economic Spaces*

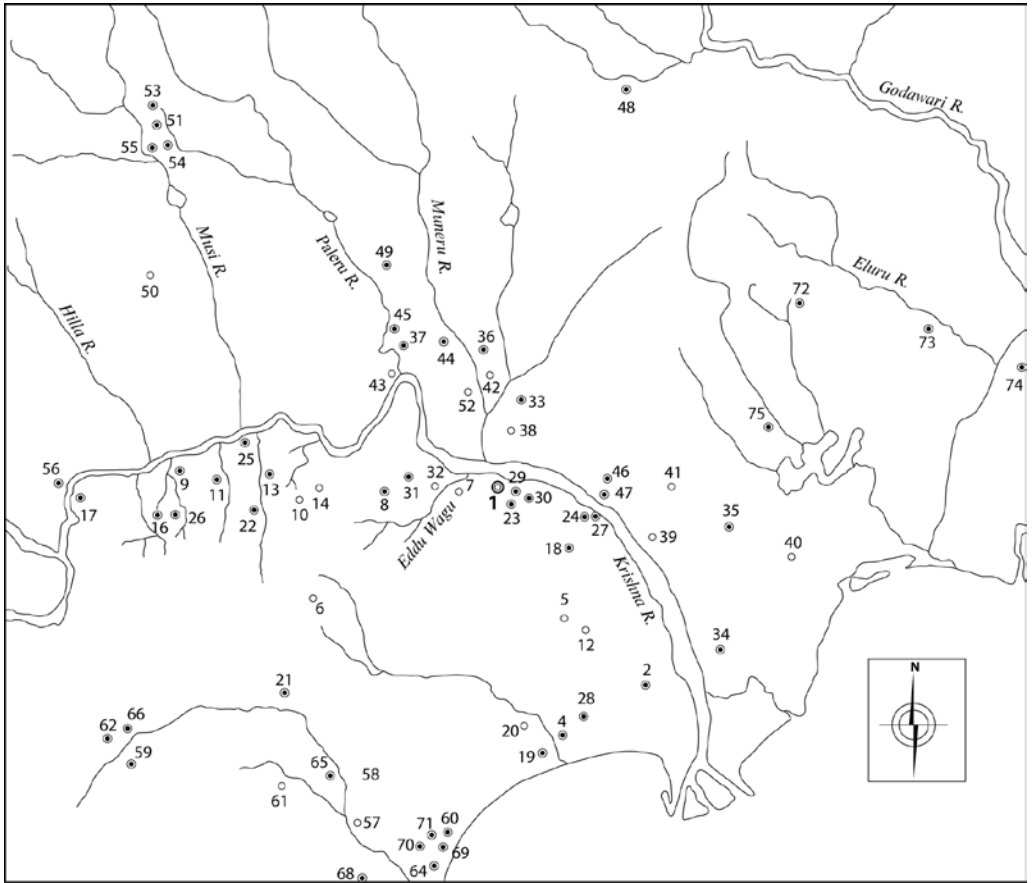
### (1) *Intensification of Communication Networks*

Undoubtedly, the political and economic integration of the lower Krishna valley under the Sadas and its subsequent integration into the inter-regional Sātavāhana state system had significant effects for socio-economic development. Archaeologically, this is corroborated by the further growth of early historic sites, many of which are Buddhist remains (Appendix B) (Map 6). To the west of Amarāvati, for instance, there is a series of early historic sites spreading along the Krishna, such as Vipparla, Velpūru, Garikapādu, Kondamotu, Kesānapalli, Pondugala, Gurzala and Goli, Rentāla and Manchikallu (nos. 32, 31, 8, 14, 13, 25, 11, 9).<sup>63</sup> This chain of early historic settlements continues up to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (no. 17), an important Buddhist centre and habitation site and the future capital of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. To the east of Amarāvati, major settlements/Buddhist sites spread again along the river, like Vaikunthapuram, Peddamaddūru, Vaddamānu, Penumaka, Seethanagaram and Vijayawada (nos. 29, 23, 30, 24, 27, 47), and extended to the deltaic area. Similar alignments of settlements developed to the north of Amarāvati along the Muneru and Paleru, two major tributaries of the Krishna. One line of settlements seems to cross the river from Amarāvati and proceed to Buddhist sites at Allūru and Gummadidurru (nos. 33 and 36). Another line goes up along the Paleru river to reach Jaggayyapeta, Takkelpādu and Nialakondapalli (nos. 37, 45, 49). Both lines appear to have extended in a north-west direction along the flow of the Muneru and Paleru, and reached the sites clustered around Suryapet and Jangaon such as Gajulabanda, Tirumalagiri, Phanigiri and Vardhamanukota (nos. 51, 53, 54, 55).

Mapping these early historic sites not only reveals the growth of Buddhist monastic sites and supporting settlements by this period, but shows the development of trade networks. The lines of settlements clearly indicate their close link with Krishna river systems, which pro-

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<sup>63</sup> For the further references of these sites, see Appendix B.



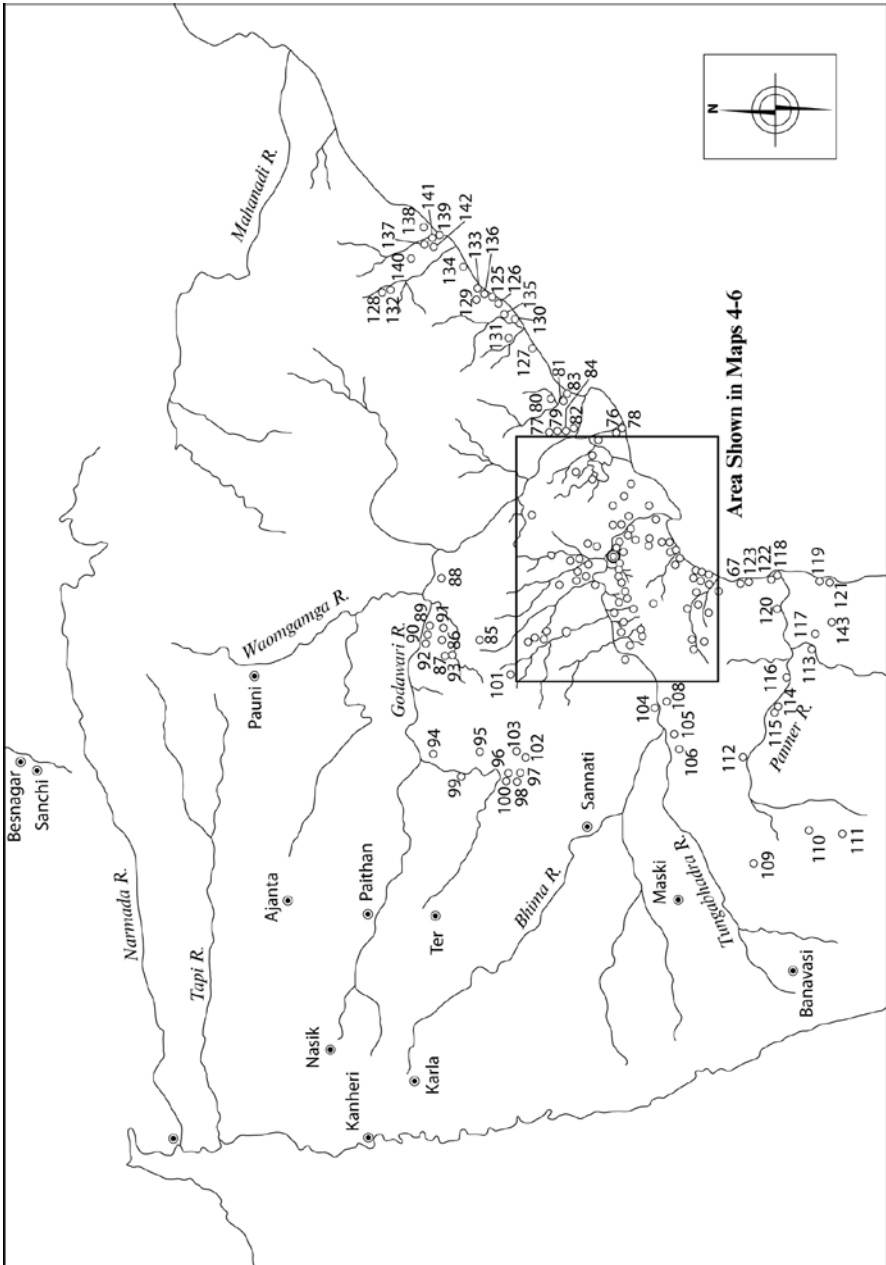
Map 6. Major settlements in the lower Krishna valley and the surroundings by the Sada-Sātavāhana period; ● =Buddhist sites, ○ =non-Buddhist sites.

vided this region with the fastest and the most efficient means of transport. This pattern of settlement lines thus appears to show how major trade routes developed along the rivers. It is interesting to note that these river networks seem to have been supplemented by land routes running along the rivers, since a number of smaller sites, such as Vaddamānu, Peddamaddūru Velpūru, Garikapādu, Kesānapalli and Rentāla along the Krishna (nos. 30, 23, 31, 8, 13, 26), are located a considerable distance from the main river, although they are connected to it by small tributaries. The development of such land routes along the river indeed makes sense if we consider the nature of the river system in this region. Not only was the plateau area inaccessible to large ships, but the water levels of the Krishna and its tributaries fall drastically in the dry season. To compensate for these deficiencies, extensive overland transport had to develop along the river. Another important feature of these networks is that they include a considerable number of post-Mauryan sites such as Garikapādu, Kesānapalli, Vaddamānu and Jaggayyapeta. This indicates that they were not entirely new creations in the Sada-Sātavāhana period, but further intensifications of the earlier networks.

This intensification of communication networks in the lower Krishna valley was also interlinked with developing inter-regional networks. According to my survey, thus far archaeological exploration and excavations have confirmed more than 140 early historic sites (ca. 300 BCE-300 CE) in the entire Andhra region (Appendix B) (Map 7). These sites are not distributed equally, but are mainly concentrated in the river valleys and also along the coast. As we saw in the Amarāvati region, this settlement pattern is likely to reflect major routes of transportation and communication. A main route extending from the lower Krishna valley probably ran along the main flow of the Krishna and connected coastal Andhra and the south-west Deccan (present north Karnataka) where epigraphic and numismatic evidence shows the strong presence of the Sātavāhanas even after their decline in the 3rd century CE.<sup>64</sup> Another route ran to the north-west along the tributaries (Muneru and Paleru). Passing through the major sites in the mid-Godavari valley such as Peddabankūr, Dhūlikatta and Kotilingala (nos. 91, 86, 89), the route probably extended either to the west coast or to the north via Pauni. The third route which developed along the coast connected the lower Krishna valley to the larger communications

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<sup>64</sup> Sukthankar 'A New Andhra Inscription', pp. 153-55; Gai 'Banavasi Inscription', pp. 239-42; Sharma 'Vāsana Inscription', pp. 154-58.



Map 7. Early historic sites in Andhra. (Ca. 300 BCE-300 CE.)

network of the Bay of Bengal, which included Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka to the south and Orissa and Bengal to the north.

Such trade networks not only linked Andhra to other parts of the sub-continent, but also extended to more distant places. As is well known, the *Periplus* describes coastal Andhra (Masaliā) as being famous for yielding cotton cloth and various other products. These commodities were sent to the west coast via Ter (Tagara) and Paithan (Paithana), and exported to the Roman world.<sup>65</sup> The region's involvement in Roman trade is also attested by the numerous discoveries of Roman coins. Their find-spots are widely dispersed in inland as well as coastal Andhra.<sup>66</sup> Although the date is somewhat later, it is also notable that Ikṣvāku inscriptions at Nāgārjuna-koṇḍa record a unit of currency called *dināri-māsaka* (skt: *dināra-māṣaka*), which was most probably derived from Roman Denarius coins.<sup>67</sup>

Besides the Roman Empire, coastal Andhra also continued strong maritime connections with South-east Asia. An important indication of this phenomenon, apart from the discovery of Rouletted Ware in South-east Asia, may be observed in the increasing use of tin. This metal, which is scarce in the Indian subcontinent, started appearing around the post-Mauryan period in copper coins containing a high percentage of tin. This high-tin copper, called potin, constituted a major material of later Sātavāhana coinage.<sup>68</sup> Ray suggests that use of this alloy may have originated from South-east Asia, since the area, which is famous for its rich tin mines, produced similar high-tin bronze in the contemporary period.<sup>69</sup> If this is the case, coastal Andhra may have been a crucial trade centre for importing this metal from South-east Asia.

## (2) *Cultural Intercourse*

The above intensification of regional and inter-regional networks not only activated commerce, but also led to cultural intercourse. This view is readily corroborated by the stylistic features of Amarāvati sculpture in the late

<sup>65</sup> *Periplus*, secs. 51 and 62.

<sup>66</sup> Ray, *Monastery and Guild*, p. 142; V.V. Krishna Sastry, *Roman Gold Coins: Recent Discoveries in Andhra Pradesh* (Hyderabad: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1992); B. Subrahmanyam, G.V. Rama Krishna Rao and P. Brahma Chary, *Roman Gold Coins: A Treasure Trove from Penuganchiprolu* (Hyderabad: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 2008).

<sup>67</sup> Jean Ph. Vogel, 'Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda', B5; D.C. Sircar, 'Some Brahmi Inscriptions', *EI*, 34 (1961-62), B-III.

<sup>68</sup> Sarma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana*, p. 56.

<sup>69</sup> H.P. Ray, 'Early Trade', pp. 83-84; Ray, *The Winds of Change*, pp. 116-17.

period. As we have argued in Chapter Two, the sculpture had largely retained stylistic features of the post-Mauryan period in the first phase (ca. 50-1 BCE) of the sculptured limestone railing (Pls. 23, 36, 37). In the second phase (ca. 50-100 CE) of the railing (Pls. 26, 34, 38, 40), however, the sculpture drastically changed the style of its naturalistic representation of plant motifs, full-volume of human figures and complex composition of narrative relief. This stylistic change seems to be the result of increasing political, economic and cultural intercourse particularly with the Malwa and western Deccan where sculptures of greater volume in style were fabricated in the earlier period, and possibly also with the Roman Empire. In the third phase (ca. 200-250 CE) of the railing (Pl. 26), the sculptures' style and iconography drastically changed again. One of the most obvious changes is the introduction of Buddha images, which most likely occurred by intercourse with Mathurā and Gandhāra. It is also interesting to note that a Bactrian camels with two humps started appearing in the reliefs around this period.<sup>70</sup> These frequent stylistic and iconographic changes in sculpture demonstrate well the vigorous social circumstances of the Sada-Sātavāhana period, when the lower Krishna valley developed active communications with outside regions.

This flourishing artistic activity at Andhran Buddhist sites not only embraced foreign influence, but also exported its artistic accomplishments to outside regions. A useful index indicating this phenomenon is the distribution of Andhran-style sculptures typically carved on greenish-white limestone. In northern Karnataka which is connected with Andhra by the Krishna river, abundant limestone narrative sculptures showing a clear stylistic and iconographic influence from Andhran sculpture have been found at Sannati (Kanganhalli), Hampi and Banavasi.<sup>71</sup> In the north-west

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<sup>70</sup> See Knox, no. 104 (re-cut animals on a band of a dome slab). My thanks to Joe Cribb in the British Museum for notifying me of this.

<sup>71</sup> I was not able to see a full report of the Kanganhalli excavations, which should be published soon. In addition to my field surveys at Sannati and Kanganhalli in 1998 and 2003, I consulted for the following publications. M. Seshadri, 'Buddhist Monuments at Sannathi', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 56 (1966), pp. 35-37; Seshadri, 'Buddhist Monuments in Mysore', *Artibus Asiae*, 34 (1972), pp. 169-70; M.S. Nagaraja Rao, 'Brāhmī Inscriptions and Their Bearing on the Great Stūpa at Sannathi', in *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on History of Art*, pp. 41-45; J.R. Howell, *Excavations at Sannathi 1986-1989*, *MASI*, 93 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1995); *IAR* (1993-94), pp. 65-66; *IAR* (1994-95), pp. 37-40; *IAR* (1996-97), pp. 52-66; *IAR* (1997-98), pp. 77-96; *IAR* 1998-99, 66; J. Das, 'Spread of Buddhism in Northern Karnataka', in Aloka Parasher-Sen ed., *Kevala-Bodhi: Buddhist and Jaina History of the Deccan*, 2 vols (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2004), I, pp. 139-147; M.S. Krishna Murthy, in G. Kamalakar and M. Veerander ed., 'Buddhism in Karnataka' in *Buddhism: Art, Architecture, Literature and Philosophy* (Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2005), vol. I,

Deccan, similar limestone sculptures are found as far as Ter (ancient Tagara), mentioned in *Periplus* as the important commercial hub connecting the east and west coasts (Pl. 65).<sup>72</sup> Further north in Malwa, although not using limestone, a rail pillar at Andher *stūpa* I, depicting 'Interpretation of the Dream' (or '*lokapāla*-s' visiting *Suddhodana*'), clearly shows iconographic influence from Andhra.<sup>73</sup> On the coast, similar limestone sculptures were found at Goganamatham in East Godavari District (Map 7, no. 78).<sup>74</sup> Sculptures found at Thotlakonda and Bavikonda monasteries in Visakhapatnam District (ca. 1-3rd century CE) depict typical Andhran motifs, such as Cakravartin, Buddhapāda and Nāga, although they use local khondalite for carving.<sup>75</sup> To the south, Andhran limestone sculptures were found at Chinna Ganjan, Pedda Ganjan and Uppugunḍūr in Prakasan District (Map 6, nos. 60, 69, 71), but were also reported as far as Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka.<sup>76</sup> As for the cylindrical structure of the *stūpa*-s, another distinct feature of Andhran Buddhist culture, we may find examples from Salihundam in the north, Ter in the west and Pedda Ganjan in the south.<sup>77</sup> This wide distribution of Andhran-style sculptures and *stūpa*-s clearly indicates that the Andhran Buddhist culture provided an

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pp. 117-34; M. Meister, 'Early Architecture and Its Transformations: New Evidence for Vernacular Origin for the Indian Temple' in A. Hardy, ed., *The Temple in South Asia* (London: British Association for South Asian Studies, 2007), pp. 1-19; Elizabeth Rosen Stone, 'Some Begram Ivories and the South Indian Narrative Tradition: New Evidence', *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 3 (2008), pp. 47-50. On the sculptures from Hampi, see I.K. Sarma, and V.K. Rao, *Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Sannati* (New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1993), p. 109 and pl. 28. It is not clear if these sculptures in the plateau region also used Palnad limestone yielded in Andhra, as similar limestone is available locally.

<sup>72</sup> *IAR* 1961-62, p. 102 and pls. 149 and 150; Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 151.

<sup>73</sup> See Willis ed., *Buddhist Reliquaries from Ancient India*, fig. 117 (Andher) and Knox, nos. 61 and 104 (Amarāvati). About the relief at Andher, also see Kurt Behrendt, 'An Unnoticed Relief from the Bhilsa Topes and its Relationship to the Sculpture of Sanchi', *SAS*, 16 (2000), pp. 1-9. Although Behrendt dated the relief and the rail pillar to ca. 80 BCE in comparison with Bhārhut, the relief is most likely a later re-cut dated to the 1-2nd century CE.

<sup>74</sup> *IAR* 1962-63, p. 66.

<sup>75</sup> V.V. Krishna Sastry, B. Subrahmanyam and N. Rama Krishna Rao, *Thotlakonda (a Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh)* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1992), pls. 58, 60, 64, 65; N.R.V. Prasad, *Bavikonda: A Buddhist Site in North Coastal Andhra Pradesh* (Hyderabad: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1994), pls. 57 and 58.

<sup>76</sup> See *IAR* 1959-60, p. 67; Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka* (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 1990), figs. 8D-E, 9A-D. The link between Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Sri-Lanka is also indicated by a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the Ikṣvāku period, which records a donation to a monastery for Sri-Lankan monks. See Vogel, 'Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda' no. F.

<sup>77</sup> Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp. 2-3; *IAR* 1967-68, p. 35.

important prototype for Buddhism in South India, as did the contemporary Mathurā and Gandhāra in the North. It also demonstrates the extensive communication networks that connected Andhra and the surrounding regions.

#### IV. THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY: EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Summarizing the foregoing argument, the available archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic evidence indicates a consistent development of socio-political and socio-economic conditions in the lower Krishna valley ranging at least between the post-Mauryan and Sātavāhana period. The social development of the valley thus cannot be conceived as a sudden accomplishment by a particular dynasty, but was a process of a gradual but successful integration of local political and economic units which had been developed in the Deccan and coastal Andhra. This economic and political integration of the valley also accompanied an expansion and intensification of intercourse with the outside world. People in this period broke traditional geographical and cultural boundaries, and communicated with a wider variety of people from different cultural backgrounds. We can safely assume such developments of heterogeneous social relationships not only activated commerce and cultural activities, but also transformed the fundamental nature of society. What kind of social transformation, then, may have taken place in this period?

Although it is difficult to be precise about this point, a useful source of enquiry into this question is the Amāravatī inscriptions, the largest source of epigraphic data among all Andhran Buddhist sites in the early historic period (a total of 304 published inscriptions) (Appendix C).<sup>78</sup> Although these records are often fragmentary, or 'label' inscriptions designating the

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<sup>78</sup> There is no complete catalogue of the Amāravatī inscriptions. I have examined the inscriptions published in Fergusson 1873, pp. 260-62 (nos. 1-20); Burgess 1887, pp. 27-106 (nos. 1-56); Lüders, nos. 1206-1326; Chanda, pp. 258-78 (nos. 1-58); Sivaramamurti, pp. 273-304 (nos. 1-126); M. Rama Rao, 'Two Prakṛt Fragments from Amāravatī', *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Seventh Session* (1944), p. 144; V. Raghavan, 'A New Amāravatī Inscription.' *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Seventh Session* (1944), p. 146; P.R. Srinivasan, 'Recently Discovered Early Inscriptions from Amāravatī and Their Significance', *Lalit Kala*, 10 (1961), pp. 59-60; Ghosh and Sarkar, pp. 168-177 (nos. A-H); Ghosh 1979, pp. 97-103 (nos. 1-44); Sarkar 1971, pp. 1-13 (nos. 45-71); Sarma 1975, pp. 60-74 (nos. 72-84); Sarma 1980, pp. 18-21 (nos. 85-89); Tsukamoto, Amāravatī nos. 1-217. Regarding the transcription and interpretation of inscriptions, I follow Tsukamoto's catalogues if they were in the list. Otherwise, I follow the report of each inscription.

themes of narrative sculptures, they nevertheless provide information about the people who made donations to the Buddhist *stūpa*. Another important feature of the Amarāvati inscriptions is their wide range of date. As argued in the previous chapter, they can be divided into two phases: the early period (ca. 200-100 BCE or the post-Mauryan period), and the late period (ca. 50 BCE-250 CE or the Sada-Sātavāhana period) based on palaeography and the stylistic features of accompanying sculptures. Indeed, beyond palaeographic features, it is possible to discern two distinct differences between the early and later inscriptions of Amarāvati, which seem to reflect the social conditions of each period.

### 1. *The Prevalence of Writing*

The first distinct difference is the length and style of the inscription in each period. The inscriptions of the early period are short and simple; those of the late period are long and complex. An early inscription cut on a plain limestone crossbar, for example, reads as follows:

*Utikasa mātu Kuṃbāyā sūci*

The cross bar (is the gift) of Kumbā, the mother of Utika<sup>79</sup>

One might assume that this terse format was the result of limited space for inscriptions. This is, however, not the case. To illustrate this point, it is sufficient to cite the following inscription on one face of a massive granite pillar, whose width is about one metre.

*Kalavaira-gāmasa thabho*

(the gift of) the pillar of Kalavaira village<sup>80</sup>

The inscriptions thus generally contain two kinds of information: (1) names of donors with the gender indicated by the genitive case ending; (2) donated objects such as a rail pillar (*thabo*), crossbar (*sūci*) etc.

In terms of the patterns of donations and the donors' identifications, a large number of these inscriptions record the name of a single individual (thirty-seven records) (Appendix C, I-1). Except for their names, these donors rarely reveal their social status. There exist, for example, no records showing their *varṇa*-s and *jāti*-s. There are only twelve inscriptions revealing the donors' or kinsmen's occupations. Besides those of royal status and state officials mentioned in Chapter One, only three other occupations

<sup>79</sup> Sivaramamurti, no. 23.

<sup>80</sup> Ghosh 1979, no. 1.

were recorded: monks/nuns;<sup>81</sup> merchants (*sethi*);<sup>82</sup> and a chief artisan (*āvesanin*).<sup>83</sup> There exist twenty-one examples recording kin relationships with the names of donors. Six examples, however, record neither professions nor family relationships, but donors' names only. This simple inscripational style may be observed not only in Amarāvati, but also at other contemporary Buddhist sites in the lower Krishna valley. Of the thirteen post-Mauryan inscriptions from the Vaddamānu (ca. 200-100 BCE), only one inscription from a king reveals his occupation.<sup>84</sup> Eleven inscriptions on three relic caskets and a hexagonal crystal discovered from the Bhaṭṭiproḷu *stūpa* record a total of sixty-six people who contributed donations. Only four people, however, specify their occupations: a king (*rāja*), a treasurer/goldsmith (*hiraṇakāra*) and two monks.<sup>85</sup> Of the fifteen inscriptions on pavement stones of the Kesānapalli *stūpa*, only one donor (a monk) reveals his occupation.<sup>86</sup> Although they are not Andhran Buddhist sites, similar features may be observed at Bhārhut and Sānchī I as well.<sup>87</sup>

In the late period inscriptions, by contrast, we may see a much longer and more complex format. An inscription cut on a rail pillar in the first phase (ca. 50-1 BCE or the Sada period), for instance, runs as follows.

1. *sidha Turulūrakasa gahapatisa Pusilasa putasa Sethivādicasa Sivakasa*
2. *gharaniya ca Munuriya jāmātukasa ca Vacitasa jāmātukasa ca Vicitasa jāmātuka=*

<sup>81</sup> Chanda, nos. 1, 3, 11; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati nos. 99, 101, 109.

<sup>82</sup> Ghosh 1979, no. 3; Sarma 1975, no. 74.

<sup>83</sup> Ghosh 1979, no. 38.

<sup>84</sup> Sastri, Bai, and Veerender, *Vaddamanu*, p. 262 (no. 1).

<sup>85</sup> Bühler 'The Bhattiprolu Inscriptions', nos. 5, 7, 9; Tsukamoto, Bhattiprolu nos. 5, 8, 10.

<sup>86</sup> Abdul Wahid Khan, *A Monograph on an Early Buddhist Stupa at Kesānapalli* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1969), p. 3 and pl. 9.

<sup>87</sup> Of a total of 133 Bhārhut votive inscriptions (Tsukamoto, Bhārhut nos. 1-4, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33-36, 42-44, 49, 53, 64, 71, 73, 74, 76-79, 81-83, 87, 88, 95, 99, 101, 104, 109-115, 118, 119, 121, 123, 124, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133-144, 146-199, 201, 202, 204-211, 214, 217, 218, 222, 224, 225), forty-five records mention occupational status. They are mostly monks (twenty-five records) and nuns (thirteen records) followed by royal families and officials (four records) although there are donations from a *gahapati* (no. 40) and two artisans (nos. 71, 176). According to Upinder Singh's study, of 846 post-Mauryan votive inscriptions at Sānchī, only thirty-eight inscriptions (thirty-five individual men, two male groups and one individual female) mention secular occupations while there are 252 donations from the *saṃgha*, which consist of 129 donations from monks and 123 donations from nuns (Singh, 'Sānchī', p. 15).

3. *sa ca Mahadevasa bālikaya Budhāya bālikaya Candapusaya bālikaya Camaya deyadhama*
4. *patuka ba [//]*

Success! Gift of two foot-prints (*patuka*) by Sivaka, the Setḥivādicha (inhabitant of *Śreṣṭivāda*), the son of the *gahapati* Pusila, the Turulūraka (inhabitant of *Turulūla*), and by his wife Munurī, his son-in-law Vichita, his son in law Vichita (?), his son in law Mahadeva, his daughter Budhā, his daughter Chadapusā, and his daughter Chamā.<sup>88</sup> (Lüders' translation)

To confirm that this longer format was not simply a matter of greater available space for writing, we may refer to another inscription from Amarāvati, inscribed on the narrow face of a *caitya* pillar (width: ca. 27.5 centimetres).<sup>89</sup> The inscription, which is dated to the same period as the rail pillar above by the style of the accompanying sculptures, is as follows:

1. *sidhaṃ vāniyasa Kuṭasa sa=*
2. *bheriyasa saputakasa saduhu=*
3. *tukasa sanatukasa dakhināyā=*
4. *ke cetiyakhabho sadhāduko dānaṃ [//]*

Success! Gift of a *caitya* pillar, with a relic, at the southern *āyaka* by the trader (*vāniya*) Kuṭa, together with his wife, son, daughter and grandsons (Lüders' translation)

Corresponding to their longer format, later period inscriptions contain more detailed information on donors and donations. They typically include (1) names of the main donor/donors (indicated by genitive suffix -sa, -na, -ya); (2) their occupations and kinship status; (3) names of the joint donors (indicated by prefix sa- 'with'); and (4) donated objects. Another conspicuous feature of the inscriptions is that a large number of them (eighty inscriptions) record multiple donors (Appendix C, II-1-2). In the cases of the above two inscriptions, the first record inscribes the names of as many as eight donors, who are all family members of a *gahapati*. Although the second inscription names only one person (Kuṭa, a *vāniya*) as the main donor, it also mentions three family members as joint donors. Such detailed

<sup>88</sup> Lüders, no. 1209; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati no. 16; Knox, no. 1. The translation of *patuka* as footprints is problematic, as there is no footprint on the pillar. As Barrett argued, this should be translated as 'slabs' or 'plates'. Barrett, 'Style and Palaeography at Amarāvati', pp. 79-80.

<sup>89</sup> Lüders, no. 1229; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati no. 34; Burgess 1887, pl. 45-1.

listing of donors was absent in the early period inscriptions, which mostly record only a single name (either as individuals or as larger institutional groups) for each donation.

Why are the formats of the two periods of inscriptions so different from one another? Considering these features within the larger social context, such as the expansion of communication networks and increasing heterogeneity of society, we may note an important social phenomenon which may be linked with this epigraphic change: the prevalence of writing. A revolutionary feature of writing is its capacity to transmit speech over space, and preserve it over time in material form.<sup>90</sup> This feature took on a particularly important role when people living in different geographical and cultural zones started interacting with each other.

In India, the above assumption is exemplified during the Mauryan period, when the subcontinent saw the first movement towards integration. Aśokan inscriptions, the earliest written documents in the subcontinent, repeatedly ask for an edict to be engraved 'on stone pillars and stone tablets, whatever is available, in order that it may endure for a long time'.<sup>91</sup> A pillar edict even informs us of the custom of making duplicated documents from the edicts. The duplicated texts were to be kept by officers (*mahāmātra*-s) and by lay people (*upāsaka*-s). Every fast-day (*uposata*), both officers and lay people had to assemble and check if the orders in the edicts were observed.<sup>92</sup> Perhaps Aśoka was fully aware of the power of writing, and used it to transmit and preserve his political/religious goal (*dharma*) in his vast empire, which was undoubtedly multicultural in character.

From the post-Mauryan period onwards, the use of writing started to become crucially important at a deeper level of society. Apart from the presence of abundant votive inscriptions in this period, textual sources also provide evidence on this point. In the Dharma *sūtra*-s, the earliest group of Indian classical law texts, there is no statement on the procedure of making legal written documents. This is also true of *Manusmṛti*, dated roughly around 100 BCE-200 CE or even later, although the presence of such documents is mentioned.<sup>93</sup> However in the *Arthaśāstra*, compiled

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<sup>90</sup> Jack Goody ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Pillar Edicts VII.

<sup>92</sup> Minor Pillar Edict (Sārṇath).

<sup>93</sup> See *Manusmṛti*, 8. 168. On the date of the *Manusmṛti*, see P. Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), xxii-xxiii.

as late as ca. 300 CE, the composition of royal charters in written form is explained in detail.<sup>94</sup> Keeping records was also described as a necessary procedure in accounting and legal practices.<sup>95</sup> In still later Dharma texts like the *Nārada* and *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, documents (*lekhyam*) were required for transactions of property and wealth, and their format was explained in full detail.<sup>96</sup> The later texts also state that properly made documents were legal even if the person who wrote them was not present.<sup>97</sup> These references suggest that written documents gradually replaced traditional oral statements and gained legal status in the early centuries CE. In the development of complex social relationships over extended areas, people developed a new method of communication and contract by writing.

This increasing importance of written documents during this period most likely affected the format of votive inscriptions. A notable example supporting this view is a famous Kṣaharāta inscription at Nāsik (dated to ca. 50 CE), which records donations by Uṣavadāta. The donation in year 42, for example, is as follows according to the translation by Senart:

In the year 42, in the month of Vesākha, Uṣavadāta, son of Dinika, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa, has bestowed this cave on the *saṃgha* generally; he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—*kāhāpaṇas*, which, for the members of the Saṃgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (*kuśana*); and those *kāhāpaṇas* have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govardhana,—2000 in a weavers' guild, interest one *pratika* (monthly) for the hundred; and those *kāhāpaṇas* are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed. Out of them, the two thousand-2000-at one *pratika* per cent, are the cloth money; out of twelve (*kāhāpaṇas*). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a *pratika* per cent, out of them the money for *kuśana*. And at the village of Chikhlapadra in the Kāpura district have been given eight thousand—8000—stems of coconut trees; and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom.<sup>98</sup>

Here we may recognize an apparent intention to specify when, by whom and what donations were made, and how they were to be used in as much detail as possible. A principle reason for this detailed content was that the inscription was a royal charter (*rājāśāsana*) which included an order about

<sup>94</sup> *Arthasāstra*: 2.10.1-63.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.7.2-3; 3.1.15-16.

<sup>96</sup> *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*: 2.86-97; *Nāradaśmṛti*: 1.114-126;

<sup>97</sup> *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*: 2.92; *Nāradaśmṛti*: 1.120.

<sup>98</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 12.

the transaction of money.<sup>99</sup> For our current concerns, however, more important is the fact that this detailed royal order was also a votive inscription engraved on the entrance of a *vihāra* for the donor's religious merit. Engraving detailed records, therefore, was important for preserving not only a king's order, but also his religious deeds.

The above point highlights the importance of engraving inscriptions on stone during this period. Undoubtedly, the permanent nature of the inscriptions was ideal for securing religious merit (*punya*) accrued from the donations. As noted by Lamotte, this function of the inscriptions is comparable with a 'merit-book' (*puṇyapustaka*) for recording religious deeds for securing merit.<sup>100</sup> The physical concreteness of the inscriptions may also have enabled the donors to 'stay' near the *saṃgha* and the Buddha (= *stūpa*-s), the two great fields of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*), through their inscribed names.<sup>101</sup> From the *saṃgha*'s point of view, such an inscription carved in stone was an important record for securing their right over the gift. In short, for preserving votive actions and protecting the rights of donors and donees, inscriptions had to be engraved. This point is further corroborated by an inscribed panel recently discovered at Kanganhalli.<sup>102</sup> The panel, dated to year 35 of Puṣumāyi, mentions that the nun Dharmasrī donated a 'lettered-plate' (*akhar[i]kapata*) with 'a spreading' ('satharo', probably of coins) to the *stūpa*. As noted by Falk, such a lettered-plate, which could be made in metal or could denote the slab itself, was an important legal document for completing a transaction, authorizing the right of donees and securing religious merits for the donors.

Considering votive inscriptions such as this, it is understandable that their formats became more elaborate as written documents increased in importance as legal documents. The increasing detail of inscriptions, in this regard, may be seen as an important sign of the emergence of a literate society.

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<sup>99</sup> Sircar suggests that this inscription was a copy of the original charter, which possibly was engraved on a copper plate. See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965, rpt., 1996), p. 108.

<sup>100</sup> Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, trans., by Sara Webb-Boin under the supervision of Jean Dantinne (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988), pp. 430-31 and 514-15.

<sup>101</sup> Gregory Schopen, 'What's in a Name: The Religious Function of the Early Donative Inscriptions', in Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 390-92.

<sup>102</sup> Falk, 'Two Dated Śātavāhana Epigraphs', pp. 201-205.

## 2. Disintegration of Traditional Society

Another notable difference of the Amarāvati inscriptions between the early and late periods is the units of the donations. While a large number of early-period inscriptions record donations from single individuals, they also contain a considerable number of collective donations, which treat large social groups as single donors (eight records). This includes four donations from *nigama*-s (townships) at Dhaṃṇakaṭaka, and two donations from *gāma*-s (villages) (Appendix C, I-1-3).<sup>103</sup> There is also a donation from a *pākoṭaka*, which Chanda attributed to the Vākāṭaka *kula* (extended family).<sup>104</sup> Another early inscription records a similar donation from another *kula*.<sup>105</sup> In addition to these collective donations, there are four inscriptions in which donors seem to identify themselves with the names of kinship groups and communities.<sup>106</sup> Although it is not a votive record, a label inscription at Amarāvati records another large social group called Vaṃda *goṭhi* (committees) at Dhaṃṇakaṭaka.<sup>107</sup> Bhaṭṭiproḷu inscriptions also record several donations from such *goṭhi*-s, which include one listing thirty-five members, and from a *nigama* comprising twenty-one members.<sup>108</sup> While the nature of these social groups is not clear, these inscriptions inform us that such groups, seemingly based on kinship and local communities, existed as distinctive social institutions in this period.

In the late-period inscriptions, by contrast, such large social groups rarely occur. We may see only one instance in this category, which was a donation from a town (*nigama*) headed by a merchant (*seṭhi*).<sup>109</sup> The majority of donations in this period were made from small groups of individuals, particularly families (Appendix C, II-2). They typically consist of two or three generations of family members, including donors' parents, wife/husband, brothers/sisters, children and grandchildren. The most conspicuous group of donors in family donations was undoubtedly formed by females who often acted as main donors and made donations with other female members of the family, such as daughters and granddaugh-

<sup>103</sup> Chanda, nos. 4, 5, 15; Ghosh 1979, no. 6 (Dhānyakaṭaka *nigama*-s). Chanda, no. 2; Ghosh, no. 1 (*gāma*-s).

<sup>104</sup> Chanda, no. 8.

<sup>105</sup> Chanda, no. 7.

<sup>106</sup> Chanda, no. 10; Ghosh 1979, nos. 7A, 24, 25.

<sup>107</sup> Ghosh and Sarkar, H.

<sup>108</sup> Bühler 'The Bhaṭṭiproḷu Inscriptions', nos. 3, 5, 8, 9; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiproḷu nos. 4, 5, 9, 10.

<sup>109</sup> Lüders, no. 1261; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati nos. 60;

ters.<sup>110</sup> Another interesting fact about family donation is that even some monks and nuns, who should have been detached from any secular relationship, made donations within a family relationship. An inscription, for instance, records a donation made by an elder monk together with his sister, who was also a nun.<sup>111</sup> Some nuns made donations with their granddaughters who were not necessarily nuns.<sup>112</sup> These examples indicate how the family, instead of larger kinship/community groups, had started functioning as a basic socio-economic unit by this period.

In relation to the above, another notable feature absent in the early period inscriptions is that many of these group donors specify their socio-economic status by designating their occupations (Appendix C, II-3). Apart from monks and nuns (thirty-nine records), the most conspicuous donors emerging in this period were *gahapati*-s (private landholders) and their families (thirty-one records). There also exist a considerable number of donations from merchants and traders (*seṭhi*, *vāṇiya*) (nine records), treasurers or goldsmiths (*heranika*) (three records), officials (three records), perfumers (*gadhika*) (two records), and a leather worker (*caṃmakāra*) (one record). These late-period inscriptions thus seem to indicate that while the large collective donations based on *kula*, *grāma*, *nigama* and *goṭhi* had become unpopular, small groups, especially families, emerged as the new and dominant social unit. At the same time, a wide variety of occupational terms became a common identification of the donors.

Admittedly, this epigraphic survey provides us with a sketchy and fragmentary picture only. But, nonetheless, it seems to indicate another significant social transformation. A useful model to support this view comes from studies on the Gangetic valley, which attained developed social structures much earlier than the Deccan. In her important work on the social development of the Gangetic valley in the later and post-Vedic periods, Romila Thapar has argued that the disintegration of the clan as a socio-economic unit was an important phenomenon accompanying the formation of states.<sup>113</sup> According to her theory, when each household increased its agricultural production and achieved independent economic status, land-holding by clans weakened. This disintegration of the clan system became complete with the appearance of *gahapati*-s in the post-

<sup>110</sup> Lüders 1260, 1262, 1295; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati nos. 59, 61, 88, Chanda 56, Sarma 86

<sup>111</sup> Lüders, no. 1223; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati no. 29.

<sup>112</sup> Lüders, nos. 1262, 1295; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati nos. 61, 88;

<sup>113</sup> Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium BC in the Ganga Valley* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 41-42 and 88-107.

Vedic period. As private landowners and rich merchants, *gahapati*-s now established independent social status without relying on the clan bond. Increasingly, society comprising such *gahapati*-s was no longer maintained by clan relationships. Established instead was the state, the new system for governing a society with diverse social components. Uma Chakravarti's study based on the Pāli canon reaches a similar view.<sup>114</sup> Chakravarti has pointed out that ancient clans in the lower Gangetic valley, such as the Sākya-s and Licchavi-s, seem to have held land communally based on tribal oligarchies (*gaṇa-saṅgha*). In such societies, there seem to have existed almost no *gahapati*-s. *Gahapati*-s, on the other hand, were conspicuous in the large states such as Magadha and Kosala. Chakravarti thus argues that the emergence of *gahapati*-s crucially presupposed the state, the new socio-economic system based on individual taxpayers and private property. Ghosh argues for a similar dismemberment of clan society in the context of urbanization. He says, "The varied population of the city no doubt produced greater heterogeneity and less isolation than in the village. The diversity of occupations gave rise to a larger division of labour than was required by the rural economy and tended to loosen bonds of kinship. Trade, largely based on money, gave the people greater mobility."<sup>115</sup>

Although the above studies have dealt with the social development of the Gangetic valley in the late and post-Vedic periods (ca. 1000-300 BCE), this explanation may be applicable to the lower Krishna valley, which experienced similar social transformations during the post-Mauryan and the Sada-Sātavāhana periods. In this region, substantial socio-economic and socio-political development towards the formation of the state started in the post-Mauryan period. Until this period or even later, despite the appearance of small local kingships, the greater part of this region may have retained the character of a pre-state social system based on traditional community and kinship relationships. The conspicuous presence of large social components in the early period inscriptions may reflect this situation.

However in the Sada-Sātavāhana period, when the later-period inscriptions were recorded, the social situation had considerably changed. A state system under the kingship had already developed in this region. Commercial activities based on extensive trade networks were also present, and brought significant wealth. It is likely that private land-holding

<sup>114</sup> Chakravarti, *Social Dimension of Early Buddhism*, pp. 85-93.

<sup>115</sup> A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1973), p. 39.

became common in this period, since the inscriptions of the western Deccan record land grants from ordinary citizens.<sup>116</sup> These social circumstances may have enabled individuals or individual families to attain economic independence by accumulating wealth. For such citizens, traditional social affiliations no longer had practical importance, since their socio-economic activities were now based on individual families. The most practical social identification for them was their occupation. The disappearance of larger social groups from the inscriptions, therefore, may represent the transformation from pre-state society, which was largely based on clan/community ties, into a state-based society, consisting of more diverse but independent household units.

#### SUMMARY

The above survey of the social formation of the lower Krishna valley reveals three major points. Firstly, the socio-political and socio-economic development of the valley was not a sudden phenomenon caused and directed by the rule of the particular dynasties, but a gradual development spanning the Mauryan and the Sātavāhana periods. The first major incident in this process is the integration of this region into the Mauryan empire, which may have introduced the prototype for a state system into this region. It was in the post-Mauryan period that the state system started functioning at the local level. The creation of a regional state by the Sadas, and the region's subsequent integration into the Sātavāhana empire successfully connected the local political and economic system to a larger structure.

Secondly, this process accompanied significant changes in the social circumstances of the region. Archaeological evidence suggests that state infrastructures, such as kingship with its limited bureaucracy, coinage and record keeping started functioning in this region from the post-Mauryan period. People in different areas started developing commercial and cultural relationships through the transportation networks. They now largely attained socio-economic independence through the possession of personal wealth. This increasing heterogeneity and complexity of society seems to have eroded traditional social institutions based on geographical and kinship ties, and developed a new system based on diverse relationships among individuals.

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<sup>116</sup> Tsukamoto, Junnār nos. 5, 11; Nagaraju *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, p. 330, nos. 5, 11 (Junnār-Manmodi); Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, nos. 24, 25, 40;

Finally, the flowering of the Amarāvati *stūpa* and Andhran Buddhism in general seems to have had a close connection with the above process of state formation and urbanization. The location pattern of Buddhist monastic remains in coastal Andhra clearly shows its close link with the major trade routes developing along the rivers and coast. Amarāvati, the nodal point connecting the plateau area with coastal area of the Krishna river valley, developed as an urban centre during the Mauryan period or even before, and substantially increased its importance as an economic and political hub when urbanization penetrated into the lower Krishna valley during the post-Mauryan period. The construction process of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, which started developing in the post-Mauryan time and continued in the Sada-Sātavāhana period, well accords with the urbanization of the lower Krishna valley. The flourishing of Amarāvati with its impressive construction activity thus occurred in the context of this conjunction of Buddhism, urbanism and state formation.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### BUDDHIST PATRONAGE

The last chapter revealed that the development of Buddhist construction work in the lower Krishna valley after 200 BCE was closely interconnected with fundamental social transformations of this region, which may also be described as urbanization. As shown in numerous votive inscriptions from Amarāvati, wealthy urban citizens emerging in this period warmly supported the construction work. This prompts another question: why did the urban elites warmly support Buddhism and Buddhist construction work? This is indeed a fundamental question not only for Amarāvati but for all religious construction activities in early historic India (ca. 300 BCE-300 CE). Surviving archaeological evidence suggests that durable-monumental structures in early historic India were dominantly Buddhist. Epigraphic evidence shows that these architectural accomplishments were supported not by a few powerful patrons, but by numerous collective donors from a wider section of society.<sup>1</sup> As Jonathan Walters has pointed out, such patronage involving large numbers of people, most probably required some organisation for integrating each small donation into the actual requirements for construction work.<sup>2</sup> What social and religious background, then, prompted people to make donations for the construction of Buddhist monasteries? How did Buddhism establish and maintain strong ties with the urban society? To address these larger historical questions, this chapter will explore widely the issues of Buddhist patronage in early historic India, while our special focus is still Andhra and the Deccan. In the first section, I will examine how the Buddhist way of patronage gained popularity in ancient India by comparison with Vedic/Brahmanic tradition. The second section will then discuss the organization of Buddhist collective patronage for construction work by integrating textual and epigraphic data in the Deccan.

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<sup>1</sup> Vidya Dehejia 'The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage: Sacred Monuments, 100 BC-AD 250', in Barbara Stoler Miller ed., *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 35-45.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan S. Walters, 'Stūpa, Story, and Empire: Constructions of the Buddha Biography in Early Post-Aśokan India', in J. Schober ed., *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), p. 170.

## I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHIST PATRONAGE

1. *The Rise of the Urban Ethic in Early Historic India*

As discussed in Chapter Three, the growth of urbanization seems to have fragmented kin-based relationships and led to the development of heterogeneous societies represented by cities and states. The appearance of local currency and scripts shows that people now exchanged goods in the markets using money and kept records of economic transactions and political orders in written documents. Governance in such a society no longer relied on tribal ties, but was founded on a state system based on urban elites and inherited kingship. This happened not only in coastal Andhra, but also more or less widely in many parts of the Indian subcontinent between 500 BCE-300 CE.

Textual and epigraphic evidence indicates that such fundamental social change not only affected the political and economic structures, but prompted the people to abandon some social practices and to develop a new set of customs suitable for a sedentary society.<sup>3</sup> For instance, in the Gangetic valley, some elements of the Vedic religion (developed ca. 1300-500 BCE and later) were clearly seen as problematic. Buddhist texts and Aśokan inscriptions agreed to define animal sacrifices (*yajña-s*) and extravagant feasts—important components of Vedic rituals to please the gods, to get rewards from the gods and also to strengthen tribal ties—as a form of violence and a waste of wealth.<sup>4</sup> Eating meat—again a common custom in the Vedic period even among priests—was now regarded unfavourably and was replaced by vegetarianism in this period.<sup>5</sup> According to Daud Ali, this development of a sedentary society may also have led people to aspire to new moral action to conduct themselves as ‘ethical subjects’ fitting the new surroundings.<sup>6</sup> For example, Buddhist literature developed the concept of the ideal ruler called the *cakravartin*, who conquers the world not by violence and punishments (*daṇḍa*), but by allowing *dharma*, the universal law based on morality, to prevail. He is a great man (*mahāpuruṣa*) with the same auspicious physical signs (*lakṣaṇa-s*)

<sup>3</sup> Daud Ali, ‘Technologies of the Self: Courtly Artifice and Monastic Discipline in Early India’, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 41-2 (1998), pp. 161-62; Ali, *Courtly Culture*, pp. 96-102.

<sup>4</sup> See *Suttanipāta*, v. 284-315; *Sanyutta Nikāya* I, pp. 75-76; *Aṅguttara Nikāya* II, pp. 42-43; Rock Edicts I, IV, IX.

<sup>5</sup> Rock Edicts I; *Manusmṛti*, 5.26-56.

<sup>6</sup> Ali, *Courtly Culture*, pp. 91-92. Also see Michael Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, vol. II of *The History of Sexuality*, trans., by R. Hurley, New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, p. 26.

as the Buddha.<sup>7</sup> A considerable number of *cakravartin* reliefs, dated as early as the post-Mauryan period, are also found from Andhran Buddhist sites (Pl. 64). Epigraphic evidence indicates that such characterization of a king as having high moral standards and compassion was not entirely the creation of Buddhists, but was a reflection of ideal kingship prevalent in the early historic period. Aśokan inscriptions say that the king was concerned about his subjects' affairs at all times and places even while he was eating or in the harem or in bed.<sup>8</sup> Aśoka boasts of planting banyan and mango trees by the roadside to offer shade to beasts and men and he also proclaims the construction of wells and establishment of watering sheds for the enjoyment of living beings.<sup>9</sup> Similar deeds seem to have been appreciated by non-Buddhist rulers such as king Khāravala in Kāliṅga. While the Hāthigumphā inscription describes his military accomplishments at length, it also records that he repaired the city of Kāliṅga, built embankments for the lake and other tanks, and restored gardens. The king made his subjects rejoice (*raṃjayati*=skt: *raiṅjayati*) by these works. He is also described as a righteous ruler (*dharmarāja*) equipped with auspicious *lakṣaṇa*-s.<sup>10</sup> In the Deccan, while a Nāsik inscription describes the various accomplishments of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi of the Sātavāhanas, the inscription states that the king did not like killing the inhabitants of an enemy's territories even if they did not follow him. He treated people equally, applied the taxes correctly, and increased the prosperity of lower class families.<sup>11</sup> This set of evidence indicates that the traditional notion of kingship represented in the Vedic tradition, which appreciated military prowess necessary for survival in a tribal society, was considerably modified in this period. In order to command respect, kings now had to show compassion and kindness to the people.

<sup>7</sup> On the description of *cakravartin*, see Cakkavatti Sihanāda Suttanta (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III, pp. 58-77) and Lakkhana Suttanta (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III, pp. 142-62). On the concept of *cakravartin*, see B.G. Gokhale, 'Early Buddhist Kingship,' *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 26-1 (1966), pp. 15-22; Frank E. Reynolds, 'The Two Wheels of Dharma: A Study of Early Buddhism', in Bardwell L. Smith ed., *The Two Wheels of Dhamma: Essays on the Theravada Tradition in India and Ceylon* (Chambersburg: American Academy of Religion, 1972), pp. 6-30; Stanley J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 39-53; John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvādāna* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989), pp. 49-56.

<sup>8</sup> Rock Edicts VI.

<sup>9</sup> Pillar Edicts VII.

<sup>10</sup> Jayaswal and Banerji, 'The Hāthigumphā Inscriptions', pp. 79-89; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 213-21.

<sup>11</sup> Senart 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 2; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 4.

In religious patronage, this new ethical conduct manifested itself in the increasing importance of giving (*dāna*) to various religious sects.<sup>12</sup> The *Manusmṛti*, for instance, affirms that *dāna* only has supreme value in our present era (= *kali yuga*) while *yajña* was the most important in the previous era (= *dvāpara yuga*).<sup>13</sup> Aśokan edicts record that Aśoka made gifts to Brahmins and *śrāmana*-s (renouncers) in his tour of *dharma*.<sup>14</sup> The king defined *dāna* as one of the six components of his practices of Dharma, and appointed chief officers (*mahāmātra*-s) who managed religious gifts from the king, queens and princes to various religions.<sup>15</sup> Aśokan edicts and other epigraphic evidence in the post-Mauryan period show that such donations went to a variety of religious sects, although a large number of records were Buddhist. Rock-cut inscriptions at the Barābar hills in Bihar, for example, record royal donations of rock-cut caves from Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha to Ājīvikas.<sup>16</sup> In the Deccan, a Kārlā inscription records Uṣavadāta's gifts of 300,000 cows, gold and a sanctuary (*tīrtha*), sixteen villages and eight wives to Brahmins. The ruler fed annually a hundred thousand Brahmins while he gave a village for the support of Buddhist monks.<sup>17</sup> A Nāsik inscription records the same ruler's gift to Brahmin and Buddhist *saṃgha* also.<sup>18</sup> Regardless of the recipients, a conspicuous feature of such votive inscriptions is that they record the acts of giving without mentioning any expected and tangible reward.<sup>19</sup> Many donations were addressed to the renouncers (*śramaṇa*-s), who were not expected to fulfil a social duty. Interestingly, religious texts compiled roughly in the same period also emphasise that the givers and recipients should not expect to make any reciprocal relationship through the gifts. For instance, the *Bhagavad Gītā* affirms that one should not expect any immediate results for an offering to the God, because 'your duty lies in the action itself, not

<sup>12</sup> On the detailed theory of *dāna* developed in this period, see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra: Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law*, vol. 2 pt. 2, Third Edition (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1992), pp. 837-88; Trautmann, *Dravidian Kinship*, pp. 278-88; T. Brekke, 'Contradiction and the Merit of Giving in Indian Religions', *Numen*, 45-3 (1998), pp. 287-320.

<sup>13</sup> *Manusmṛti*, 1.86.

<sup>14</sup> Rock Edict VIII.

<sup>15</sup> Pillar Edict VII.

<sup>16</sup> Falk, *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts*, pp. 258-79; Sircar trans., *Inscriptions of Asoka*, 4th edition (New Delhi: Publication Division, 1998), p. 51.

<sup>17</sup> Senart 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', no. 13; Tsukamoto, Kārlī no. 26.

<sup>18</sup> Senart 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 12; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 12.

<sup>19</sup> See Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, p. 430.

in the result'.<sup>20</sup> The text defines a gift without expectation of benefit as pure (*sattvika*), while that with the purpose of returning service, or with the hope of a reward later, as passionate (*rājasa*).<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Buddhist sources agree in saying that two worthy recipients (*supātra*) of donations, Buddha and the *saṃgha* (=monks), could not accept gifts as rewards for their services to donors, such as preaching. Monks thus should be indifferent about the contents and amount of gifts.<sup>22</sup> This is in contrast to Vedic priests, who were expected to find out about gifts to them (*dakṣiṇā*) before officiating at sacrifices for the patron (*yajamāna*).<sup>23</sup> In short, the system of religious offerings developed in this later period was designed to conceal the reciprocal relationship between the givers and recipients, the fundamental reasons for making gifts. Rather, the offerings were intended to demonstrate the givers' 'pure' acts of generosity and compassion. Religious renunciators, in this sense, were ideal recipients of the offering because they were "detached" and "independent" from the secular world.

## 2. Buddhist Patronage

The Buddhist *saṃgha*, the most prominent group of religious renunciators in the early historic period, seems to have embraced this emerging ethic and successfully developed it for their religious practice. A key concept in the theory of Buddhist patronage is the idea of religious merit (*punya* or *kuśala*) according to your meritorious deeds. While Buddhist practices admit a number of ways of gaining merit, such as observing moral precepts (*sīla*) and contemplation (*bhāvanā*), the most prevalent act for merit-making was giving (*dāna*). This idea of obtaining merit through offerings probably originated from the Vedic rituals in which gifts for gods (*homa*) and for officiating priests (*dakṣiṇā*) were of the utmost importance, ensuring the success of sacrifices and eventual rewards from the gods.<sup>24</sup> Though still based on Vedic practice, Buddhism developed a more flexible approach to merit-making. In Vedic/Brahmanic tradition, for instance, meritorious religious acts fundamentally differed and were restricted according to the *varṇa* and sex. The sacrificers of the Vedic rituals were restricted to married

<sup>20</sup> *Bhagavad Gītā*, 2.47.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.20-21.

<sup>22</sup> *Suttanipāta*, verses 81, 480, 711-13; *Milindapaṇha*, p. 228.

<sup>23</sup> See Kumkum Roy, *The Emergence of Monarchy in North India: Eighth-Fourth Centuries BC: As Reflected in the Brahmanical Tradition* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 44.

<sup>24</sup> James R. Egge, *Religious Giving and the Invention of Karma in Theravāda Buddhism* (London: Curzon, 2002), pp. 15-39.

males of the first three *varṇa*-s.<sup>25</sup> Multiple *yajamāna*-s were not allowed to organize a single ritual.<sup>26</sup> These restrictions made the Vedic rituals, particularly large *yajña*-s, difficult to conduct for many people. Buddhist merit-making practice was not restricted to these customs. As is well testified by abundant votive inscriptions, merit-making activities were open to all, including females.<sup>27</sup> It is also noteworthy that in the theory of Buddhist giving, the efficacy of gifts not only depended on what was given, but was also determined by the intention of the giver and the nature of the recipient.<sup>28</sup> As Brekke has argued, in practice this logic makes all gifts meritorious, as even small gifts could generate great merit if they were offered with proper faith and were given to meritorious recipients such as Buddha and *saṃgha*, the great 'fields for merit' (*puṇyakṣetra*).<sup>29</sup>

Another remarkable concept developed by Buddhists was that merit generated by practising prescribed meritorious deeds was thus not only cumulative, but also widely transferable to all living beings.<sup>30</sup> If one joined Buddhist merit-making networks, therefore, one would not only receive the merit of one's own acts performed in the past or in former births, but could also benefit from the transferred merit of others.<sup>31</sup> This is in contrast to the Vedic rituals in which sacrificers obtained rewards by making a reciprocal relationship with the gods. Although later Brahmanic *śrāddha* ritual transferred merits for honouring dead ancestors, it assigned father, paternal grandfather, and paternal great-grandmother as the beneficiaries.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> *Manusmṛti*, 3.151; 4.205; J.C. Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kinship and Society* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> Egge, *Religious Giving*, p. 34.

<sup>28</sup> Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 72-73; Egge, *Religious Giving*, pp. 19-20; Brekke, 'Contradiction and the Merit of Giving in Indian Religions', pp. 299-301.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 301, 312. Also see Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅghasutta, *Majjima Nikāya*, III, pp. 253-57. Another illustrative story which represents this aspect of Buddhist offering is the gift of dirt by king Aśoka in the *Aśokāvadāna*. See Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, pp. 56-65 and 198-204.

<sup>30</sup> The origin of the concept of the transference of merit (skt: *pariṇāma*) is not clear. It has been regarded as a religious practice linked to the Mahāyāna Buddhism which emerged in the early centuries CE. Schopen however has argued that this practice existed in the traditional sects as early as the post-Mauryan period. See G. Schopen, 'Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism', in *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 34-43. For a criticism of Schopen's argument, see H. Bechert, 'Buddha-field and Transfer of Merit in Theravāda Source', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35 (1992), pp. 95-108.

<sup>31</sup> For more argument on this aspect of Buddhist patronage, see Ivan Strenski, 'On Generalized Exchange and the Domestication of the Sangha', *Man* 18 (1983), pp. 463-77.

<sup>32</sup> Egge, *Religious Giving*, p. 34; David M. Knipe, 'Sapīṇḍikaraṇa: The Hindu Rite of Entry into Heaven', in Frank E. Reynolds and Earle H. Waugh ed., *Religious Encounters with Death:*

Compared to its Vedic/Brahmanic counterpart, therefore, the Buddhist way of acquiring merit was much more complicated and the link between the original acts and the acquired results further obscured. These features of Buddhist merit-making may have appealed to a new urban society whose ethic celebrated acts of showing compassion with no trace of reciprocal links in order to show their nobility.

Furthermore, it is also significant that Buddhism accommodated itself to the donation of permanent property such as buildings and lands. In the Pāli canonical texts, a place for rest (*senāsana*) is repeatedly mentioned as one of four basic requisites for monks and an ideal gift to them.<sup>33</sup> In the Pāli commentary text (*Niddesa*), a place for a bed (*seyyāvasatha*) was clearly defined as one of the fourteen items called 'meritorious' gifts (*deyadamma*).<sup>34</sup> In Chinese *āgama* sources, a list of seven meritorious deeds for lay people includes four deeds related to the building of a monastery i.e. (1) giving land to the congregation, (2) building a monastery on it, (3) furnishing it, (4) allocating revenue to it.<sup>35</sup> This consistent and seemingly increasing appreciation of the donation of properties in the Buddhist texts was related to the fact that the Buddhist *saṃgha* needed monastic spaces for their religious practices. More significantly, however, this appreciation may have shown the growing importance of permanent properties in the society. As Thapar has pointed out, *dakṣiṇā* in the Vedic rituals included food, cloth, animals and gold, but not land and buildings. The appearance of land grants in the early historic period presupposed the establishment of an agricultural economy in which land assured consistent wealth.<sup>36</sup> The Buddhist *saṃgha* developed in this period responded well to this socio-economic situation.

The *saṃgha*'s preference for property donations may also have been beneficial for donors as well. Unlike the Vedic rituals, where a large amount of wealth was destroyed or consumed in the rituals, the lasting nature of

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*Insights from the History and Anthropology of Religions* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 117-22.

<sup>33</sup> *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 61; *Vinaya* III, pp. 89-90.

<sup>34</sup> See *Cullaniddesa*, p. 233 (no. 523). As an epigraphic term for designating a gift, the word *deyadharmā* started appearing around the 1st century BCE or CE, replacing the old word *dāna*. See G. Bhattacharya, 'Dāna-deyadharmā: donations in early Buddhist records (in Brāhmī)', in M. Yaldiz and W. Lobo ed., *Investigating Indian Art* (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst, 1987), pp. 39-60.

<sup>35</sup> *Zhōng Ahánjīng* (中阿含經) (*Taisho*, vol. 1, no. 26, pp. 427c-428a); *Zēngyī Ahánjīng* (增一阿含經) (*Taisho*, vol. 2, no. 125, 741c).

<sup>36</sup> Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, pp. 87-88; Thapar, 'Dāna and Dakṣiṇā as Forms of Exchange', in Thapar, *Cultural Past* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 527.

property donations enabled the donors to show the result of their donations clearly and permanently. This is most dramatically indicated by the fact that numerous remains of Buddhist monasteries and *stūpa*-s are still visible in the subcontinent, despite the disappearance of the religion so long ago. Countless votive inscriptions cut on these Buddhist edifices also inform us about the donors even today. This feature was preferable for donors who liked to show explicitly their generosity and compassion. From the religious point of view, this permanent feature of donating property also enabled the donors to benefit the *saṃgha* for a long time, thus acquiring consistent merits. Remarkable in this regard is a story in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* cited by Schopen. It informs us that the monks were supposed to recite verses for the donors who donated a *vihāra*. The ritual was continued even after the death of the donors.<sup>37</sup> The same *Vinaya* also indicates that once the *saṃgha* accepted *vihāra*-s and small properties attached to them, the monks had to use the gift to generate merit for the donor. Even if the donated properties were perishable items, they could not be thrown away. When a cloth was torn into rags, its pieces still had to be used for filling cracks in the pillars.<sup>38</sup> This passage reminds us of archaeological evidence at Amarāvātī, where old sculptural panels for the early *stūpa* were not destroyed, but re-used for later construction works (see Chapter Two). For donors who wished to secure merit for a better status in the future, donating monastic buildings was an attractive option.

To summarise, the remarkable popularity of Buddhist patronage seems to have been fundamentally linked to the rise of a new ethic or ethos appropriate for a sedentary, urbanized and heterogeneous society. Having inherited the idea of gift offerings and receiving merit from the Vedic tradition, Buddhism significantly modified the Vedic system of patronage into a more flexible and comprehensive form. As a result, a wider variety of donors who had not found suitable socio-religious status in the Vedic/Brahmanic system could not take part in patronage. Such donors therefore were not necessarily pious Buddhists only. A wide range of people with diverse social backgrounds and interests in Buddhism may have joined in supporting the *saṃgha*. The construction of Buddhist edifices, in particular, would have been spectacular events which brought together various individuals in collective acts of Buddhist patronage.

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<sup>37</sup> G. Schopen 'The Lay Ownership of Monasteries and the Role of the Monk in Mūlasarvāstivādin Monasticism', in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, pp. 227-28.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 241.

## II. ORGANIZATION OF BUDDHIST CONSTRUCTION WORK

This heterogeneous nature of Buddhist patronage highlights our second question: if Buddhist constructions were supported by such a variety of donors, including non-Buddhists, how and by whom were these diverse donations integrated into the actual construction work? We have already argued that Buddhist patronage consisted of at least two basic components: laypeople (donors) and the *saṃgha* (recipients). In addition, local and imperial kings, under which the lay society and the *saṃgha* functioned, would also have been involved. Now let us examine the roles of each group in the organization of the construction work, based on the epigraphic evidence of the Deccan as well as textual references to Buddhist patronage.

### 1. *The Laymen: The Intermediaries*

The fundamental role of laypersons in Buddhist patronage was of course as donors. In construction work, this role was manifested in donations of monastic institutions and *stūpa*-s. Numerous votive inscriptions cut onto monastic architecture clearly attest this role of laypersons.

Epigraphic data, however, also shows that these laypersons, or at least some of them, were not entirely unrelated individuals who made incidental donations to the *stūpa*, but that they may have acted collectively in donating to the construction work. Notable epigraphic evidence in this regard is the reference to lay groups such as the *nigama* (or *negama*) and *goṭhi* in early *stūpa* inscriptions. As mentioned in Chapter Three, early Amarāvati inscriptions record donations from the *Vaṃdagotḥi* and *Dhānyakaṭaka nigama*.<sup>39</sup> Similarly the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions record donations from a *Sihagoṭhi* and a *negama*.<sup>40</sup> The casket inscriptions also indicate the presence of another *goṭhi* (*goṭhi* of Arahadina), and also a monk belonging to a *goṭhi* (*goṭhi-samaṇa*).<sup>41</sup> In the Sānchī I railing inscriptions, we also find donations from *Bodhagoṭhi*.<sup>42</sup> Bühler suggested that the *goṭhi* in the inscriptions may have been a group which administered Buddhist monasteries.<sup>43</sup> Although we cannot be precise about the roles of these lay groups in patronage, it is likely that they played some role in encouraging gifts to Buddhist *stūpa*-s.

<sup>39</sup> Chanda, nos. 4, 5; Ghosh 1979, no. 6; Ghosh and Sarkar, no. H.

<sup>40</sup> Bühler, 'The Bhattiprolu Inscriptions', nos. 3, 6, 8; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiprolu 4, 7, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Bühler, 'The Bhattiprolu Inscriptions', nos. 5, 9; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiprolu 5, 10.

<sup>42</sup> Bühler 'Votive Inscriptions from the Sānchī Stūpas', *EI*, 2 (1894), nos. 25, 26; Lüders, nos. 234, 235; Marshall and Foucher, *Monument of Sānchī*, I, p. 309 (nos. 96-98).

<sup>43</sup> Bühler, 'Votive Inscriptions from the Sānchī Stūpas', p. 92.

Social groups such as the *goṭhi* cease to appear in the later inscriptions (ca. 50 BCE-250 CE) at Amarāvati as well as other early historic Buddhist sites (see Chapter Three). The institutional link between lay communities and the *saṃgha*, however, continued. Strong evidence supporting this view is the appearance of endowments (*akhayanivi* = skt: *akṣayanīvī*) recorded in the rock-cut monasteries in the western Deccan. In these gifts, the donors gave some money or land to the monastery. The grants, however, were not directly consumed by the *saṃgha*. The money grants were invested in commercial guilds, and the land was cultivated by laypeople. The monks received various items for their subsistence from the profit accrued from the capital.<sup>44</sup> A famous Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta, mentioned in Chapter Three, recorded 3,000 *kāhāpaṇas* of money granted for the clothing and minor expenses (*kuśana*) of the *saṃgha*. The grant was invested in two weavers' guilds (*śrenī*) with interest, and the monks' costs were paid from the profit. The grant was sanctioned at a council of the city (or merchants) (*nigamasabhā*). Epigraphic evidence shows that this type of endowment seems to have appeared from around the 1st century BCE or CE in the Deccan, as an endowment inscription found at Allūlu in Andhra (Appendix B, no. 33) can be dated around 50-1 BCE based on the style of the sculpture attached to the inscription.<sup>45</sup> The custom became remarkably popular from the 1st to the 3rd centuries CE as shown by abundant epigraphic records from Buddhist monastic sites. In Kaṇherī, for example, there are fourteen *akṣayanīvī*-s made by merchants, *gahapati*-s, and monks.<sup>46</sup> In Junnār, there are six land grants regarded as *akṣayanīvī*.<sup>47</sup> Nāgārjunakoṇḍa also has records of *akṣayanīvī* of land and of money.<sup>48</sup> It is reasonable to assume that this style of donation required crucial cooperation from urban institutions to produce profit from invested money or land.

<sup>44</sup> On textual evidence of *akṣayanīvī* donations, see G. Schopen, 'Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya' in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, pp. 45-90.

<sup>45</sup> See ARASI (1925-26), p. 140 and pl. 65a; D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 330; S. Sankaranarayanan, 'A Brahmi Inscription from Alluru', *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, 20 (1977), pp. 76, 87-89.

<sup>46</sup> See Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscription*, nos. 6, 24, 25, 28, 30, 33-35, 38, 40, 43-44, 51, 57.

<sup>47</sup> See Lüders, nos. 1152, 1155, 1165, 1166, 1167 and Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, p. 330, no. 5.

<sup>48</sup> See Sircar 'Some Brahmi Inscriptions', no. III; Sircar, 'More Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda', no. B. In addition, a recently published inscription from Guṇṭupalli, dated to the last quarter of the 4th century CE, records a land grant with the right of exemption to the *Samgha* by the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II. See S. Sankaranarayanan, 'Guṇṭupalli Pillar Inscription of Śālaṅkāyana Nandivarman', *EL*, 42 (1977-78), pp. 75-96.

These lay contributions were not limited solely to providing capital investments for the *saṃgha*, but may have extended into the actual financial management of these investments, including those related to construction work. This view is based on a fundamental problem which faced the Buddhist *saṃgha* in the acceptance of donations. To sustain monastic life and to generate merit for the laypeople, *saṃgha* had to accept various donations. As religious renouncers, however, they were supposed to be detached from material wealth, especially money. It was thus undesirable for monks to be involved in the management of endowments, which, as patronage became more complex, included business contacts with commercial guilds and the transaction of money. Managing construction work, where a large number of donations from a variety of people had to be handled for the actual payments, posed a similar problem. To solve this dilemma, the *saṃgha* needed the assistance of laypeople as managers.

Instructive textual evidence of such roles is the reference to monastery attendants (*ārāmika*) in the *Vinaya*-s.<sup>49</sup> While these attendants undertook various tasks for maintaining monastic life, an important job was receiving gifts which monks were otherwise not allowed to accept directly, such as money. A story in the Pāli *Vinaya*, for example, mentions a donor who gave the cost of a robe to a monk. He was instructed to leave the money with an attendant (*ārāmika*) or lay disciple (*upāsaka*) appointed by the monk. The monk accepted a robe from the attendant after a certain period.<sup>50</sup> The Pāli *Vinaya* also mentions an attendant called a facilitator (*kappiṃya-kāraka* = lit. 'suitable maker').<sup>51</sup> He dealt with 'unacceptable' donations such as money and made them 'allowable' (*kappiṃya*).

So far, epigraphic records have not shown clear evidence of the presence of such attendants at Indian monastic sites, and their detailed roles remain unsubstantiated.<sup>52</sup> The abundant *akṣayanīvī* donations at the western Deccan caves, however, strongly suggest that such attendants were present in the monasteries for the maintenance of endowments. This view is also supported by the fact that many of the endowments attached

<sup>49</sup> Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism*, pp. 92-93; G. Schopen, 'The Monastic Ownership of Servants or Slaves: Local and Legal Factors in the Redactional History of Two *Vinayas*' in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, pp. 193-218.

<sup>50</sup> *Vinaya*, III, pp. 219-23.

<sup>51</sup> Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism*, pp. 102-4; *Vinaya* I, pp. 212 and 245.

<sup>52</sup> The only possible exception is the above-cited Allūru inscription, which records donations of slaves (*dāsa-dāsi*) to the *saṃgha* (Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 330; Sankaranarayanan, 'A Brahmi Inscription from Alluru', pp. 87-89; Schopen, 'The Monastic Ownership', p. 218 (n. 57).

to the caves specify the items (clothing and food in many cases) to be provided to the *saṃgha*.<sup>53</sup> This suggests the existence of an intermediary who could convert money into the prescribed items at least in the western Deccan, and possibly other parts of the Deccan as well, as early as the 1st century CE. Considering their importance in organizing patronage, some of the lay attendants may also have been involved in the building works. An inscription at the Kanherī *caitya*, for instance, lists a layman (*upāsaka*) Aparanuka as a member who contributed to the completion of the *caitya*, along with five monks.<sup>54</sup> Since the donors of this *caitya* were other people, he might not have joined this project as a donor, but rather to undertake some role in the construction work.

## 2. The Saṃgha: the Supervisor

In contrast to the laypeople, the basic role of the *saṃgha* in the system of patronage was to act as recipients. According to the Buddhist votive inscriptions attached to monasteries and *stūpa*-s, however, many monks and nuns joined the construction work as donors as well. In the Bhārhut *stūpa* inscriptions, for example, the total donations from monks and nuns represent as many as thirty-seven records out of 133 legible votive inscriptions.<sup>55</sup> Of 846 Sānchī inscriptions recorded at *stūpa*-s, 252 inscriptions are from monks/nuns.<sup>56</sup> In Andhra, Amarāvātī inscriptions (the early and late period) record a total of forty-four donations from members of the *saṃgha*. This outnumbers the donations from *gahapati*-s and their families (thirty-one examples), the largest category of secular donors in Amarāvātī (see Appendix C). This data shows that monks and nuns were actively involved in Buddhist construction work as early as the post-Mauryan period (ca. 200-100 BCE). This also indicates that the *saṃgha*, to which they belonged, may have undertaken some institutional contributions to this work.

What role, then, could the *saṃgha* have undertaken in construction work? Although the relevant evidence is not very rich, one example is a series of references to the overseer monks (skt: *navakarmika*; pāli: *navakammika*; pkt: *navakamika*) of the new construction work. A story in

<sup>53</sup> Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscription*, nos. 30, 34, 35, 40, 43, 57; Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', nos. 9, 10, 17; Tsukamoto, Junnār no. 31.

<sup>54</sup> Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscription*, no. 5.

<sup>55</sup> Tsukamoto, Bhārhut nos. 28, 30, 31, 38, 53, 64, 76-79, 81, 83, 87, 88, 101, 104, 109, 112, 115, 119, 121, 130, 135, 137, 139, 150, 152, 159-161, 169, 170, 175, 177, 186, 189, 205.

<sup>56</sup> Singh, 'Sanchi', p. 15. Schopen counts 254 monks/nuns in Sānchī inscriptions. G. Schopen, 'On Monks, Nuns and "Vulgar" Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism', in *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, p. 249.

the Pāli *Vinaya* tells that when a layperson wanted to build a dwelling house for an order of nuns, he asked the order, the recipients, to send an overseer nun (*navakammikā*). She visited the donor's place and gave detailed instructions on the construction work.<sup>57</sup> The same *Vinaya* also tells another story about a poor tailor, who tried to make repairs at a monastery to gain merit. Because of his inexperience, the wall he repaired collapsed. Buddha then allowed the monk to supervise the repair work.<sup>58</sup>

The presence of such overseer monks can also be confirmed by epigraphic evidence from the post-Mauryan period.<sup>59</sup> While the above textual reference mentions their supervision of the construction of monks' dwelling places (*vihāra*), epigraphic records show their involvement in the *stūpa*-s. In the Deccan and coastal Andhra, several inscriptions mention the work of *navakamika*-s from the 1st century CE. An Amarāvati inscription (ca. 50-100 CE), for example, records an elder (*thera*), Budharakhita, a *navakamika* of a Cetika (skt: *caityaka*) sect. He seems to have supervised the construction of the railing (*vedikā*).<sup>60</sup> The above-mentioned inscription in the Kaṅherī *caitya* (ca. 200 CE) records that the *caitya* was completed by a layperson and five *navakamika*-s who were elder monks.<sup>61</sup> Of them the elder (*thera*), Bodhika, was directly involved in the construction work with masons, bricklayers, grinders etc. Although it belongs to the Ikṣvāku period, an *āyaka* pillar inscription at the main *stūpa* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa shows that the *stūpa*, belonging to Aparamahāvinaseliya, was completed by *mahāthera* Ānanda, who was a *navakamika*. The inscription also affirms that he knew the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhimanikāya*-s by heart.<sup>62</sup> Another inscription engraved on the floor of a *caitya* hall (site 43), which was donated to Ceylonese monks, records the involvement of three *navakamika*-s, a named elder, Camdamukha, and Dhammanamdi and Nāga, in the construction work.<sup>63</sup> A common feature of these *navakamika*-s is that they seem to have been experienced and knowledgeable monks.

<sup>57</sup> *Vinaya* IV, p. 211.

<sup>58</sup> *Vinaya* II, pp. 159-60.

<sup>59</sup> The earliest epigraphic reference of *navakarmika* goes back to the Bhārhut *stūpa* inscription (ca. 150 BCE). See H. Lüders, *Bhārhut Inscriptions, CII, 2.2*, rev. and supplemented by E. Waldschmit and M.A. Mehendare (Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India, 1963), A59; Tsukamoto, Bhārhut no. 88.

<sup>60</sup> Sivaramamurti, no. 69; Tsukamoto, Amarāvati no. 49.

<sup>61</sup> Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscription*, no. 5.

<sup>62</sup> Vogel, 'Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda', no. Cl. Also see G. Schopen, 'On the Buddha and His Bones: the Conception of a Relic in the Inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, p. 159.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, no. F

This is understandable since supervising construction work such as *stūpa*-s required a wide range of knowledge including architecture, Buddhist legend and iconography. It is also notable that they all belonged to particular Buddhist sects which started appearing in the epigraphic record of the Deccan and Andhra regions around the same period.<sup>64</sup> An Amarāvati inscription records that the *stūpa* was in the possession of the *Caityakas* around the 1-2nd century CE.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Ghaṇṭasāla belonged to the *Aparaśailas*; Allūru and Takkellapādu passed to the *Pūrvasāilas*; and Kesānapalli was possessed by the *Bahuśrutīyas* around the same period.<sup>66</sup> In the western Deccan, the main *caitya* at Kaṇherī (cave 3), built in the reign of Siri Yaña Sātakaṇi, was designated as the possession of the *Bhadraṇīyas*.<sup>67</sup> The same sect seems to have occupied Nāsik by the 19th reigning year of Pulumāvi.<sup>68</sup> In the 24th year of Pulumāvi, an *upāsika* donated a *maṇḍapa* to the *Mahāsāṃghikas* at Karlā.<sup>69</sup> These sects might have been actively involved in the refurbishment of their own monasteries and *stūpa*-s. For constructing proper buildings acceptable to them, the systematic contribution from the monks was probably crucial.

### 3. *The Kings: A Catalyst*

There exist a considerable number of literary references describing the kings as powerful patrons for the *saṃgha*. The well-known legend of the king Aśoka, for example, tells that he built 84,000 *stūpa*-s for the Buddha's relics all over his empire.<sup>70</sup> This legend is further supported by an Aśokan pillar edict at Nigāli Sāgar, which says that the king enlarged the *stūpa* of Buddha Koṇākamuni to double its size.<sup>71</sup> This textual and epigraphic evidence appears to indicate that kingship in the early historic period was an exceptionally powerful component of Buddhist patronage and construction

<sup>64</sup> On the development of early Buddhist sects in India, see André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule* (Saigon: École française d'Extrême-orient, 1955), pp. 1-51; N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 2nd edition (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), pp. 48-56; Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 517-48.

<sup>65</sup> Sivaramamurti, no. 118, Tsukamoto, Amarāvati no. 46

<sup>66</sup> Vogel 'Prakrit Inscriptions from Ghantasala', *EI*, 27 (1947-48), no. D; Sankaranarayanan, 'A Brahmi Inscription from Alluru', p. 82; K. Munirathnam, 'Two Brāhmī Inscriptions from Andhra', *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, 30 (2004), pp. 53-56; Khan, *Kesanapalli*, p. 4

<sup>67</sup> Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscription*, no. 5.

<sup>68</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', nos. 2, 3; Tsukamoto, Nāsik nos. 4, 5.

<sup>69</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', no. 20; Tsukamoto, Kārli, no. 33.

<sup>70</sup> Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, pp. 109-19, 219-21.

<sup>71</sup> Minor Pillar Edict (Nigali Sagar); Falk, *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts*, pp. 187-89.

work. Walters' study thus concludes that the construction and embellishment of a monumental *stūpa* like Amarāvati were basically 'imperial acts'.<sup>72</sup>

A problem of this model, however, is that there exists surprisingly little evidence of direct royal support for construction work in epigraphic records in the post-Mauryan and the Sātavāhana periods, when many of the surviving Buddhist monasteries and *stūpa*-s were built or significantly enlarged. In particular, there is no royal donation from kings to the *stūpa*-s which Walters has defined as 'imperial' architecture. At Sānchī I south *torāṇa*, for example, there is a famous inscription recording a donation from a chief artisan of the king Sātakaṇi.<sup>73</sup> This record, however, does not show the direct support of the king, although it might indicate that the royal artisan contributed to the construction of *stūpa*-s possibly under order of the king. The situation seems to be similar in Andhra. As for post-Mauryan records, early Amarāvati inscriptions contain six donations related to local kingship (see Chapter One). In the Bhaṭṭiproḷu casket inscriptions, there is a donation from the *Sihagoṭhi* which had a *rāja* Khubiraka (Kuberaka) as its leader (*pāmukha*).<sup>74</sup> As with the Sānchī *torāṇa* inscription, however, these donations are not from the kings themselves. Even in the later period (ca. 50 BCE–250 CE), when the entire Deccan experienced the rule of more powerful kings like the later Sātavāhanas, the absence of royal patronage of the *stūpa* is still conspicuous. In Amarāvati, no votive inscription records a donation from the local kings and the Sātavāhana family, except for a donation from an anonymous princess (*kumārī*) and an irrigation officer (*pāṇyagharika*) of the Sadas.<sup>75</sup> There is no record of royal donations to the *stūpa*-s in contemporary Buddhist sites in the Deccan and coastal Andhra either. The absence of royal donations is not only observed in the brick-built *stūpa*-s, but is also seen in the rock-cut monasteries of the western Deccan, where the epigraphic records are relatively well preserved in their original archaeological contexts. The absence of royal donations, therefore, cannot be explained away by the later destruction of the body of the *stūpa*-s, a likely place for royal inscriptions to be preserved.

Despite this curious absence of royal donations to *stūpa*-s, however, there are a few royal donations to the monasteries and the *saṃgha*-s in this period. At Nāsik, for example, there were at least two royal *vihāra*-s

<sup>72</sup> Walters, 'Stūpa, Story, and Empire', p. 177.

<sup>73</sup> Marshall and Foucher, *Monument of Sānchī*, I, p. 342 (no. 398).

<sup>74</sup> Bühler, 'The Bhaṭṭiproḷu Inscription', no. 6; Tsukamoto, Bhaṭṭiproḷu no. 7.

<sup>75</sup> Chanda, no. 28; Sivaramamurti, no. 72.

(Cave 3 and 10), which enjoyed continuous support from kings. The earlier of these foundations is perhaps Cave 10, patronized by Uṣavadāta of the Kṣaharāta family. An inscription on the entrance to the cave mentions that the ruler not only donated this cave (*lena*), but also purchased land (*kṣetra*) worth 4000 *kāhāpaṇa*-s from a Brahmin for providing food to the monks staying at 'my cave' (*mama lena*).<sup>76</sup> On another occasion, he donated 3000 *kāhāpaṇa*-s to this monastery.<sup>77</sup> The money was invested in guilds for the minor expenses of the *saṃgha*. Cave 3, another royal cave, was supported by the later Sātavāhanas, who defeated the Kṣaharātas. Epigraphic records in this cave show that this monastery was donated by Balasiri, the mother of king Gotamīputa.<sup>78</sup> An inscription informs us that the cave was called 'queen's cave' (*devi lena*).<sup>79</sup> In his 18th regnal year, Gotamīputa recorded the earliest donation to this monastery. The inscription says that he donated the land of Arapakahadi village, which had been the territory of Uṣavadāta, to the mendicants (*pravrajita*) on this hill. He also promised that the land would enjoy exemption (*parihāra*) from any taxation and the inspection of royal officers.<sup>80</sup> In his 24th regnal year, he again donated 100 *nivartana* of land from the king's field, since the land of Kakhadhī village, which he had donated before, was no longer cultivated.<sup>81</sup> Vasiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi, son and successor of Gotamīputa, also made a donation to the same *vihāra* in the 19th year of his reign.<sup>82</sup> Following a long eulogy on the accomplishments of his father Gotamīputa, the inscription says that he donated the village of Pisācipadaka for the maintenance of this *vihāra* and abandoned his rights to all property produced by this village. In his 22nd year, he also donated the village of Sāmalipada to the *vihāra* in exchange for the village of Sudasana, which he had donated in his 19th year. Again he granted exemption from taxation and inspection.<sup>83</sup>

At Kārḷā, there also exist two more inscriptions recording donations from Uṣavadāta, and an unidentifiable king, either Gotamīputa or Puḷumāyi.<sup>84</sup> The first inscription records Uṣavadāta's donation of Karajika

<sup>76</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 10; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 10.

<sup>77</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 12; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 12.

<sup>78</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 2; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 4.

<sup>79</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 3; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 4; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 2.

<sup>81</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 5; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 2; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 4.

<sup>83</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', no. 3; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 5.

<sup>84</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', nos. 13, 19; Tsukamoto, Kārli nos. 26, 32.

village to the *saṃgha* at Vāluraka (an old name of Kārḷā?), while the same inscription also boasts of abundant donations to Brahmins. The second record, interestingly, donated the same village again, with the right of exemption, to the *Mahāsāṃghika* monks of this monastery. Perhaps the new donor (Gotamīputa or Puḷumāyi) wanted to donate the village in his name after he obtained the territory of Uṣavadāta. In any case, it seems significant that these royal donations involved land grants to the *saṃgha* only, although the records are cut on the entrance of the *caitya*. Indeed, they do not mention any contribution to the construction of the *caitya* itself.

#### 4. Stūpa: *The Architecture of Collective Patronage*

To summarize, the above examination suggests two broad features. Firstly, the laypersons and the *saṃgha*, the two basic components constituting Buddhist patronage, undertook distinctive roles in the organization of the monastic construction work. Laypersons may have undertaken the financial management apart from their principal role as donors. The *saṃgha*, the recipients of the monasteries and *stūpa*-s, also seem to have been involved in the construction work as technical supervisors as well as donors. Secondly, compared to the above two components, the role of kings in the construction of *stūpa*-s is hardly visible in epigraphic evidence. They rarely appear as the major donors to the construction work, although they granted land and money to a few royal *vihāra*-s and groups of monks.<sup>85</sup> No single direct record of a donation remains with regard to the *stūpa*-s.

What was the reason for this absence of royal patronage to the *stūpa*-s? If patronage to *vihāra*-s and monks was advantageous for the rulers, how was this different from patronage to *stūpa*-s? To answer this question, it is necessary to compare patronage of *vihāra*-s and of the *stūpa* as accurately as possible. For this, the rock-cut monasteries in the western Deccan are a good source since, as mentioned, records relating to *vihāra*-s as well as *stūpa*-s are still well preserved in their original site context.

<sup>85</sup> This royal support of the monasteries was observed not only in the western Deccan, but also in other contemporary Buddhist sites. In Andhra, a recently-found inscription in the Hyderabad area informs of the presence of a *Govindarāja-vihāra*, possibly a monastery founded by a ruler of the Viṣṇukundins in the 3rd-4th century CE (P.V. Parabrahma Sastry 'Hyderabad Prakrit Inscription of Govindaraja Vihara', *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, 11 (1984), pp. 95-100). Outside the Deccan, it is well known that there was a *mahārajadevapura-vihāra* in Mathurā in the reign of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Huviṣka. See H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, ed., by Klaus L. Janert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 64-65 (§ 29); Tsukamoto, Mathurā no. 17.

On careful examination of the rock-cut monasteries, we may firstly notice a distinctive feature of the donations of *vihāra*-s. *Vihāra*-s, in most cases, contain only one votive inscription in each cave, and the inscriptions record one person as the donor of the cave. Even if they have joint donors, they are typically family groups. At Nāsik, for example, there are a total of thirteen early *vihāra*-s made between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE (Table 8). Of these, three caves record multiple donations from different persons: (1) two royal caves (cave 3 and 10), which record multiple donations by royal family members at different times; (2) cave 8, where a fisherman donated a cave and another man an endowment, although they seem to have belonged to the same group of *upāsaka*-s. The remaining eleven *vihāra*-s, however, all contain just one inscription in each cave. The inscriptions record either a single donor (caves 7, 11, 12, 19, 20, 24) or a main donor with relatives (caves 3, 6, 8, 17, 23) apart from an illegible example (cave 2). Similarly in Junnār, ten *vihāra*-s with votive inscriptions have one inscription in each cave.<sup>86</sup> Except for one *vihāra* given by a guild of grain merchants,<sup>87</sup> all the others were donated by single individuals and their families, while a unfinished large *caitya* at Manmodi hill records multiple donations.<sup>88</sup> In Kaṅherī, twenty-two early *vihāra*-s with votive inscriptions record donations from single individuals.<sup>89</sup> Although it is possible to cite more examples, the general tendency is sufficiently clear: the donation of a *vihāra* was normally undertaken not by numerous collective donors, but by a single donor, or a single unit of donors. This means that the donor had to take all financial responsibility for the construction of his/her donated *vihāra*. It is likely that the responsibility was further increased when the donors attached endowments (*akṣayanīvī*) to the *vihāra*-s.

<sup>86</sup> Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, Junnār nos. 3, 4, 14, 15, 16, 20, 26, 28, 31, 32; Tsukamoto, Junnār nos. 3 (Mānmoḍi 26), 4 (Mānmoḍi 21), 16 (Mānmoḍi 16), 17 (Mānmoḍi 15), 18 (Mānmoḍi 12), 23 (Ganesh leṇa 5), 29 (Śīvaṇerī 5), 31 (Śīvaṇerī 42), 34 (Śīvaṇerī 56), 35 (Śīvaṇerī 62).

<sup>87</sup> Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, Junnār no. 20; Tsukamoto, Junnār no. 23.

<sup>88</sup> Nagaraju, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India*, Junnār nos. 6-13; Tsukamoto, Junnār nos. 5-10.

<sup>89</sup> Gokhale, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, nos. 24-28, 30, 33-35, 37-46, 51, 54-57; Tsukamoto, Kaṅherī, nos. 24-28, 30, 33-35, 37-46, 78, 81-84).

Table 8. Donors of early historic monasteries at Nāsik (ca. 1st century BCE-3rd century CE).

Cave No.*	Number of Inscriptions	Donors	Donated objects to the <i>saṃgha</i>
2	1 (Senart 1)	Illegible	Illegible
3	4 (Senart 2-5)	Balasiri (mother of Gotamīputa) Puḷumāyi (son of Gotamīputa) Gotamīputa Gotamīputa and Balasiri	Entire cave and a village by Balasiri Village (endowment) by Puḷumāyi Village by Gotamīputa Village by Balasiri and Gotamīputa
6	1 (Senart 6)	Vira (merchant) Maṃdasiri (Vira's wife) Purisadāta (his daughter)	Entire cave by Vira One cell in the cave by wife Three cells in the cave by Daughter
7**	1 (Senart 7)	Tāpasini (nun)	Entire cave
8	2 (Senart 8, 9)	Mugūdāsa (fisherman) Dhamanaṃḍin (an <i>upāsaka</i> of the same lay community with Mugūdāsa?)	Entire cave by Mugudasa land (endowment) by Dharmanandin
10	7 (Senart 10-13, 14a, 14b, 15)	Uṣavadāta (a son-in-law of Nahapāna) Dakhamitrā (his wife) Illegible Viṣṇudatā (daughter of Saka king Agnivarman)	Entire cave and land (endowment) by Uṣavadāta Money (endowment) by Uṣavadāta Two cells in the cave by Dakhamitrā Money (endowment) by Viṣṇudatā
11	1 (Senart 16)	Rāmaṃṇaka (a son of scribe)	Entire cave
12	1 (Senart 17)	Rāmaṃṇaka (merchant)	Entire cave and money (endowment)
17	1 (Senart 18)	Idrāgnidata (yona) Dhammarakhita (his son)	Entire cave
18	3 (Senart 19-21)	Bhaṭapālikā (daughter of royal officer= <i>rāyāmaca</i> ) Dhambhika village Nadāsiriya and another donor whose name is illegible	Caitya by Bhaṭapālikā Caitya arch (?) by Dhambhika Village Railing and Yakṣa by Nadāsiriya and another donor
19	1 (Senart 22)	Samaṇa (minister= <i>mahāmāta</i> )	Entire cave
20	1 (Senart 24)	Vāsū (wife of great general = <i>mahāsenapatiṇi</i> )	Entire cave
23	1 (Senart 25)	Dhaṇama (householder= <i>kuṭumbika</i> ) with his mother and father	Entire cave
24	2 (Senart 26, 27)	Vuddhika (son of scribe)	Entire cave A water tank (for mother and father)

\* Cave numbers follows the old numbering given by James Burgess. See Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. 4 (London: Trüber, 1883, rpt. Varanasi, 1964).

\*\* In the current ASI number, cave 7 is regarded as a part of the old cave 8. Epigraphic evidence indicates that this numbering is not correct.

Patronage of the *stūpa*-s (=rock-cut *caitya*-s in our case), on the other hand, was strikingly different. Although there are *caitya*-s donated by single units of donors, especially in smaller and relatively later examples such as those at Kuḍā and Junnār,<sup>90</sup> in the case of the major *caitya*, especially the relatively early ones, we may see a considerable number of examples supported by multiple units of donations. In Ajaṅṭā, the construction of cave 10, the oldest and largest *caitya* in the caves, preserves three records of donations from three different persons. These donations were dedicated to different parts of the *caitya*: the first for the entrance; the second for the dividing wall; and the third for the upper structure.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, the main *caitya* at Nāsik (cave 18) records three donations from different units of donors. While one donor (Bhaṭapālikā, a daughter of *rājāmātya*) patronized the main part of the *caitya*, the other two donors (Dhambhika village and a female, Nadasiriyā) supported the upper-structure of the *caitya* and the carving of a *yakṣa* and railing respectively.<sup>92</sup> The most impressive example in this category lies in the Kārlā *caitya*, the largest rock-cut *caitya* in the Deccan. Here, except for three royal donations recording land grants to the *saṃgha*, all inscriptions (a total of fifteen) record donations for parts of the *caitya*, such as the lion pillar in the court, the carving of elephants and railing, *mithuna* couples, and individual columns in the hall.<sup>93</sup> This epigraphic data amply suggests that patronage of these *caitya*-s was based on collective donations. This was indeed a fundamental feature of the patronage of *stūpa*-s, including the structural *stūpa*-s of Bhārhut, Sānchī and Amarāvati.

This contrast may help to explain why kings preferred to show royal support of Buddhism through *vihāra*-s rather than the *stūpa*-s. Because of its non-collective and permanent nature, patronage to the *vihāra* burdened the donors with the considerable responsibility of sustaining the monasteries. In return, they could gain highly prestigious status by giving direct support to them. As mentioned, the donor even retained 'ownership' of the donated *vihāra*-s.<sup>94</sup> For rich and powerful patrons such as kings, these features of patronage were certainly attractive since such donors could

<sup>90</sup> Tsukamoto, Kuḍā nos. 1, 14 and Junnār, nos. 1, 37.

<sup>91</sup> Tsukamoto, Ajaṅṭā nos. 27-29; Lüders, no. 1197; A. Ghosh, 'Two Early Brahmi Records from Ajanta', *EL*, 37 (1967-68), nos. A and B.

<sup>92</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', nos. 19-21.

<sup>93</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle', nos. 1-12, 15-18; M.S. Vats, 'Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Chaitya Caves at Kārlē', *EL*, 18 (1925-26), pp. 325-29; Tsukamoto, Kārlī nos. 1-31.

<sup>94</sup> Schopen 'The Lay Ownership of Monasteries', pp. 229-46.

demonstrate their superiority in direct ways. In the two royal *vihāra*-s at Nāsik (cave 3 and 10), for example, royal power is clearly reflected in their more magnificent size and decorations in comparison to other caves at the site.<sup>95</sup> In addition to impressive architecture, the royal endowments attached to these monasteries might also be a good way to show the special status of kings, since only kings could attach special exemptions from taxation and official inspections to the grants. On the other hand, kings seem to have kept their right over the land even after the donation, as a Nāsik inscription says that Sātavāhana king Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Puḷumāyi replaced a once-given village with another village.<sup>96</sup> This is important because this type of donation to the *saṃgha* enabled the kings to put monks directly under their control. As will be argued in the next chapter, while the *saṃgha* was deeply rooted in society as an important agent for its development, it may also have had an ambiguous role, being located 'outside' settled society. Dealing with the *saṃgha*, therefore, was a crucial matter for rulers who needed to attain both prosperity and stability in their territories. Having financial control of the *saṃgha* through patronage was an effective way to achieve this.

This royal preference for the patronage of the *vihāra* in turn highlights the unique features of *stūpa* patronage as well. Unlike the patronage of monasteries, people who donated to *stūpa*-s had to 'share' one monument with numerous other donors. The donations thus did not give the same highly exclusive status to the donors. Because of continuous renovation and embellishment, on the other hand, *stūpa*-s could allow a large number of people of diverse classes to join an honorable and meritorious construction project possibly at a more affordable cost. In early historic society, this open and more accessible character of *stūpa* patronage was highly appreciated by a variety of town-dwellers who wanted to show their economic prosperity and generosity through their donations. For the *saṃgha*, this feature of the *stūpa* must have been crucial for gaining consistent support from local society and raising interest in Buddhism.

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<sup>95</sup> See Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 170-71. The royal character of Nāsik cave 3 might also be suggested by its unique design which depicts *yakṣa*-s at the front of the porch as if they carry the *vihāra*. This reminds us of a passage in the *Mahābhārata*, which compares the royal palace (*rājagrha*) of Yudhiṣṭhira to the best abode of Kubera (*kuberabhavana*), the head of *yakṣa*-s (*Mahābhārata*: 2.27.52.3). In a royal inscription at Cave 3, the cave is compared with a divine palace (*vimāna*). See Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nāsik', no. 2; Tsukamoto, Nāsik 4.

<sup>96</sup> Senart, 'The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik', nos. 3; Tsukamoto, Nāsik no. 5.

As far as epigraphic evidence is concerned, this mutual relationship between the laity and the *saṃgha* in the Deccan had been established substantially in the post-Mauryan and the subsequent Sada-Sātavāhana periods. As argued in Chapter Three, this region experienced remarkable socio-economic growth in this period and had wealthy citizens who could support Buddhism. In such circumstances, kings may not have dominated the patronage of *stūpa*-s, as they did with the patronage of the *vihāra*-s. If kings had joined the patronage of *stūpa*-s as donors, they would have had to share the honor of donations with other non-royal donors. This may have been degrading for them. If they had tried to be the dominant donor to the *stūpa*, this again may have been inappropriate since it would have undermined the collective nature of *stūpa* patronage, and denied common people the chance of making donations. A reasonable solution would be for the kings to take part in the patronage not as donors, but as indirect agents who enhanced the patronage system by assisting with construction work. As indicated in the above-mentioned Sānchī I *torāṇa* inscription, the king could offer labour and artisans for the construction work. As Walters has suggested, kings could organize religious festivals (*maha*) to encourage donations for the construction of *stūpa*-s.<sup>97</sup> Their role in patronage, however, had to be indirect because it would seem that *stūpa*-s were not appropriate monuments to demonstrate royal power. Rather, *stūpa*-s were the places where major social components cooperated together and shared the honor of patronage. In his pioneering study on the relationships between monastic Buddhism, kingship and commercial networks, James Heitzman argued that Buddhist construction sites provided a variety of donors with an opportunity to express their positions through the architecture. Buddhist monastic sites thus were 'symbols of hierarchy within a non-monastic network'.<sup>98</sup> The different nature of patronage to *vihāra*-s and *stūpa*-s in the early historic Deccan provides good examples of this kind of cooperative system of Buddhist patronage of construction work.

#### SUMMARY

The early historic period in India (ca. 500 BCE-300 CE) was a dynamic time when society abandoned the Vedic mode of life and experienced urbaniza-

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<sup>97</sup> See Walters, 'Stūpa, Story, and Empire', pp. 170-71. Regarding the ancient *maha*, including that to the *stūpa* (*stūpamaha*), see V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults* (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1970), pp. 7-10 and 132-38.

<sup>98</sup> Heitzman, 'Early Buddhism, Trade and Empire', pp. 132-33.

tion throughout the subcontinent. This significant change developed a new social ethic, which appreciated less violent and 'pure' displays of compassion as a sign of nobility. Gift-giving to religious renunciators (*śramaṇa*-s), who emerged as a distinct social component in this period, provided an appropriate way for showing such compassion. Since Buddhism defined the act of giving as an appropriate and comprehensible religious practice for laypeople, it succeeded in gaining great support from a wider section of society. The construction of Buddhist monuments, where donors could record their compassion and generosity in visible forms, was a key element for attracting people. Notably the *stūpa*-s, which were renovated and embellished over and over again, took on crucial roles in providing a large number of people with opportunities to obtain merit. Because of the popular and open character of this patronage system, the construction of *stūpa*-s evolved into a refined system for organizing patronage. Two indispensable components of this system were the lay community (as the donors and managers of various donations) and the *saṃgha* (the meritorious recipient as well as technical supervisor of the construction work). Kings, another important social component in early historic society, functioned as important catalysts and stabilizers in this system, although they did not make direct donations to the construction of the *stūpa*-s. Buddhist construction activities continued on a remarkable scale on the basis of the collective, cooperative and social nature of this patronage.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CITY AND MONASTERY<sup>1</sup>

The last chapter has argued that the remarkable success of monastic Buddhism and Buddhist construction work in early historic Deccan is explained by the development of a unique patronage system, which fitted well with the emerging urban ethos and socio-political structure. Three further questions need to be asked. Did Buddhist monasteries in early historic India, flourish because basically they were the worthy recipients of religious donations? Besides generating religious merit, how did the local *saṃgha* in this period establish their position in the urban society and integrate into the communities? Can we assume that monasteries had no practical function in society, as monks were social renouncers?

The Amarāvati *stūpa*, our main subject, may provide an intriguing instance for enquiring into this integration of the Buddhist monastery into urbanized society, since it was located close to Dharanikoṭa, the ancient fortified city Dhamṇakaṭaka (Map 8). Although the two sites are divided by fortifications and a reservoir, the distance between the *stūpa* and the eastern wall of the city is less than one kilometre. Unlike Sānchī, the *stūpa* is not built on a hill, but on a plain. The *stūpa* and the city are thus easily accessible to each other by some ten minutes' walk. As examined in the last chapter, the intimate link between the *stūpa* and the city is also verified by a few inscriptions which record donations from the *Dhamṇakaṭaka nigama*.<sup>2</sup> As Begley has pointed out, these two sites definitely need to be viewed 'as a unit'.<sup>3</sup>

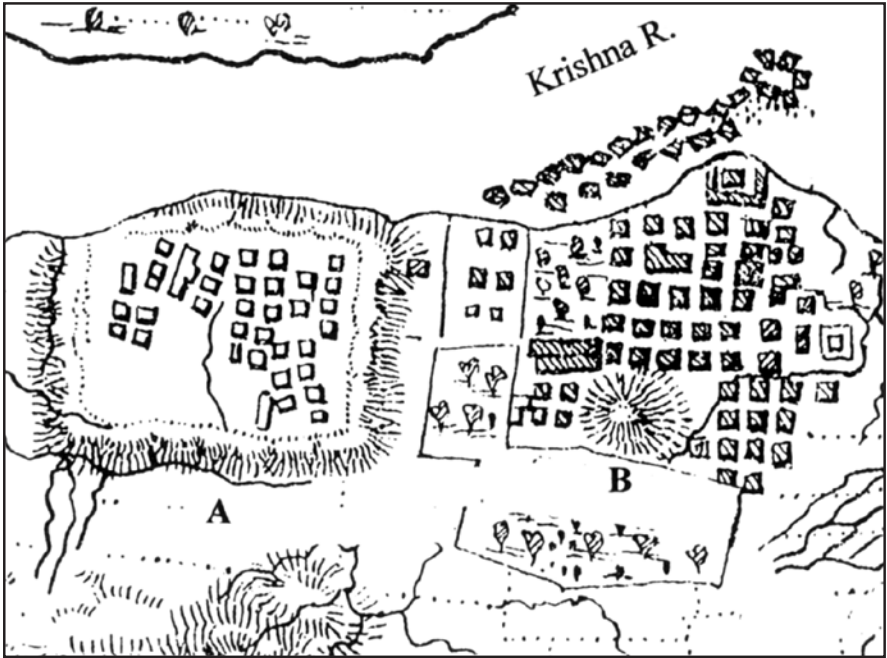
If this is the case, then, how did the Buddhist monks, who were supposed to reside close to the *stūpa*, establish their social roles in the urbanized society? What was the significance of the monastic space in the sphere of the city? This chapter will attempt to address these issues by putting

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is the revised version of the following book chapter. Akira Shimada, 'Amaravati and Dhānyakaṭaka: Topology of Monastic Spaces in Ancient Indian Cities' in Jason Hawkes and Akira Shimada ed., *Buddhist Stūpas in South Asia: Recent Archaeological, Art-Historical and Historical Perspectives* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 216-34.

<sup>2</sup> Chanda, nos. 4, 5; Ghosh, no. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Begley, 'From Iron Age' p. 303.



Map 8. Locations between Amarāvati and Dharanikoṭa. (Based on Fergusson 1873, pl. 46)

my fieldwork at Amarāvati and Dharanikoṭa in the context of the various archaeological and textual data on the relationships between monastic sites and ancient Indian cities.

#### I. THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AND CITIES

According to Dutt, the Pāli *Vinaya* differentiates two types of dwelling place for the monks: *āvāsa* and *ārāma*. While the term *āvāsa* denotes a temporary colony maintained by monks, *ārāma* was a more permanent settlement with durable buildings. Also an *ārāma* was endowed by wealthy laymen and was located near the township.<sup>4</sup> The *Vinaya* also describes major *ārāma*-s built near large cities. According to Lamotte's calculation, based

<sup>4</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962), pp. 58-65.

on the *Vinaya*, the *saṃgha* owned eighteen monasteries in Rājagriha, two in Vaiśālī, three in Śrāvastī, and four in Kauśāmbī.<sup>5</sup>

Although such textual data clearly indicates that there were monasteries close to ancient cities and interconnected with city people, it also prompts a number of questions: where were these monasteries situated in the cities? What were the features of the monastic place? Some descriptions in the Pāli canons address these points. For instance, when Anāthapiṇḍika selects a place for building Jetavanārāma in Śrāvastī, he refers to the following famous criteria:

‘Now where could the Lord stay that would be neither too far from a village, nor too near, suitable for coming and going, accessible to people whenever they want, not crowded by day, having little noise at night, little sound, without folks’ breath, secluded from people, fitting for meditation.’<sup>6</sup>

Although it is not particularly referring to urban monasteries, Buddhaghosa’s *Visuddhimagga* also lists criteria as the words of Buddha. It stipulates the five qualities with which monasteries need to be endowed: (1) the lodging is not too far, not too near, and has a path for going and coming; (2) it is little frequented by day with little sound and few voices by night; (3) there is little contact with gadflies, flies, wind, burning [sun] and creeping things; (4) one who lives in that lodging easily obtains robes, alms food, lodging, and medicine to cure the sick; (5) in that lodging there are elder *bhikkhu*-s living who are learned, versed in the scriptures, observers of the Dhamma, observers of the *Vinaya*, observers of the Codes.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the text also lists eighteen unfavourable conditions for monks who want the development of concentration, which include places near roads, cities and ports of entry.<sup>8</sup>

In short, both texts seem to stress the same thing: while Buddhist monasteries were to be located not far from areas of habitation so that they could commune with the lay society, they also needed to be a little isolated for the pursuit of monastic life. Our problem, however, is that these texts are normative in nature and represent the *saṃgha*’s religious standpoint. Inevitably, the text does not inform us about the exact location of the monastery in the city or give actual examples. While the texts describe the monastic area as the ideal place for religious life, they keep silent about

<sup>5</sup> Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 17–21.

<sup>6</sup> *Vinaya*, II, p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> *Visuddhimagga*, IV, 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, IV, 2–18.

other features. How was the monastic space conceived by the city people? How did the monastery interact socially with secular city space? The Buddhist texts do not provide clear answers.

One might expect archaeological studies to provide precise data in relation to these issues. However, to date, these questions have not been addressed properly. Rather, it seems that former studies simply tried to follow the textual descriptions of monastic space, and stressed the remoteness of monasteries from cities so that religious sanctity was preserved. For example, the respected archaeologist Debala Mitra comments on the locations of monasteries as follows:

The choice invariably fell on the site which fulfilled the two conditions required for an ideal monastic life, namely, proximity to a habitation where monks could go on their begging rounds and at the same time seclusion ensuring a proper atmosphere for meditation..... The Buddhist remains of almost all important establishments were found slightly away from towns. It is thus that outside the populous city of Vidiśā (Modern Besnagar adjoining Vidisha) there sprang up the magnificent establishment of Sāncī besides a host of lesser ones at Sonari, Satdhara, Bhojpur and Andher. Similarly, the Dharma-chakra-vihāra of Sarnath was established 4 miles north of Benares.<sup>9</sup>

If ancient Indian monasteries had usually kept such a distance from supportive lay societies, they would certainly have been isolated from the urban sphere. As noted by Heitzman, this remoteness would most likely have hindered monks from undertaking any active role in urban social activities, because they would have had to walk some fifteen to twenty kilometres every day for begging yet still carry out religious practices.<sup>10</sup> In my opinion, however, this view hardly represents the variety of geographical settings of early Buddhist sites. At least it is not helpful in understanding the setting of the Amarāvati *stūpa*, situated very near the city.

As the starting point of our argument, therefore, the detailed geographical setting of Buddhist monasteries and early historic cities needs to be re-examined. To this end, I have listed major early historical sites where ancient fortified settlements are associated with nearby Buddhist remains (Table 9). The geographical range of the survey is confined to central India and the south where Buddhism arrived at about the same time. The list thus includes three sites from Central India (Aḍam, Besnagar, Pauni), eight from Andhra and its adjacent areas (Amarāvati/Dharanikoṭa,

<sup>9</sup> Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>10</sup> Heitzman, 'Early Buddhism, Trade and Empire', p. 132.

Table 9. Spatial relationship between early historic cities and Buddhist monastic sites in central and south India.

Names of the Sites	Dates of the Fortifications	Number of Buddhist Sites	Distance Between Buddhist Sites and Fortified Areas			
			Inside the Fortification	Within 1 km	1-3 km	3-10 km
Aḍam	Maurya?	1	0	1	0	0
Amarāvati/ Dharanikoṭa	Maurya	5	0	3	0	2
Anurādhapura	Maurya	17	0	3	4	10
Besnagar (Vidisa)	Pre-Maurya	6	1?	2	1	2
Dhūlikatta	Post-Maurya?	2	0	1	0	1
Kondapur	Sātavāhana?	2	1	1	0	0
Kotilingala	Early Sātavāhana?	4	1?	1?	0	2
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	Sātavāhana- Ikṣvāku	34	0	9	24	1
Sannati	Maurya?	5	0	2	2	1
Pauni	Maurya	3	0	1	2	0
Peddavegi	Ikṣvāku- Śālaṅkāyana	1	1	0	0	0
Satanikota	Sātavāhana	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	80	4	24	33	19

## Sources of Information (for full references, see Bibliography)

Aḍam: Nath 1999, pp. 460-466.

Amarāvati/Dharanikoṭa: Mackenzie 1823, pp. 467-468.

Anurādhapura: Bandaranayake 1974, pp. 17-19; Coningham and Allchin 1995, pp. 159-169.

Besnagar: Cunningham 1880, pp. 36-46.

Dhūlikatta: Krishna Sastry 1983, pp. 124-125.

Kotilingala: Kedareshwari 2006, pp. 3-4, 24-25, p. 84

Kondapur: A site plan exhibited in Archaeological Museum, Kondapur.

Pauni: Deo and Joshi 1972, 5-8; Nath 1998, pp. 1-5.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: Sarkar and Misra 1980, pp. 31-40

Peddavegi, Sarma 2002, pp. 19-20

Sannati: Howell 1995, pp. 26-30.

Satanikota: *IAR* 1977-78, p. 76; Ghosh 1989, vol. 2, pp. 400-01

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Dhulikattā, Kotilingala, Kondapur, Peddavegi, Satanikota, Sannati), and one from Sri-Lanka (Anurādhapura). Except for Peddavegi (ca. 4-5th century and after), the dates of these sites range between ca. 300 BCE and 300 CE. Sites in the Gangetic valley associated with the Buddha's life are excluded, as they have more complicated and longer histories leading into the post-Gupta period.

This survey reveals a number of geographical patterns. First of all, there are considerable Buddhist remains very close to or inside fortified settlements. In fact, except for Satanikota, all the listed sites have at least one Buddhist *stūpa* or monastery within one kilometre of the fortification. A typical example is Besnagar, ancient Vidiśā in modern Madhya Pradesh. The fortified city is famous for having a number of Buddhist monasteries in the surrounding hills. The most famous and well-preserved site among them is Sānchī, located some ten kilometres south-west of the city. However, Cunningham's first survey reported vestiges of Buddhist *stūpa*-s in the city area as well. Most importantly, he found several portions of a Buddhist railing in the north-west corner of the city behind the rampart (site L) (Fig. 16).<sup>11</sup> He also noticed several large mounds on the northern side of the city beyond the Bes river. One of these large mounds to the north-east (site N) was unexcavated, although he speculated that it was probably the remains of an immense *stūpa*. On the north-east of site N, he noted another mound which he believed to be the ruin of a monastery, as it yielded an old well and sculpture.<sup>12</sup> Another mound located beyond the north-west side of the fortification (site M) could be another *stūpa* since the corner pillar of a Buddhist railing was discovered there.<sup>13</sup> Julia Shaw's recent study further elaborated evidence of Buddhist remains at Vidiśā, and confirmed a number of 'urban' monastic sites located near the major settlements in Sānchī region.<sup>14</sup> Similarly at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, nine of the thirty-four Buddhist remains are clustered around the east gate of the citadel (Map 9).<sup>15</sup> The excavations also uncovered residential sites for

<sup>11</sup> See Alexander Cunningham, *Report of Tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa in 1874-75 and 1876-77*, Archaeological Survey of India, 10 (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1880), p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham, *Report of Tours*, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> Shaw, *Buddhist Landscapes in Central India*, pp. 130-35.

<sup>15</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, pp. 34-37; K.V. Soundara Rajan ed., *Nagarjunakonda (1954-60)*, vol. II (Historical Period), *MAI*, 75 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2006), p. 192 (site 38) and pp. 196-99 (sites 105, 106, 108).

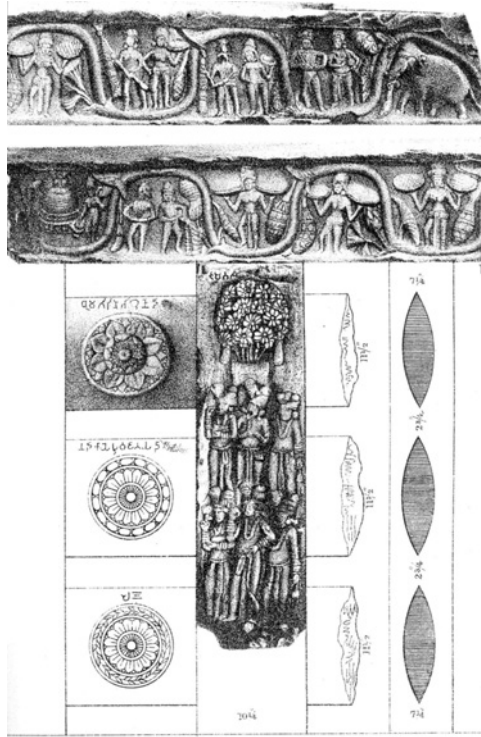


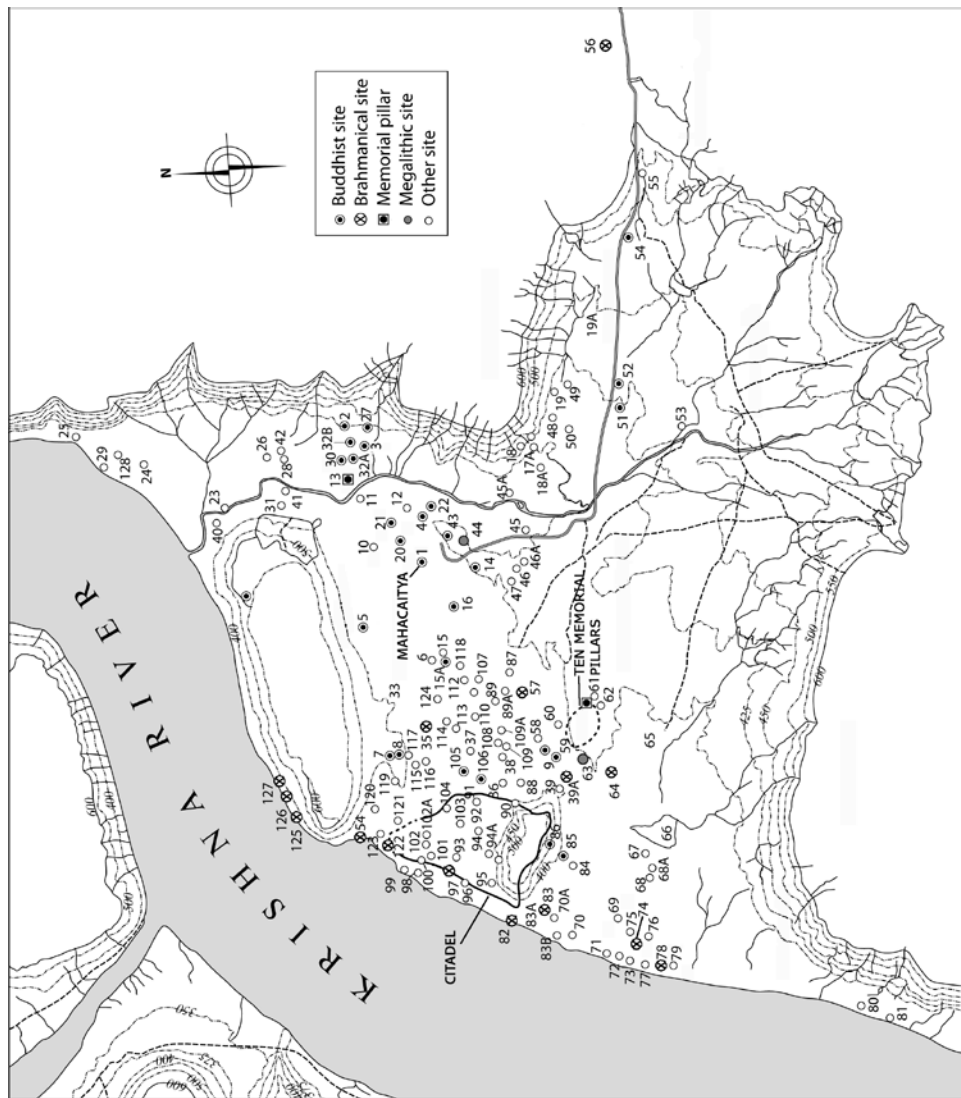
Figure 16. Buddhist railing found at site L, Besnagar. (After Cunningham 1880, pl. 13.)

craftsmen and goldsmiths in the same area.<sup>16</sup> At Peddavegi, identified as ancient Vengipura of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty, a *stūpa* was discovered inside the fortification near the northern wall.<sup>17</sup> These examples indicate that a considerable number of Buddhist monasteries existed in the immediate sphere of the city space.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 20-21; Soundara Rajan, ed., *MASI*, 75, pp. 131-33 (sites 15, 36, 89).

<sup>17</sup> Sarma, *The Ancient City of Vengipura: Archaeological Excavations at Peddavegi* (Delhi: Book India Publishing, 2002), pp. 19-20.

<sup>18</sup> Although outside our current concern, there are similar examples in the Gangetic valley and Gandhāra. Ghositārāma monastery was found inside the south-eastern corner of the rampart. G.R. Sharma, 'Excavations at Kauśāmbī', *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 16 (1958), pp. XLI-XLV; Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 198. At Sirkap in Taxila, a fortified city flourished in the Saka-Parthian period (ca. 1st century CE), Marshall confirmed a *stūpa* court (1A), an apsidal temple (1D) and a few small *stūpa*-s along the main street inside the North Gate. John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951; rpt., Delhi:



Map 9. Nāgārjunakōṇḍa showing the locations of Buddhist and non-Buddhist sites.

Close observation of the location details however suggests that the geographical positions of the Buddhist remains do not indicate simply a generalized 'nearness' to the fortifications. Of the Buddhist sites found within the sphere of the city, the sites located within fortifications are relatively small in number (only in Besnagar and Peddavegi). The majority of the sites were located very near but outside the fortifications as at Amarāvati.<sup>19</sup> Even Anurādhapura, the ancient capital of a Sinhalese Buddhist kingdom, conforms to this pattern. Although there are seven major monasteries surrounding the city, no monasteries are located inside the fortifications except for a tooth relic shrine (Dala-Dā-Ge) directly supported by kings.<sup>20</sup> Similarly at Sannati, five monastic sites were located outside the fortifications (Map 10).<sup>21</sup> It is also to be noted that this tendency may not be confined to the Buddhist monuments. In Besnagar, the famous Garuda pillar and many cult objects such as *yakṣa*, *yakṣī* and various pillar capitals, all dated around the second century BCE, were located outside the city fortifications.<sup>22</sup> In Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, some twenty Brahmanical temples dedicated to Śiva, Kārttikeya, Kubera and the mother goddess, were found through excavations. Besides the Aśvamedha complex, which is placed inside the west gateway, they are all located around the citadel and especially on the bank of the Krishna (Map 9).<sup>23</sup>

The above observations on the archaeological data suggest two broad tendencies governing the location of Buddhist monasteries. On the one hand, there are a considerable number of monasteries which were located near cities apparently for convenient and easy access to the city. On the other hand, monasteries equally avoided encroaching into the city

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Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), I, pp. 142-45, 150-55, 158, 163, 167; III, pl. 10; Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, p. 179.

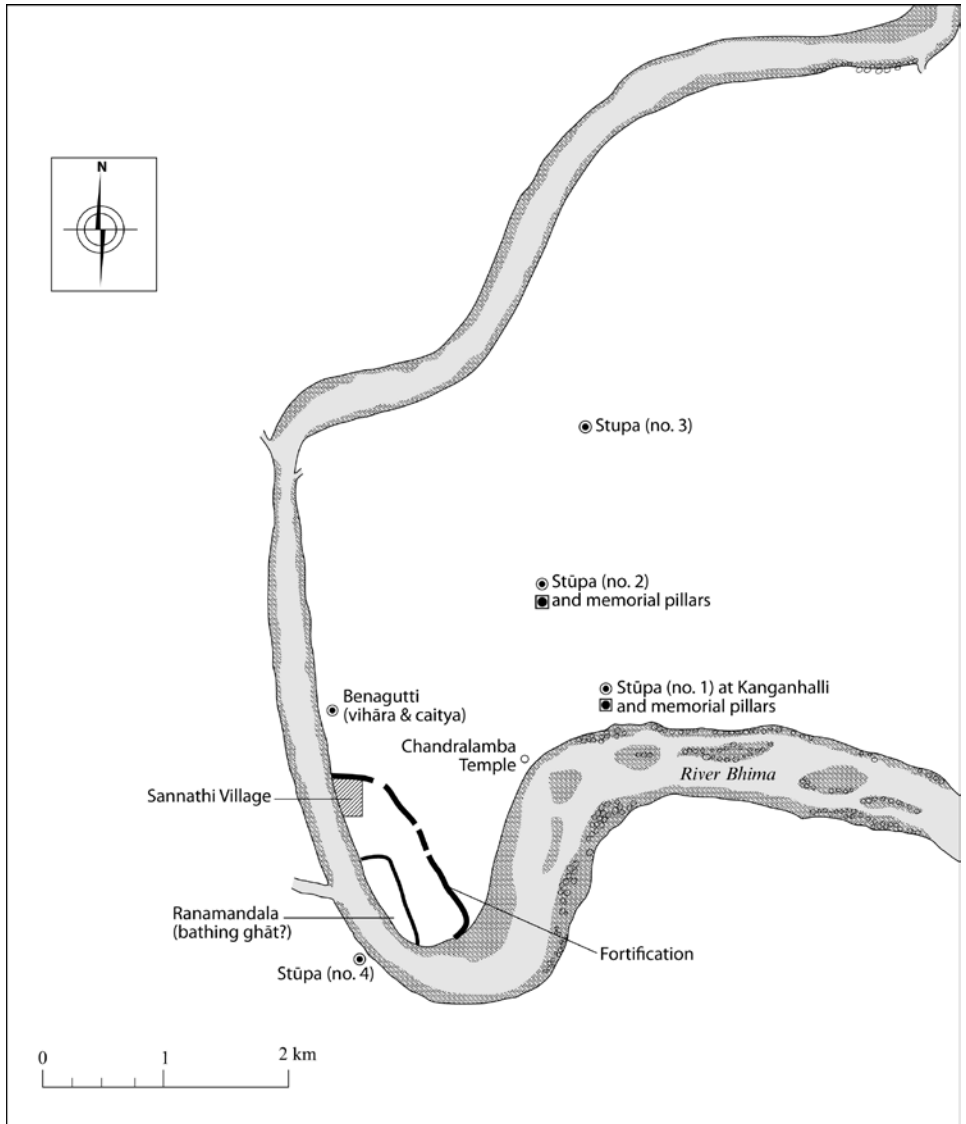
<sup>19</sup> The only possible exception for this observation is reported at Kotilingala. Here a small circular brick structure was found at the centre of the fortification and the excavator called it a 'votive *stūpa*', although he was not able to find the main *stūpa*. See J. Kedareshwari ed., *Kotilingala: A Report on Excavation (1979-1983)* (Hyderabad: Department of Archaeology and Museum, 2006), pp. 24-25. This identification is highly speculative and may not be taken as the strong evidence to challenge our general observation.

<sup>20</sup> Senake Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture: The Vihāras of Anurādhapura* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 17-19, 380-85.

<sup>21</sup> See Howell, *Excavations at Sannathi*, p. 27; Krishna Murthy, 'Buddhism in Karnataka', p. 128.

<sup>22</sup> Das and Willis, 'The Lion Capital from Udayagiri', pp. 26-31; Shaw, *Buddhist Landscape in Central India*, p. 180.

<sup>23</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 24-29; Soundara Rajan ed., *Nagarjunakonda (1954-60)*, pp. 200-45.



Map 10. Sannati showing the locations of Buddhist and non-Buddhist sites.

centre, and tended to appear at the fringe of the cities. This is not only a feature of Buddhist remains but also of non-Buddhist shrines including *yakṣa*-s and related deities. It is also notable that this pattern of location occurred not only at the sites with relatively smaller fortifications, such as Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Dhūlikattā, but at much larger city sites, such as Besnagar and Anurādhapura. This phenomenon thus may not be fully explained by the limitation of space in the fortified areas. Rather, it appears to suggest that the peripheral location for these structures was governed by their nature and function. That is, their character was appropriate to the nature of the outside space, which seems to have been different from the inside space of the city.

Textual evidence shows that this consciousness of the different nature of 'inside' and 'outside' spaces has a long tradition in ancient India. According to Malamoud, the basic structure of the Vedic rituals suggests that the Vedic people understood the world through the concepts of *grāma* (habited place) and *āraṇya* (inhabited or 'empty' land). While the *grāma* was a space where the human order (*dharma*) prevailed, the *āraṇya* was an 'outside' or 'fringe' of the Dharmic world. Vedic rituals were acts to govern and maintain this structure of spaces.<sup>24</sup> Also in the *Arthaśāstra*, internal and external zones are clearly differentiated in the description of the layout of a fortified city (*durganiveśa*). While the inside of the city is described as the area where the four *varṇa*-s lived, the outside, about one-hundred *dhanuṣa*-s (about 600 feet) from the moat surrounding the city rampart, is described as a space for sanctuaries (*caitya*), sacred-places (*pun्यasthāna*) and groves (*vana*) with guardian deities. Cremation sites are also supposed to be situated in this area, although a detailed location is not specified. Heretics, who definitely included Buddhists, and outcastes (*caṇḍāla*) are enjoined to stay near the cremation sites.<sup>25</sup> The association of cremation places, heretics and outcaste people suggests that we cannot regard this area simply as 'sacred' land. Rather, the area can be defined as an 'outside' place where a wide range of 'outsider' components can be accommodated. Equally notable is the fact that the text describes the 'outside' space not as a completely detached element from the city space but as a part of it. Thus the city in the *Arthaśāstra* is understood as a larger set of spaces embracing the 'inside' and 'outside' areas. Although it is impos-

<sup>24</sup> C. Malamoud, 'Village and Forest in the Ideology of Brahmanic India', in Malamoud, *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 74-91.

<sup>25</sup> *Arthaśāstra*, 2.4.1-23.

sible to take the textual account as a factual 'description' of the layout of a real city, its correspondence with our archaeological evidence is still remarkable. Thus it is not inappropriate to assume that the *Arthaśāstra's* description may reflect the general features of existing cities to some extent.

In short, a combination of archaeological and textual evidence leads us to postulate that the ancient city sphere consists of two types of spaces: 'inside' spaces which were habitation sites in the fortifications; and 'outside' spaces which tended to occupy peripheral zones beyond the fortifications. These two spaces were not self-contained or isolated from each other, but interlinked to constitute the total city space. Buddhist *stūpa*-s and monasteries were the major components in the 'outside' spaces.

## II. COMPONENTS OF THE 'OUTSIDE' SPACES

### 1. *Funerary Spaces*

Archaeological and textual data also indicate that the 'outside' spaces of cities may have served other roles besides accommodating Buddhist monasteries and other cultic objects. One important function seems to have been funerary purposes. As mentioned, this assumption finds support in the description of the *Arthaśāstra*. The layout of the *durganiveśa* requires cremation sites to be located outside the city rampart, although a particular location is not specified.<sup>26</sup> Strong archaeological evidence in support of this view is found at Amarāvati. As described in Chapter Two, Mackenzie noticed many burial sites a mile west of Dharanikoṭa (Map 3 and Fig. 9). Similar features can be observed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Here two groups of megalithic burials (Sites 44 and 63) and memorial pillars (*chāyāstambha*-s), commemorating the death of important personages, were found on the eastern side of the citadel.<sup>27</sup> Out of a total of twenty-two memorial pillars, dated around the 3rd to 4th century CE, ten pillars were indeed found close to a megalithic area (Site 63) (Map 9).<sup>28</sup> Similar memorial pillars, dated to the 1st-2nd century CE, were also found outside the fortifications of Sannati at *stūpa* 1 and 2 (Map 10, Pl. 66). At this site, the persons to whom the pillars were dedicated are not only high officials such as a king's minister (*rājāmāca*) and royal officers (*amāca*), but also ordinary people such as

<sup>26</sup> *Arthaśāstra*, 2.4.20-23.

<sup>27</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 11, 43-44.

<sup>28</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 44.

householders (*gahapati*) and traders (*vāṇiya*) etc.<sup>29</sup> As argued in Chapter One, the precise date of the megalithic burials is not fixable. It is agreed, however, that the custom must have continued into the early historical period or even later. Concerning the memorial pillars, there is little doubt that their dates overlap with the flourishing period of the cities. It is highly probable, therefore, that areas outside the fortifications functioned as a place for dealing with death in early historic cities.

## 2. Trade/Exchange

In addition to funeral activity, the fringe spaces surrounding the fortifications may also have served as a place for exchanging goods. Archaeologically, it is difficult to confirm this function, since it is not likely that such sites would have acquired any durable architectural edifices. In textual sources, however, there are some references to commercial activities being located at the fringes of the city.<sup>30</sup> In the Pāli *Jātaka*, for instance, there is a story about a caravan of carts and animals which did not enter the city but stayed at a suitable spot outside.<sup>31</sup> Another story mentions greengrocers at the four city gates.<sup>32</sup> Also a story tells us that outside the four gates of Mithilā four market towns developed.<sup>33</sup> These descriptions are hardly surprising, as city gates usually functioned as traffic hubs. The gates, controlling the flow of travel and commerce, were indeed ideal places for gatherings of people and the exchanging of goods.

Further textual evidence in support of this view is provided by the *Cilappatikāram*, a famous Tamil epic compiled between the third and seventh centuries CE. It includes a description of a coastal city called Puhār, which consists of two parts: a busy commercial section (*manuvurppakkam*) near the harbour and a residential section for Brahmins and high-class merchants (*pattinappakkam*). The two areas were separated by open space where there were dense trees and markets. First, the *manuvurppakkam* is described as follows:

‘Near the harbour, the passerby was stopped dead by the homes of Yavanas whose profits never shrunk. On the edge of the burnished waters lived and

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<sup>29</sup> Nagaraja Rao, ‘Brāhmī Inscriptions and Their Bearing on the Great Stūpa at Sannati’, pp. 82-97.

<sup>30</sup> See Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India: Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Geographical Survey of Ancient India Based Mainly on the Jātaka Stories* (Bombay, Examiner Press, 1939), pp. 231-33.

<sup>31</sup> *Jātaka*, I, p. 378.

<sup>32</sup> *Jātaka*, IV, p. 448.

<sup>33</sup> *Jātaka*, VI, p. 330.

mingled as one traders from distant lands, come for goods carried by ships. With paints, scented powders, cool sandalwood paste, flowers, incense and fragrant perfumes, hawkers went round the city streets. One saw the fine work of making cloth from silk, fur, and cotton in the weavers' quarter. Silk, coral, sandalwood, agar, flawless pearls, gems, gold, and an endless profusion of rare ornaments were piled high in the commodious streets. Heaped separately were grains in the street of the grain merchants, as also a variety of provisions distinct from one another. ....

Women hawking wine; fishermen offering fish for sale; vendors of white salt; sellers of betel leaves; perfumers; butchers flogging different kinds of meat; oilmongers; overcrowded shops packed with food; braziers; copper-smiths; painters; sculptors; goldsmiths; jewellers; tailors; cobblers.....All had their homes in the suburbs of the city'.<sup>34</sup>

The description of the *pattinappakkam* is strikingly different:

'In the city itself stood the Kingsway, the flagged car street, the market square, the boulevard where merchant princes dwelt in tall mansions, the brahman homes, the houses of landed families and their tenant farmers, of physicians, astrologers, and those employed in other tasks, the broad street of the homes of those who with skill bored holes into bright gems, and those who polished ornate conches. In separate houses lived charioteers, bards, panegyrist, astronomers, handsome dancers, harlots, actresses, flower-and-betel girls, maidservants, professional musicians, drummers of various sorts, and jesters.

Surrounding the fort were the spacious houses of cavalymen with swift horses, riders of male elephants, drivers of lofty chariots, fierce-looking soldiers. Celebrated in song was this part of town and well known for the great and renowned men who lived there'.<sup>35</sup>

As pointed out by Chattopadhyaya, the text tries to contrast the different nature of each area.<sup>36</sup> The *manuvurppakkam* is located near the harbour. It seems to be a rather chaotic commercial area. Many kinds of people intermingle here: rich foreign merchants, sailors from distant lands, vendors dealing in various items. The commodities handled in this area are also wide-ranging, from precious materials to many kinds of food items including grains, oil, fish, wine and meat. The *pattinappakkam*, on the other hand, is a well-organized area. It has a clear layout and good roads. It is also certainly protected by arms. Residents in this area belong to the elites, such as Brahmins, merchant princes, landowners, and various professionals who

<sup>34</sup> R. Parthasarathy trans., *The Cilappatikāram of Ilāṅkō Aṭiṅkaḷ* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 46-47 (canto 5, 11-45).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48 (canto 5, 46-67).

<sup>36</sup> B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'The City in Early India: Perspectives from Texts', *Studies in History* (New Series), 13 (1997), pp. 190-93.

serve these people. Although a market square is located in the area, commercial activity is hardly mentioned. It is reasonable to speculate that this area is the administrative part of the city.

The exclusion of commerce from the ruling part of the city is alluded in the *Arthasāstra* as well. According to the layout of the residential area (*vāstuvibhāga*) of *durganiveśa*, the most privileged areas inside the city are the royal palace and the residential areas of Brahmins (north) and *kṣatriya*-s (east). Their intimate connection is indicated by the position of the royal gates, which open either to the north or east only.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the residential areas of *vaiśya*-s and *śūdra*-s are isolated from them. The royal gate is not allowed to open to their areas, and besides, the royal residence should be located not exactly in the centre of the *vāstuvibhāga*, but slightly to the north. As Kangle commented, this may represent a larger population of *vaiśya* in the city.<sup>38</sup> It is also possible, however, that this reflects the conceptual distance which detaches the royal residence from the *vaiśya*-s. Noticeable in this regard is the isolated position of the foreign merchants (*prapaṇinikāya*) and guilds (*śrenī*), which must have had close contact with *vaiśya*-s.<sup>39</sup> They are not allowed to stay in the *vāstuvibhāga*, but are enjoined to stay in enclosures in the non-residential areas (*vāstucchidra*). Although the location of the *vāstucchidra* is not clearly mentioned, presumably it is situated on the periphery of the city.<sup>40</sup>

### III. NATURE OF THE 'OUTSIDE' SPACES

To summarise the discussion so far, the peripheral area of the city may have accommodated not only space for religious institutions but also places for funerary and commercial activities. This view prompts an obvious question: why and how did the city develop these functions in this space? Three related reasons are possible.

<sup>37</sup> *Arthasāstra*, 2.4.7

<sup>38</sup> R.P. Kangle, *The Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra*, 2nd edition, 3 vols (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1969-72), II, p. 79 (note for 2.4.15).

<sup>39</sup> For the definition of *prapaṇinikāya* as a foreign merchant, see *ibid.*, p. 80 (note for 2.4.16).

<sup>40</sup> *Arthasāstra*, 2.4.16.

### 1. *Insecurity*

Firstly, an important factor assigning these components to the periphery of urban settlements is that they were not desirable for security and sanitation. Obviously it was important to move corpses away from the city centre for sanitary reasons. In particular, a style of megalithic burial in which a few bones of the dead were buried after the exposure of the body on the ground for natural excarnation, was definitely undesirable in the residential part of the city.<sup>41</sup> As for trade and religious activities, a concern of the ruling class was that such activities might invite undesirable people into the city. The *Arthaśāstra* affirms that such groups as apostate monks (*udāsthita*), merchants (*vaiḍehaka*) and female ascetics (*bhikṣukī*) can be useful as spies.<sup>42</sup> The same text also orders the wardens of the lodges for religious people (*dharmāvāsathina*) to confirm if the guests are true ascetics before giving them accommodation. Artisans and merchants are to be accommodated in the houses of the same professions only.<sup>43</sup> As mentioned above, foreign merchants are not allowed to stay inside the city. Also, in the *Cilappatikāram*, the hero Kovalam, who is a stranger from another city, avoids passing through the city gates of Madurai and enters the city through a secret tunnel.<sup>44</sup> Although the reason is not specified in the text, it is likely that the city authorities had serious concerns about strangers entering into the city, and may have established some sort of regulatory system to monitor the inward and outward flows of people. Monks and merchants, who not only had access to the city but had an itinerant lifestyle, were especially dangerous people in this regard.

### 2. *Impurity*

Secondly, the practical concerns with security and sanitation were also linked to conceptual impurity. Ancient Brahmanical literatures, especially the Dharma texts, list various rules about impurity caused by social conduct and how purification might be effected. The amount and complexity of the rules in these texts suggest that this notion preoccupied early historical society, particularly *kṣatriya*-s and Brahmins.

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<sup>41</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 11. This mode of burial is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. J.N. Tiwari, *Disposal of the dead in the Mahabharata: a study in the funeral customs in Ancient India* (Varanasi : Kishor Vidya Niketan, 1979), pp. 34-43.

<sup>42</sup> *Arthaśāstra*, 1.11.1.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.36.5-6.

<sup>44</sup> Parthasarathy trans. *The Cilappatikāram*, p. 142 (canto 14, 73-79).

In this scheme of things, death was obviously impure and to be avoided. According to the *Śatapata Brāhmaṇa*, the burial-place for the dead (*śmaśāna*) was not to be created in a visible place, since it caused another death if seen from the village.<sup>45</sup> The *śmaśāna* was defined as the sphere of the ancestors (*pitṛloka*) in contrast with the sphere of the living (*jīvaloka*). At the end of the funeral, a lump of clay between the village and the *śmaśāna* was put as a symbolic fortification (*paridhi*) for the living.<sup>46</sup> Obviously the text portrays the *śmaśāna* as a dangerous place which had to be separated from the world of the living. This notion continues in later Dharma texts as well, which state that a death caused impurity among relatives for a certain period.<sup>47</sup> The person who undertook the burial and cremation rituals was to leave the place without looking back.<sup>48</sup> People were not to chant the Vedas when there was a corpse in a village as well as in burial sites.<sup>49</sup>

Interestingly, these Dharma texts also show a rather hostile attitude towards commercial and trade activities. The texts affirm that Brahmins should not engage in trade, unless they are facing adversity. The texts thus list many restrictions on how they should conduct trade in adversity and which items they could deal in.<sup>50</sup> The *Manusmṛti* warns that an offering to a Brahmin engaged in commerce has no reward in this life or in the next.<sup>51</sup> These texts are basically in agreement that commerce is a profession for *vaiśya*-s.<sup>52</sup> The reason for such restrictions is related to the nature of trade. Merchants and traders made business with a wide variety of people, including lower castes and tribal people. They also dealt with commodities which were touched by many unknown hands. Trade was thus certainly a dangerous job which could cause impurity for the upper castes. For the same reason, Brahmanical authorities were afraid of markets, as places of trade. The *Āpastamba* and *Manusmṛti* state that people should refrain from chanting the Veda in a market town or in a crowd.<sup>53</sup> The *Āpastamba* also says that a man who is engaged in teaching the Vedas

<sup>45</sup> *Śatapata Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 8.1.12.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, XIII, 8.4.12; A similar fortification to divide the sphere of the living and that of the dead is mentioned in *Rg Veda* (10.18.4).

<sup>47</sup> *Āpastamba*, 2.15.2-10; *Baudhāyana*, 1.11.1-31; *Gautama*, 14.1-29; *Vasiṣṭha*, 4.9-38; *Manu*, 5.57-104.

<sup>48</sup> *Āpastamba*, 2.15.9; *Vasiṣṭha* 4.9.11.

<sup>49</sup> *Āpastamba* 1.9.14 and 16; *Manusmṛti*, 4.108 and 116.

<sup>50</sup> *Āpastamba*, 1.20.10-15; *Vasiṣṭha*, 2.24-39.

<sup>51</sup> *Manusmṛti*, 3.181.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.80; *Gautama*, 10.49; *Bhāudāyana*, 1.10.21.

<sup>53</sup> *Āpastamba*, 1.9.4; *Manusmṛti*, 4.108.

should avoid visiting a city.<sup>54</sup> The market and city, where people gathered and intermingled, challenged the traditional value system of Brahmanical ideology.

### 3. *Transcendence*

Finally, as the third factor, we may notice the 'extra-social' nature of these functions. There is little need to explain the 'outside' character of the cremation sites. On the other hand, it may seem counter-intuitive to see trading activities in the same way. However, these two may have been linked closely in ancient society.

As Marcell Mauss has argued, before money was introduced into society, the principal economic activity had long been gift-exchange and barter of goods. In this system, goods and owner were closely tied.<sup>55</sup> Drawing on an Indian example, Mauss referred to passages of the *Mahābhārata* which narrate a ritual for the gift of cows. The text enjoins that the giver of the cow should try to assimilate his qualities into the cow by various ways: sleeping on the ground, feeding himself on barley, cow's dung and urine before he gives it away. At the moment of transferral, the recipient affirms that the cow, which he is going to receive, is the essence of the owner.<sup>56</sup> Although these rules might only be theoretical, they show eloquently the ancient notion that the exchange of goods entailed some exchange of personal qualities invested in them by their owners. The link between goods and owner is also mentioned in Buddhist literatures. According to Schopen, the *Vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*-s affirms that monks can claim a right to their property such as robes and bowls even after death. These properties cannot be detached from the monks until a series of rituals is complete.<sup>57</sup> Schopen argued that the same idea could be observed in cremation rites in the Dharma literatures, noting a passage in the *Baudhāyana-Pitṛmedha sūtra*. The text says that proper cremation rites should be performed not only for family members but also for any 'persons who leave inheritance for one, whether he belongs to one's *gotra* or not'.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Āpastamba*, 1.32.21.

<sup>55</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. by W.D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990; rpt. 2002), pp. 70-77.

<sup>56</sup> *Mahābhārata*, 13.76.1-35. Mauss, *The Gift*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>57</sup> Gregory Schopen, 'On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*', in Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 204-37.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 214.

In the developing economy of early historic India, similar rituals may have been undertaken in the place of exchange. In the *Periplus*, there is a description about tribesmen called *Besatai* (or *Sesatai*), who seem to have lived in Eastern India. They regularly came to the border between their own land and the land called *This or Thina* (=China) with great packs and plaited baskets of what looked like green grape-leaves. At the border, they held a feast for several days, spreading out the baskets under them as mats, and then returned to their own places. After they had left, the people of *This* came to the place, collected the leaves and made various sizes of Malabathrum or leaves of Tamāla for trade.<sup>59</sup> As Schoff has pointed out, this series of actions can be understood as so-called 'silent trade', a primitive style of exchange with no direct contact between givers and receivers.<sup>60</sup> Interesting is the 'feast' held by the tribesmen who carried the leaves to the borderland. Although the text keeps silent on the meaning of the feast, it is not impossible to speculate that it was a sort of ritual to cut the link between the tribesmen and the goods they carried.

These references indicate that the link between the goods and owners was incredibly strong in early society, particularly ancient India. The receiver of goods also received the aura of the person and groups that had owned the goods. The exchange of goods thus created close ties between givers and receivers. This means that it was dangerous to give and receive goods among unknown people, since the exchange might cause unexpected effects to those involved.

In this sense, exchange in a market place was radically different from the traditional idea of exchange. Here the goods were open to anybody who came to the place. The activity of selling and buying neither depended upon, nor established any personal link between sellers and buyers. Goods in a market are thus in the 'neutral' position situated between sellers and buyers. Money, an 'abstract' medium of exchange in the market, also had and has a similar function.<sup>61</sup> Money is not linked to any particular goods but can be converted into any goods and services. It can also circulate among many people, but hardly leaves any trace of its handling.

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<sup>59</sup> *Periplus*, sec. 65. Also see Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 261-62, 279-82; Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, pp. 241-43.

<sup>60</sup> Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 279-81. A Chinese monk Faxian recorded a similar type of trade in Ceylon in the early fifth century CE. See J. Legge trans., *A Record of Buddhist Kingdom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), p. 101.

<sup>61</sup> Max Weber, 'Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills ed., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 331.

The exchange system based on money effectively breaks any link between the goods and their original producers and owners.

These features of markets and money certainly had an immense impact on traditional society. For Brahmanical authorities, assimilating these new social phenomena to the traditional value system may have been a crucial issue.<sup>62</sup> Interesting in this regard is that the Dharma texts describe inconsistent responses towards markets and money. Concerning goods in markets, the *Āpastamba* says that Brahmins should not eat food or even seasonings obtained from the market.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the *Manusmṛti* affirms that the goods for sale in the market are always pure.<sup>64</sup> Although these conflicting statements may be understood as a reflection of the chronological gap between the two texts, they are also indicative of the conceptual conflicts in a society which was experiencing a growth of the market economy, and clearly reflect ongoing debates within the ruling classes. In terms of money, the *Cūllavagga* of the Pāli *Vinaya* includes a story that on the day of full-moon festival (*uposatha*), Buddhist monks in Vaiśālī collected money from lay followers who gathered at the monastery. They used a bronze pot filled with water to collect the money, because, presumably, it was not desirable for monks to touch money directly.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, the money was also seen as something to be admired because of its great power. The story of Jetavanārama tells that Anātha-piṇḍika filled the land for building the monastery with gold coins.<sup>66</sup> As we have seen in the last chapter, this scene is one of the popular themes of early Buddhist art, and is represented in various sites such as Bhārhut, Bodhgaya and Amarāvātī. In the *cakravartin* reliefs found in Andhran *stūpa*-s, money was depicted as falling from heaven by the great power of *cakravartin* (Pl. 64). This seems to signify not only the king's divine status, but also the mythical character of money. Of further note are the necklaces made of Roman coins or the clay casts discovered in Ter, Kondapur and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Pl. 67).<sup>67</sup> Considering the mythical nature of the

<sup>62</sup> J.D.L. Derrett, *Religions, Law and State in India* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), pp. 122-23.

<sup>63</sup> *Āpastamba*, 1.17.14-16.

<sup>64</sup> *Manusmṛti*, 5.129.

<sup>65</sup> See *Vinaya*, II, p. 293. This episode is also argued by Mohan Wijayaratna. See *Buddhist Monastic Life: According to the Texts of the Theravada Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 85-88.

<sup>66</sup> *Vinaya*, II, p. 158.

<sup>67</sup> For the examples at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, see Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 21; Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, fig. 46; K. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: A Cultural Study*, (Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1977), p. 80, fig. 6, no. 19; Saundara Rajan ed.,

coins, it is not impossible to regard them as a kind of talisman rather than mere luxurious Roman objects.<sup>68</sup>

If we keep in mind these radically new features of markets and money and their strong impact on society, it is understandable that they were assigned to the periphery of the city. Indeed, the place where 'outside' components of the city were located may have been a desirable place for commercial exchange, since such a place was ideal for cutting the link between suppliers and goods. The periphery thus took on a crucial economic function for the city because of its 'outside' nature.

#### IV. SOCIAL ROLES OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES IN PERIPHERAL SPACES

The foregoing arguments have demonstrated that the fringe areas of the city may have functioned as flexible spaces accommodating various 'outside' social components. Despite their peripheral locations, therefore, the 'outside' spaces and their components were vital elements of the city in early historic India for sustaining its urban nature. Having confirmed these points, we may now examine how the Buddhist *saṃgha*, which was also a major 'outside' component, related to the other two components of the 'outside' spaces, and its links with the larger urban society.

Although not explicit, there exists some archaeological evidence which provides hints for our enquiry into this issue. As for the relationship with funerals, significant evidence was again found at Amarāvati. Alexander Rea's excavations in 1908 found seventeen urn burials partly under a single votive *stūpa*, located ca. 220 feet north-west of the centre of the main *stūpa* (Pl. 68).<sup>69</sup> Although the dating of these burials cannot be fixed precisely, this certainly shows that the *stūpa* site overlapped with a local burial site. Similarly at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, two groups of megalithic burials (Sites 44 and 63) are located adjacent to the cluster of Buddhist remains (Map 9).<sup>70</sup> If we extend our survey to the monasteries which have no clear archaeological vestiges of cities, there are more examples showing the overlap between *stūpa* and local burial sites. In Andhran *stūpa*-s, Goli,

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*Nagarjunakonda* (1954-60), pl. 111A. The examples from Ter and Kondapur, now preserved in the site museum, do not seem to have been published.

<sup>68</sup> For the magical power of ornaments, see Jan Gonda, 'Ābharāṇa', in Gonda, *Selected Studies*, II (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 171-77.

<sup>69</sup> Rea, 'Excavations at Amaravati', *ARASI* (1908-09), pp. 90-91.

<sup>70</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 11-12.

Chandavaran, Phanigiri, and Arugolu can be cited in this category.<sup>71</sup> The location of the memorial pillars also shows a similar pattern. The ten memorial pillars found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are located not only near megalithic remains, but also close to the Buddhist monasteries of *Aparamahāvīnaseliyas* (site 9). The earliest of the memorial pillars, donated by royal women to commemorate the death of the first Ikṣvāku king Vāsīṭhiputa Cāṃtamūla (Cāṃtamūla I), was found close to this monastery.<sup>72</sup> A similar pillar, commemorating a soldier Sisaba, killed in battle, was found in the vicinity of a *stūpa* (site 5).<sup>73</sup> A striking example is a pillar to Varmabhaṭṭā, the wife of the third Ikṣvāku king Ehuṃvula Cāṃtamūla. In this case the pillar was found in a small *stūpa-caitya* attached to a *vihāra*.<sup>74</sup> In Sannati, as already mentioned, most of the memorial pillars (Pl. 66), which are now preserved at the Government Museum at Gulbarga, are reported to have come from a *stūpa* (*Stūpa* 1), now known as the Kanganhalli *stūpa*, located some three kilometres east of the city site (Map 10)<sup>75</sup> Recent excavations found similar pieces at *Stūpa* 2, about one kilometre north of *Stūpa* 1. The excavator of *Stūpa* 2 suggested that these pillars might have been set up around the *stūpa*.<sup>76</sup> The above evidence appears to show that Buddhist monks not only preferred to live in burial sites, but may also have undertaken some role in the death rites of lay people.

Concerning the link between the Buddhist monastery and trading activity, it is notable that the locations of Buddhist monasteries in our survey seem also to overlap with the possible market-places as described in the texts. At Pauni, for example, the largest and most embellished *stūpa* at the site, Jagannātha Tekdi, is located just beyond the south gate of the city.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Gregory Schopen, 'Immigrant Monks and the Proto-historical Dead: The Buddhist Occupation of Early Burial Sites in India', in Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 360-61. As for the megalith at Arugolu, see a letter from A. Rea, dated 14th July 1893, G.O. 542, 543, Madras Public Proceedings for the year 1893 (BL, IOR, V/24/259).

<sup>72</sup> Sarkar and Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 44; Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, fig. 51.

<sup>73</sup> *IAR* 1954-55, p. 23; Sircar, 'Some Brahmi Inscriptions', pp. 209-10 (no. B-II).

<sup>74</sup> *IAR* 1955-56, p. 24 (site 13), pl. XXXVI-B and XXXIX-A; D.C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan, 'Two Inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', *EI* 34 (1961-62), pp. 20-22; Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, p. 77.

<sup>75</sup> James Howell, 'Note on the Society's Excavation at Sannathi, Gulbalga District, India', *South Asian Studies*, 5 (1989), p. 159; M. Seshadri, 'Buddhist Monuments at Sannathi', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 56 (1966), pp. 35-36; Nagaraja Rao, 'Brāhmi Inscriptions and Their Bearing on the Great Stūpa at Sannathi', pp. 41-45.

<sup>76</sup> Howell, *Excavations at Sannathi*, p. 69.

<sup>77</sup> A. Nath, *Further Excavations at Pauni 1994*, *MASI*, 97 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India), pp. 4-5.

In Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the most flourishing group of Buddhist monasteries were clustered outside the east gate of the citadel (Map 9). As we have already confirmed, these monasteries were situated in the commercial area as well. The Jetavanavihāra in Anurādhapura, constructed around the third century CE, seems to have been built on an old grove located outside the south gate of the city.<sup>78</sup> If we accept the textual descriptions of the areas outside the city gates, it is likely that these monasteries were positioned very close to or overlapping trade and exchange centres. Although not very close to the city gate, Amarāvati appears to display the same configuration. The locations of surrounding archaeological sites, such as the monastic sites, Vaddamānu and Peddamaddūru, make it fairly clear that the *stūpa* is facing an old commercial route which still connects Dharanikoṭa and Vijayawada (Map 3). If ancient caravans followed this route, they probably reached the *stūpa*'s west side, where the archaeological museum now stands, and passed through the south side of the *stūpa*, reaching the east gate of the city. Although the nature of the space between the *stūpa* and the gate cannot be recovered due to modern habitation, if we refer to evidence presented so far, it seems reasonable to suppose that caravans stopped and exchanged goods around this area.

Altogether, the above evidence indicates that the Buddhist monasteries were located close to places of commerce and burial-sites. Although our present knowledge does not allow us to argue the precise roles of the *saṃgha* in any detail, we may at least assume that the *saṃgha* was not isolated in these 'outside' spaces. It is more likely that monks interacted with other social components, and undertook some practical functions in urban societies. Why and how did the *saṃgha*, though social renouncers, undertake such social functions besides their own religious practices? Considering the larger social circumstances surrounding the *saṃgha*, three interconnected points may be considered.

Firstly, it is reasonable to assume that undertaking such social works would be effective for gaining support for the *saṃgha*. Especially in the Deccan and the South, the main area of our survey, this may have been a crucial concern for the monks, since in these areas Buddhism was basically a 'foreign' religion having come from the north at a relatively late date.<sup>79</sup> In order to pursue their religious life, they first needed to establish a means of subsistence. It is likely that this situation led the monks to decide to provide services for the benefit of the city people.

<sup>78</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, p. 18.

<sup>79</sup> See Schopen 'Immigrant Monks and the Proto-historical Dead', pp. 360-61.

Secondly, it is important to note that Buddhist monks were able to interact with the 'outside' components of society because they were also located 'outside' from the standpoint of traditional Brahmanical ethics. As Gombrich has pointed out, an important Buddhist idea in this regard was the ethic that regarded purity and impurity as residing in the intention behind acts, rather than in the acts themselves and their effects.<sup>80</sup> For example, the burial place (*śmaśāna*) was not to be avoided for Buddhist monks, but instead was an important place for their religious practice. The *Suttanipāta* says that the *susana* (skt: *śmaśāna*) is a place which should be preferred by monks.<sup>81</sup> The *Visuddhimagga* lists various conditions of corpses as important subjects of meditation, as the recollection of death was always beneficial for monks.<sup>82</sup> An intriguing piece of archaeological evidence in this regard is the location of the Buddhist monasteries and Brahmanical shrines at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. While Buddhist monasteries, megalithic burials and memorial pillars are intermingled and widely scattered in the eastern part of the citadel, the Brahmanical shrines are concentrated on the west side of the citadel and extend along the Krishna river, thus placed as if to avoid Buddhist monasteries and megalithic burials (Map 9). This may reflect the ethical and ritual difference between the two religions.

Finally, as the third reason, it is also important to note that the *saṃgha* was equipped to provide practical help to society. As Dutt and Ray have pointed out, an advantageous feature of the *saṃgha* was that it was the only religious group which formed an organized and settled institution in the early historical period. This is sharply different from Brahmanical and Jain ascetics, who did not develop such religious communities on a large scale.<sup>83</sup> Buddhist monks were thus not lone ascetics living on the periphery of the city, but were highly organized institutions and, as such, able to make systematic contributions to society.

Because of this institutional feature, they had consciously accumulated various forms of practical information as institutional knowledge, including an important area 'outside' the Brahmanical tradition: as Zysk has argued, Buddhist monks developed medical knowledge that had long

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<sup>80</sup> Richard Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 67; Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>81</sup> *Suttanipāta*, v. 958-59.

<sup>82</sup> *Visuddhimagga*, VI, 1-94.

<sup>83</sup> Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, pp. 53-54; Ray, *Winds of Change*, pp. 126-27.

been undeveloped in the Brahmanical tradition because it was regarded as 'impure'.<sup>84</sup> Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is reported to have a monastery which seems to have had a facility for the care of those suffering and recovering from fever.<sup>85</sup> In Sri Lanka, Mihintale is famous for the hospital monastery (*ārogyasāla*) connected to it. Medical baths attached to the monasteries were also reported from Anurādhapura, Mihintale and Madirigiliya.<sup>86</sup> Monks not only nursed themselves, but handled cremation and death rites for themselves. As Schopen has argued, epigraphic records from Amarāvati and *stūpa*-s around Sānchī, as well as textual evidence, show that monks cremated their colleagues and undertook rituals for them.<sup>87</sup> Nor is it unreasonable to surmise that monks gained a good knowledge of several languages and the geography of various places through travel and communication with a wide range of people. Although such knowledge and skills were developed for their own requirements as self-sufficient communities, they may have been highly useful for the local people as well. Especially for traders and merchants, the *saṃgha* could provide practical help, since a monk's life, which required frequent travel and communication with a wide variety of people, was similar to that of merchants.

To summarise, the Buddhist *saṃgha* not only had good reason to develop their social roles in the sphere of the city, but had the power to break the boundaries of the Brahmanical value-system and tradition because of both its 'outside' and institutional nature. It was highly likely that this nature of Buddhism was not only helpful for the monks in their religious practice, but also made the monastery a cultural hub which could integrate wider skill and knowledge developed in a variety of social spheres, and pass them on to urban society. Such social roles of the monasteries would also have been effective in gaining support for their religious

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<sup>84</sup> Kenneth G. Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998), pp. 21-27, 38-49.

<sup>85</sup> D.C. Sircar, 'More Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda', *El* 35 (1963-64), pp. 17-18. The inscription was incised on a pillar consisting of a *vihāra* (site 34A). Also see Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing*, pp. 44-45 and 147 (n. 41).

<sup>86</sup> Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, p. 250. Although it is out of our survey area, excavation at Kumrahār (a part of Pātaliputra) found a health house (*ārogyavihāra*) of a Buddhist monastery, dated to 300 to 450 BCE, with an inscribed seal and a potsherd. The sealing reads: *śrī ārogyavihāre bhikuṣusaṅghasya* ('in the auspicious health house of the monastic community'). A.S. Altekar and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Report on Kumrahār Excavations 1951-1955* (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), pp. 41, 52-53, 103 and 107.

<sup>87</sup> G. Schopen, 'An Old Inscription from Amarāvati and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries' in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 165-203.

life. Monasteries and cities were thus crucially interlinked and relied upon each other for their development.<sup>88</sup>

#### SUMMARY

By relying heavily on textual references to the location of Buddhist monasteries, we have thus far tended to define the monastic space as an area exclusively for the pursuit of religious life. This idea presupposes that the monastic space was basically separated from secular space where various social activities were undertaken. In other words, monasteries have been defined as the passive receivers of social surplus. This chapter however has suggested that monasteries located near cities, such as Amarāvātī, seem to have had a considerably different character from this traditional view of Buddhist monasteries. While monasteries were located on the fringe of the city, this peripheral area constituted a kind of special space which allowed the accommodation of wider social groups, such as settlements for heretic and outcaste people. This role also included some crucial functions for the organization of the cities such as funerals and commercial exchange. Buddhist monasteries could provide various kinds of help for organizing and vitalizing these activities because they were exceptionally well-organised religious institutions at that time, and had flexible ideas about purity and impurity entailing goods and deeds. While the *saṃgha's* social contribution may have originated from the necessity to consolidate its position in society, it was a powerful agent for organizing 'outside' spaces. Despite its marginal location, therefore, the area where the Buddhist monastery was situated undertook practical and crucial functions for the organization of early historical cities. The archaeological landscape of Amarāvātī can provide useful evidence to understand this symbiotic relationship between monastic and urban space.

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<sup>88</sup> Bailey and Mabbett have defined this role of Buddhist monks/monastic community as that of 'middle-men', who connected different cultural traditions in urbanized society because of their neutral and non-dominant position. See Greg Bailey and Ian Mabbett, *The Sociology of Early Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 168-72.

## CONCLUSION

### I. AMARĀVATĪ: THE URBAN MONASTERY

Since its discovery towards the end of the 18th century, the Amarāvati *stūpa* has been studied as a glorious Buddhist monument yielding many important archaeological, epigraphic and artistic objects. Because the site itself was destroyed by early surveys, scholars have focused on detailed analyses of these objects through their own academic disciplines of archaeology, epigraphy, or art history. Although these analyses have contributed to an increasingly detailed knowledge of these objects, they have resulted in a fragmentation of the original integrity of the site. These object-oriented approaches have also neglected the immediate social context of the site, while assigning the rule of the major dynasties, notably that of the Sātavāhanas, a decisive role in the development of the *stūpa*. As a result, these studies have failed to propose a comprehensive picture of the site in relation to its local historical context. This deficiency pertains not only to the study of Amarāvati, but is a general methodological problem which characterizes the study of archaeological sites throughout India.

This study of the Amarāvati *stūpa* has aimed at overcoming this problem by integrating the methods of archaeology and history, and thereby achieving a comprehensive understanding of the social and cultural history of this region. To this end, this work began by examining the environmental and political setting of the Amarāvati region. The environmental analysis confirmed a number of advantageous conditions in the region conducive to its development as a commercial and political centre in coastal Andhra. The analysis of dynastic history helped to establish an updated view of the political framework of the region between ca. 300 BCE and 300 CE. Significant points in this framework are (1) confirmation of the Sada dynasty, which ruled coastal Andhra between ca. 40–20 BCE to ca. 80–100 CE, and which has one of its kings named in an Amarāvati inscription; (2) a revision of the date of the later Sātavāhanas to ca. 50–250 CE, based on the latest numismatic, epigraphic and art-historical evidence.

Within this new dynastic framework, this study has attempted to examine the present archaeological, epigraphic and art historical data in order to trace in detail the development process of the *stūpa*. This examination has proposed that the construction of the Amarāvati *stūpa* be

placed between ca. 200 BCE and ca. 250 CE, although the foundation of the *stūpa* may be dated as early as the Mauryan period. Its construction was divided into two major periods: (1) the early period (ca. 200-100 BCE) and (2) the late period (ca. 50 BCE-250 CE). Although there is no clear archaeological evidence to allow an estimate of the dimensions of the earliest *stūpa* at the time of its foundation, sufficient indications exist to suggest that the *stūpa* attained a magnificent size as early as the post-Mauryan period. This early *stūpa* was further enlarged in the late period, and was refurbished with numerous limestone sculptures. The early railing, made of granite and limestone, was gradually replaced by a fully-sculpted limestone railing in three phases during this period: (1) ca. 50-1 BCE; (2) ca. 50-100 CE; (3) ca. 200-250 CE. In terms of the dynastic framework, this late period of construction roughly corresponds to the Sada and later Sātavāhana period and even later. This chronology suggests that the development of the *stūpa* had no strong links with the rule of the Mauryas and Sātavāhanas. Despite prevalent assumptions, therefore, it is not possible to conclude that the construction of the *stūpa* was the sole accomplishment of a great political power.

The above conclusion suggests that the *stūpa* had an alternative social basis for its continued construction and refurbishment. This contention finds support from my survey of socio-political and socio-economic developments in the lower Krishna valley between the Mauryan and later Sātavāhana periods. The survey has shown that basic infrastructures for a state system, such as the institution of kingship with a limited bureaucracy, coinage and scripts may have been introduced into this region in the Mauryan period. However, local archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence indicates that these infrastructural innovations started functioning at a local level as late as the post-Mauryan period. This proto-state system was further refined by the Sadas as a local system, and matured under the later Sātavāhanas into an inter-regional system. Such shifts of dynastic rule did not cause drastic changes in the local political and economic systems of this region. Rather, the effect of rule by the Sadas and Sātavāhanas was to integrate local political and economic structures into their ruling systems, and to successfully activate them within larger social and economic networks. State formation in the lower Krishna valley was thus a gradual process which went hand in hand with the socio-economic development of the region. The long construction process of the Amarāvati *stūpa* is understood as a reflection of this gradual social development.

In the long term, such developments in the valley resulted in fundamental transformations in the local society. As indicated by the growth of major settlements with large *stūpa*-s as well as the articulation of trade routes connecting these settlements, the lower Krishna valley developed regional and inter-regional networks from the post-Mauryan period. Amarāvati was clearly the most important area for these trade networks. This development not only increased people's wealth and brought about their socio-economic independence, but also created a variety of new social relationships among people of different social backgrounds. As indicated by the disappearance of large social/kinship groups in late period inscriptions of Amarāvati, the increasing heterogeneity and complexity of society may have fragmented traditional social structures based on spatial and kinship ties, and developed new social systems composed of individuals or individual families as independent socio-economic units.

This development of urbanism may also have given rise to a new set of ethics fit for a sedentary and heterogeneous society. This new ethic repositioned Vedic-style patronage as destructive and impure, and celebrated gift-giving to religious renunciators as a non-violent and pure representation of compassion. The Buddhist *saṃgha*, a prominent group of social renunciators, responded well to this change of ethic, and attracted wider classes of people by developing a refined theory of religious giving for accruing religious merit. The construction of Buddhist monuments played an important role in propagating Buddhist gift-giving practice, as it enabled donors to represent their compassion and generosity in visible and permanent forms through buildings and inscriptions. Large *stūpa*-s, whose construction and renovation usually continued over a long period, were particularly important for attracting people, as they allowed a large number of donors to join these merit-making activities. In this collective system of *stūpa* patronage, which developed significantly in the post-Mauryan period, the kings themselves seem to have refrained from giving direct support to the construction work, although they may have undertaken a crucial role in stabilizing the system of patronage as a whole. This open feature of *stūpa* patronage was highly appreciated by emergent urban citizens, who had not been able to achieve proper religious status in the Brahmanic tradition despite their rising socio-economic status in this period.

It is also important to note that the Buddhist *saṃgha* was not only the most successful recipient of religious donations in urban society: it may also have established an indispensable role in the organization of urban

society. Although former studies have tended to define the monastic space as isolated from secular space, my survey has shown that many monasteries in central India, the Deccan and Sri Lanka, including Amarāvati, were located adjacent to fortified settlements, although they did not occupy the centre of the cities. The marginal space of the city, where these monasteries were located, constituted a kind of special space accommodating wider 'outside' components of the society such as settlements for heretics and tribal people. Some crucial functions of the cities were also allowed in this space, such as funerals and commercial exchange, which were regarded as 'impure' in the Brahmanical value system. The Buddhist *saṃgha* was an exceptionally well-organised religious institution at that time, and being positioned 'outside' the Brahmanical tradition, could provide various kinds of help for organizing these 'outside' activities. By contributing to these social activities, urban Buddhist monasteries like Amarāvati may have consolidated their position in urban society and become established as a crucial component for the development of the city.

## II. TRANSFORMATION OF ANDHRAN MONASTIC BUDDHISM (ca. 250–300 CE)

We must note, however, that this remarkable success of Amarāvati and monastic Buddhism in the lower Krishna valley did not last long after the high-period of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. After termination of the late period of construction at Amarāvati around 250 CE, Buddhist construction work in the valley continued under the Ikṣvākus. Particularly Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the new capital of the dynasty, saw the development of magnificent monastic complex in ca. 250–300 CE. In this period, however, older monasteries in the coastal area started showing signs of deterioration. As discussed in Chapter Two, after 250 CE, there seems to have been no major construction work at Amarāvati. A few surviving Amarāvati sculptures made around 250 CE and after were all relatively small pieces and in a clumsy and repetitive style, as represented in a series of Buddha friezes (Pl. 45). Amarāvati may also have suffered from a shortage of limestone which was carried from the inland area, as many of these late pieces were carved on the back of the early sculptures.<sup>1</sup> After the demise of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, Nāgārjuna-

<sup>1</sup> Another important monastery developed in the Ikṣvāku period was Phanigiri. See Peter Skilling, 'New Discoveries from South India: The Life of the Buddha at Phanigiri, Andhra Pradesh', *Arts Asiatiques* 63 (2008), pp. 96–118; B. Subrahmaniyan et al., *Phanigiri: A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh (An Interim Report 2001–2007)* (Hyderabad: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 2008).

koṇḍa seems to have experienced an even more drastic decline, as there is no evidence of substantial Buddhist construction work after the last Ikṣvāku king Rudrapurisadata, whose reign ended around the beginning of the 4th century CE.<sup>2</sup> In the subsequent periods, with a few exceptions, there is little vestige of large Buddhist construction works in the lower Krishna valley.<sup>3</sup> Although Buddhism survived in Andhra with the increasing influence of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism (Pl. 69),<sup>4</sup> there is little doubt that Buddhist monasteries were not able to retain the same level of prosperity and the distinguished status as religion institutions that they had formerly enjoyed in 200 BCE-300 CE. Textual and epigraphic evidence shows that many Buddhist sites, including Amarāvati, became known primarily as Śaivite sites in the 7-11th century.<sup>5</sup> Śiva temples even took limestone pillars and slabs from nearby Buddhist monasteries and reused for their own purpose.<sup>6</sup> As argued by Talbot and Walters, Buddhist monuments and cultic objects may have been worshipped in Śaiva contexts.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Stone, *The Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, pp. 8-9, 77-82.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptional sites in the lower Krishna valley include Goli and Nialakondapalli. For Goli, see T.N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, vol. I-1 (Madras: The Controller of Stationery and Printing, 1929, rpt. 1963). For Nialakondapalli, see *IAR* 1993-94, p. 3; *IAR* 1996-97, p. 1; *ARDAM* 1983-84, pp. 28-29; *ARDAM* 1984-85, pp. 16-18 and pls. 15-22. Although outside the lower Krishna valley, a few Buddhist sites in northern coastal Andhra, such as Śāṅkaran, Guntupalli and Salihundam, continued construction works in later period. See A. Rea, 'A Buddhist Monastery on the Śāṅkaran Hills', *ARASI* (1907-08), pp. 149-80; I.K. Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments*, 78-81; R. Subrahmanyam, *Salihundam: A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh Government, Archaeological Series, no. 17 (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1964).

<sup>4</sup> For the epigraphic evidence, see E. Hultzsch, 'A Pallava Inscription from Amaravati', in Hultzsch ed. and trans., *South-Indian Inscriptions, Tamil and Sanskrit* (Madras: Government Press, 1890), pp. 25-58; Hultzsch, 'Two Pillar Inscriptions at Amarāvati', *EI* 6 (1900-1901), pp. 146-60 (Amarāvati). T.N. Ramachandran, 'Inscriptions in Sanskrit Found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 16-1 (1948), pp. 91-92; Tsukamoto, Gummidiidurru no. 1 (Gummadiidurru). Burgess 1887, p. 112; Tsukamoto, Jaggayyapeta no. 4 (Jaggayyapeta). As for the sculptural and other material evidence, see Barrett, 'The later School of Amarāvati', pp. 129-44; H.P. Ray, 'Providing for the Buddha: Monastic Centres in Eastern India', *Arts Asiatique* 63 (2008), pp. 129-130.

<sup>5</sup> Xuanzang, a Chinese monks travelling from China to India in the early 7th century, reported that monasteries at Dhanakaṭaka were numerous but were mostly ruined. Surviving monasteries were about twenty, while there were about a hundred Hindu (Deva) shrines. See, S. Beal trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II (London: Trüber, 1884), p. 221. Talbot noted that Hindu sacred sites in the Kākatiya period (ca. 1175-1325 CE) of Andhra were former Buddhist sites (Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice*, pp. 91, 109).

<sup>6</sup> Sitapati and Krisiha Sastry, *New Satavahana Sculpture from Andhra Amaravathi*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>7</sup> Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice*, pp. 108-109; Jonathan S. Walters, 'Dhānyakataka Revisited: Buddhist Politics in post-Buddhist Andhra', in Sree Padma and A.W. Barber eds., *Buddhism in the Krishna River Valley of Andhra* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), p. 169-77.

Despite the long tradition and successful integration with urban society, then, why did monastic Buddhism at Amarāvati and, indeed, throughout Andhra suffer a major setback around 250-300 CE? A possible direct reason was warfare and the subsequent decay of urbanism. In terms of the decline of Amarāvati, an important piece of information in this regard comes from the Pātagaṇḍigūḍen inscription, recently found in West Godavari district. The inscription, thus far the oldest copper-plate land grant discovered in India, informs us that Ehuṅvula Cāṃtamūla (reigned ca. 263-283 to ca. 287-307 CE) in 'the victorious war camp at Dhāṃṇakaṭaka' made a land grant to *Aparaseliya* monks in Pithunda (an unidentified place in the north of Dhāṃṇakaṭaka) to repair their monastery. This clearly indicates military conflict in the Amarāvati area, which most likely accompanied the transferral of power from the later Sātavāhanas to the Ikṣvākus in the mid-late 3rd century CE, and the destruction of the local monasteries and the city.<sup>8</sup> Unlike the Sadas and the later Sātavāhanas, it seems that the Ikṣvākus did not try to revive Amarāvati/Dhāṃṇakaṭaka, the most important Buddhist monastery and urban centre of the lower Krishna valley since ca. 200 BCE. Instead, they developed their own capital, Brahmanical shrines and Buddhist monastery at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (ancient Vijayapuri), located ca. 120 km further inland from Amarāvati along the Krishna river, and tried to shift the political, economic and religious centre of the valley to their core area. Although we do not know how much this drastic attempt was successful, it must have had a grave impact on Amarāvati/Dhāṃṇakaṭaka and the other monasteries/cities connected by old commercial networks. Within a few decades after the war waged by Ehuṅvula Cāṃtamūla at Dhāṃṇakaṭaka, the Ikṣvākus were defeated by the early Pallavas in the early 4th century and local Śaivite kingdoms emerged in different parts of Andhra.<sup>9</sup> We may assume that this political fragmentation may have further damaged commercial networks and urban culture.

In addition to these changes in social milieu, the structure of patronage of monastic Buddhism may also have changed by this time. As argued in Chapter Four, around the 1st century CE, Buddhist monasteries in the Deccan started accepting land grants and endowments from powerful donors including royal families. As they secured consistent income from

<sup>8</sup> Falk, 'The Pātagaṇḍigūḍem Copper-plate Grant', pp. 275 and 281.

<sup>9</sup> Hultsch, 'Mayidavolu Plates', pp. 84-89; Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 41-212; Parabrahma Sastry, 'The Brihatphalayanās, Salankayanās and Anandas', pp. 41-49; Parabrahma Sastry, 'The Early Pallavas', pp. 60-73; J. Krishna Prasad Babu, 'The Vishnukundins', in *Early Historic Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 50-59.

invested money and land, they became less dependent on small donations from common people at least for their subsistence. This shift from collective patronage to personal patronage by a few donors may have become an unavoidable choice for the monasteries when the urban economy was disrupted in ca. 250–300 CE due to warfare and the move to a new capital city. A striking example illustrating this new situation can be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Epigraphic evidence shows that this magnificent monastic complex was built on the basis of donations from a few powerful donors, particularly the Ikṣvāku royal family. The largest *stūpa* (*stūpa* I) of the complex, which traditionally had been built and embellished on the basis of collective donations in order to share the merit among many people, was donated by Caṃtasiri, a sister of Vāsiṭhiputa Cāṃtamūla, the first Ikṣvāku king. By the Ikṣvāku period, *stūpa*-s thus started losing their traditional role of inducing common people to patronize Buddhism, and instead became ‘personal’ monuments through which powerful individuals expressed their devotion and wealth, as can be observed in the patronage of the *vihāra*-s from an earlier date.

This new structure of patronage may not have been totally beneficial for the long-term sustenance of the monastery. While this new situation may have brought stable income to the monasteries and attentive support from wealthy donors, the fate of the monasteries now crucially depended on the favour and fate of a few powerful patrons. Particularly problematic was the relationship with the kings, the most powerful donors. As argued in Chapter Four, while royal donations of tax-free land may have greatly benefited the monasteries, kings seem to have retained the right of dealing with the donated land.<sup>10</sup> When the dynastic regime changed, the new ruler seems to have held the right over the donated land as well.<sup>11</sup> The monopolization of patronage by royal and other powerful donors thus may have made monasteries more vulnerable to changes of political regime and kingly favour. As mentioned before, the extensive monastic complex at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa seems to have been abandoned after the dynasty declined around 300 CE. Although the precise reason for this sudden decline was not known, it may have been that the monks could not get financial support from the new Śaivite rulers. In the subsequent period, complex and uneasy relationships with Hindu kingships continued to be a key issue for the survival of Andhran monastic Buddhism. This issue, however, clearly needs further study.

<sup>10</sup> Senart ‘The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik’, no. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Senart, ‘The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle’, nos. 13, 19.

In sum, Andhran monastic Buddhism truly flourished during the period when the region was undergoing the steady development of urbanism which enabled the *saṃgha* to achieve a cooperative relationship with kingship and the thriving urban society. Amarāvātī, perhaps the oldest Buddhist monastery founded in the lower Krishna valley and even the whole of south India, was undoubtedly the most successful monastery, developing and sustaining this relationship for a remarkably long period of time. Thus, the decline of Amarāvātī around 250 CE was a symbolic event for monastic Buddhism in Andhra, as it signifies the end of the era of the urban monastery and the great *stūpa*-s, which thrived on the uniquely-balanced relationship among *saṃgha*, city and ruler in early-historic Andhra.

## APPENDIX A

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST GATE OF THE AMARĀVATĪ STŪPA: EXTRACT FROM WALTER ELLIOT'S NOTE FOUND WITH PENCIL SKETCHES, 1845

The excavation was begun at the "W" gateway. On penetrating some distance, & taking out sculptured stones, a lion and a wall of sculptured stones was observed running East and West for a distance of 11.4 feet but the true wall only extended 8.2, the remainder 3.2 being added at some later period to form a small chapel abt [about] to be [?] mentioned. At the distance 8 feet 2 the wall turned to the North, & again as the excavation proceeded, after proceeding in a North direction, it again turning to the E.

The first consisted of 3 stones all [?] high and broad. The 2 first were sculptured with large lotus or circles, the outer [?] one having 2 half ones. The next one in two pieces each a whole lotus. In front of this stood a figure of a priest with a nimbus and a plain simple drapery.<sup>1</sup> On the 3rd stone is the inscription no. 1. The corner stone turns to the N. has a grooved edge as if another had formerly fitted on to [?] it instead of the inscription stone. The continuation beyond the original for a space of 3.2 as above stated consists of 2 stones, one richly sculptured with man on horse back and Centaurs facing outwards [?], the centre being a sort of column of alternate bounded of fluting and 4 lions.<sup>2</sup> The next stone is a rounded coping stone bearing an inscription (not copd [copied]).

Passing round to the N. wall two chapels are found. The first contains 3 of the upright lotus stones in front of which are, first 3 figures mutilated & evidently placed there at a more recent period,<sup>3</sup> then another priest with nimbus & red painted robe in front of the most N. of the 3 figures. The next chapel is a corner one half in the N and half in the E wall. The idol was a beautifully sculptured Buddhist god, but had been thrown on his face & was utterly demolished.<sup>4</sup> Behind the lotus stone is Insc. No. 2. The lotus stones on the N. wall side are all [?] gone, but there are 2 on the

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<sup>1</sup> This sculpture, probably a Buddha, is not depicted on the drawing and remains unidentified.

<sup>2</sup> This is an unidentified drum pilaster; cf. Knox, nos. 81 and 87.

<sup>3</sup> These three figures are not depicted on the drawing and remain unidentified.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly a standing Buddha in the British Museum (Knox, no. 127).

E side & the line on this side is complete as far as five. But the idol and the cross stones are recent additions and are evidently stones from the ruins of the same edifice. On one forming E-side chapel wall of Dhama Deva<sup>5</sup> is an inscription in Nagari No. 3. On the lotus stone behind Dhama Deva is the inscription no. 4.

Outside to [?] & of Dhama Deva is a small figure holding a lotus<sup>6</sup> & then in front of the last lotus stone is a brick pedestal seemingly for a statue. Beyond this is a small sitting deity on a square stone.<sup>7</sup> On this last lotus stone is an inscription no. 5.

All these lotus stones are fluted or rather have 2 rounded ridges & 3 hollows between them.<sup>8</sup>

The lotus and lion seem to be the characteristics of the order [?].

This [?] is a broken octagon column.<sup>9</sup> Rising [?] from a square pedestal has half lotus on the wh. 1.4 each side. Then a group of lions, then 8 lotus & above that a group of figures 2 sitting on a bed with attendant chowries. This fitted with a ring, the edge sculpted with animals v.g.d. [?] & below this was a second ring fluted with sharp ribs. 2 feet down below was a foundation.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE NORTH GATE OF THE AMARĀVATĪ STŪPA: EXTRACT FROM WALTER ELLIOT'S LETTER TO MR. SHAW, UNDATED

North gate is exactly 28.7 ft 4 in width. Each side has 5 stones as per sketch. At the outer edge is a single stone turns inwards, but these must have been more as the side has the oval mortices for fasten. One of the same kind of stones lying in front has its fastening places behind x. This must have been a corner stone. The other side is like the first: 1/2 lotus and figs.<sup>11</sup>

The length of the wall is 13.6 (13.6) exclusive of the breath of inner corner stone. The edge of which is 9 inches. The subjects of sculptures are 1st stone in E wall. Two figures sitting on cot with 2 attendants. Below is

<sup>5</sup> This is a seated Bodhisattva in the British Museum (Knox, no. 124).

<sup>6</sup> This figure is not depicted on the sketch and remains unidentified.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly a seated Bodhisattva in the British Museum (Knox, no. 126).

<sup>8</sup> This indicates that the pillars had no sculpture.

<sup>9</sup> A sketch beside this note identifies this as an octagonal pillar in the British Museum (Knox, no. 111).

<sup>10</sup> A sketch beside this note identifies these as stone rings in the British Museum (Knox, nos. 117b, 117c).

<sup>11</sup> This is a second-phase rail pillar in the Government Museum, Chennai (Burgess 1882, no. 164 (?); Sivaramamurti, pl. 31.2).

segment of circle ducks and lotuses. Below is fluting on center a sage lecture with with a full-blown peacock below him and groups of similar teaching.<sup>12</sup> The next stone in circle has two figs falling over with an upset stone. The others avoiding it. Below in fluting a teacher and his disciples.<sup>13</sup> The outer stones has the empty chairs so common in [?] the sculptures & parties holds it up others worshipping.

The top coping stones have an one side the serpentine trail upheld by figures at the bows and double mugger heads medallions and squares at the bottom of the bands with dahgopas [dagabas], 3 monsters and single lotus shields with prominent boss in a few spaces -the round medallions below the dahgopas, the square below the lotus shields.<sup>14</sup> Some of the coping stones are sculptured on the back as the battle of the demons which I have roughly sketched.<sup>15</sup> They seem to issue out of a town with temples shrines [?] etc. Another of these coping stones mended with an iron peg has procession out of the city to the dahgopas.<sup>16</sup> Another has an Elephant prostrate to a figure on horseback both with many attendant figures --and further on the empty chair and figures prostrate to it.<sup>17</sup> A line of letters along bottom.

Two large stones with centre medallion and two half lotuses 11 feet high, or 9 without base. Cut off has a tree with the sacred feet at the bottom, then in the centre medallion the tree and feet upborne by nymphes.<sup>18</sup> An octagonal fig 9.5 long and 4.4 round is probably one of the entrance pillars.<sup>19</sup>

In the N.E. line near the angle small pot was found containing Calcined bones. The space in the gateway was all paved with black flags.

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<sup>12</sup> This is a second-phase rail pillar in the Government Museum, Chennai (Burgess 1882, no. 171; Sivaramamurti, pl. 32.1-2)

<sup>13</sup> This is a second-phase rail pillar in the Government Museum, Chennai (Sivaramamurti, pl. 37.1)

<sup>14</sup> This is a second-phase coping in the Government Museum, Chennai (Sewell 1880, no. 20; Burgess 1882, no. 151; Sivaramamurti, pl. 42). In my former article, I attributed this to the description of Knox, no. 36 (Shimada, "The great railing at Amarāvati", p. 137 [note. 14]). This should be corrected.

<sup>15</sup> This is a second-phase coping in the Government Museum, Chennai (Sewell 1880, no. 20; Burgess 1882, no. 151; Sivaramamurti, pl. 42).

<sup>16</sup> This is a second-phase coping in the British Museum (Knox, no. 36).

<sup>17</sup> This is a second-phase coping in the British Museum (Knox, no. 37).

<sup>18</sup> This is a second-phase rail pillar in the British Museum (Knox, no. 6).

<sup>19</sup> Probably an octagonal pillar in the British Museum (Knox, no. 109).

## APPENDIX B

## EARLY HISTORIC SITES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
1	Amarāvati /Dharanikoṭa	Guntur	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Remains of a fortified city (Dharanikoṭa) and monastic complex (Amarāvati); numerous limestone sculptures and inscriptions (ca. 2nd century BCE-3rd century CE and later) were found from the Amarāvati main <i>stūpa</i></li> </ul>
2	Bhaṭṭiproḷu	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monastic remains (a main <i>stūpa</i>, two wings of <i>vihāras</i> and <i>caitya</i> shrines); limestone sculptures and reliquaries in granite relic caskets were found.</li> </ul>
3*	Brahmananda- palem	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Buddhist remains?</li> <li>Limestone pillared hall (Ikṣvāku period) and pottery were found from the site.</li> </ul>
4	Buddham (Buddhani or Buddhapad) /Etravaripalem	Guntur	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Buddham: Discovered a large number of limestone sculptures (2-3rd century CE) and a Bronze Buddha image (5-6th century CE)</li> <li>Etravaripalem: Habitation site and Buddhist remains (?) close to Buddham: early historic pottery (BRE, Red Ware, Red Slipped Ware) and limestone sculptures were found.</li> </ul>
5	Chebrolu	Guntur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Early historic mound.</li> <li>Excavated objects including large number of terracotta figurines, Sātavāhana coins, beads, sealing, toys, limestone sculptures of the Ikṣvāku period and a variety of pottery (BRW, NBPW, RW).</li> </ul>
6	Chezarla	Guntur	Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Standing apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrine (ca. 3rd century CE).</li> <li>Early Kartikeya image in limestone was discovered.</li> </ul>
7	Garapadu	Guntur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Habitation site (Neolithic, megalithic and early historic).</li> <li>Early historic layer yielded pottery (red ware, black slipped ware), un-inscribed Sada coins and terracotta figurines.</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

*IAR* 1962-63, 1 (DKT); *IAR* 1963-64, 2-4 (DKT); *IAR* 1964-65, 2-3 (DKT); *IAR* 1971-72, 1; *IAR* 1990-91, 93 and pl. XLVII; *IAR* 1993-94, 135; *IAR* 1997-98, 222; Mitra 1971, 200-04; Das 1993, 54-60; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 39-94 (on the site only, for the references of the Amaravati sculpture, see bibliography).

British Museum, London  
Government Museum, Chennai  
Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati  
State Museum, Hyderabad  
Indian Museum, Kolkata  
State Museum, Pudukottai  
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi  
U. Penn Museum  
Museum of Fine Art, Boston  
Government Museum, Chennai

Rea 1894, 7-17, pl. II-X; *IAR* 1969-70, 1; Mitra 1971, 213-14; Sarma 1988, 113; Das 1993, 31-33; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 96-102.

*IAR* 1973-74, 4; P.R. Rao 1984, 104; Sarma 1988, 113.

Rea 1894, 45 (Buddhani); Sewell 1895, 617-37 (Buddhapad); Sarma 1988 113 (Buddham); *IAR* 1986-87, 9 (Etravalipalem); Hanumantha Rao 1998, 124.

Bauddasri Museum, Guntur  
British Museum, London

*IAR* 1960-61, 1; *IAR* 1962-63, 66; Sarma 1988, 113.

*IAR* 1979-80, 99, pl. XXVI-A.

*IAR* 1992-93, 1.

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
8	Garikapādu	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remains of a <i>stūpa</i> (d. 24m).</li> <li>• Excavation found 84 limestone panels that covered the <i>stūpa</i> drum (ca. 2nd-1st century BCE).</li> </ul>
9	Goli	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Palaeolithic site and monastic remains (a <i>stūpa</i> and <i>caitya</i> shrine and a pillared hall)</li> <li>• Excavation found limestone sculptures (ca. early 4th century CE)</li> </ul>
10	Guttikonda	Guntur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (Ikṣvāku period)</li> <li>• Excavated objects include pottery (BRW, Red Ware), lead coins, beads and terracotta.</li> </ul>
11	Gurzala	Guntur	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains?</li> <li>• Exploration found Ikṣvāku inscriptions on limestone pillars</li> </ul>
12	Juna-Chundur	Guntur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historical mound with bricks, pottery (BRW, Red Slipped and Black Slipped Wares) and later Sātavāhana coins</li> </ul>
13	Kesānapalli	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (a <i>stūpa</i> and <i>vihāras</i>)</li> <li>• The <i>stūpa</i>'s platform (7 x 7 m) was paved with limestone sculptures with post-Mauryan inscriptions (ca. 2-1st century BCE)</li> <li>• <i>Āyaka</i> pillars of the <i>stūpa</i> have Ikṣvāku Inscriptions (ca. early 3rd century CE)</li> </ul>
14	Kondamotu or Kundamotu	Guntur	Habitation and Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and a Brahmanical shrine</li> <li>• A limestone relief depicting six deities (including early Narasimha) was found at the shrine.</li> <li>• A copper plate inscription (ca. 4th century CE) mentioning a royal land grant of <i>mahārāja</i> Jayavarman to Brahmins was found at the site.</li> </ul>
15*	Mallipadu	Guntur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site</li> <li>• Small excavation discovered coins (Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku periods), terracotta figurines, beads and pottery (BRW and RW)</li> </ul>
16	Manchikallu	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Megalithic burials and Buddhist remains</li> <li>• Exploration confirmed limestone sculptures; Black and Red Ware; early Hindu temples (ca. 6-7th century CE) and early Pallava inscriptions (ca. 4th century CE)</li> </ul>

References	Museum Collections
Madras Proceedings, 1899, G.O. 383, Public; Subramanian 1932, 11; Madras Government Public, 1908, G.O. 574; Sarma 1988, 113.	Government Museum, Chennai
<i>IAR</i> 1960-61, 57; Ramachandran 1929; Sarma 1988, 114; Das 1993, 44-45; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 188; Okada 2000, 71-77.	Government Museum, Chennai (Inscribed Water trough) Metropololitan Museum of Art, New York Birla Science Museum, Hyderabad (A head of Avalokitesvara) Musee Guimet, Paris
<i>IAR</i> 1981-82, 1.	
N. Sastri 1941-42 ( <i>EI</i> ), 123-25; Sarma 1988, 114.	
<i>IAR</i> 1974-75, 2.	
<i>IAR</i> 1964-65, 54; <i>IAR</i> 1965-66, 3; Khan 1969; Sarma 1988, 114; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 177-79.	Buddhist Museum and Interpretation Centre, Amaravati
Hultzsch 1900-01, 313-19; <i>IAR</i> 1963-64, 2.	Bauddasri Museum, Guntur
<i>IAR</i> 1987-88, 1.	
Sircar 1962, 87; <i>IAR</i> 1962-63, 66; P.R. Rao 1984, 106; Sarma 1988, 114.	Birla Science Museum, Hyderabad

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
17	Nāgārjunakoṇḍa	Guntur	Habitation, Buddhist and Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Large city complex including Buddhist monasteries, Brahmanical shrines and secular architecture</li> <li>• Excavation discovered abundant limestone sculptures, votive inscriptions, coins and other objects dated to the Ikṣvāku period (ca. 3rd century CE)</li> </ul>
18	Nambūr	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buddhist monastic site</li> <li>• Limestone Buddha image was found at the site.</li> </ul>
19	Nandapalem (Kottanandaya-palem)	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buddhist monastic site</li> <li>• Limestone reliefs (ca. 1st-3rd century CE) were discovered.</li> </ul>
20	Nandūru	Guntur	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A local farmer found brick walls and inscribed pottery (Buddhist reliquary?). The pottery inscription is dated to ca. 2-3rd century CE.</li> </ul>
21	Peddakancherla	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buddhist remains</li> <li>• Excavation at Pagaladinne found remains of an apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrine; another mound (Bogandanidinne) may be a <i>stūpa</i>.</li> </ul>
22	Peddakkodama-gundla	Guntur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains and megalithic burials (0.5 km away from the monastic site)</li> <li>• A limestone panel depicting a <i>stūpa</i> and a part of a stone umbrella (<i>chattra</i>) were discovered at Uttreswaraswamy temple; minor excavation at the temple confirmed the base of a votive <i>stūpa</i> and a brick structure (another <i>stūpa</i>?).</li> </ul>
23	Peddammaddūru (or Madduru)	Guntur	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i> and <i>vihāra</i>).</li> <li>• Palaeolithic artifacts, megalithic burials and early historic pottery (BRW, Black Ware) and limestone sculptures were found.</li> </ul>
24	Penumaka (Yerrampalem or Errabalen)	Guntur	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Structural remains on a hill; the remains were surrounded by rubble walls; the remains include several mounds (<i>stūpas</i>?) and rock-cut cisterns</li> <li>• Southern side of the hill has megaliths.</li> </ul>
25	Pondugula	Guntur	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terracotta figurines and limestone sculptures of the Ikṣvāku period (Sivi <i>jātaka</i>) were found by exploration.</li> </ul>
26	Rentāla	Guntur	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remains of a <i>stūpa</i> and a pillared hall.</li> <li>• Ikṣvāku inscription and narrative relief (The Great Departure of the Bodhisattva) were found.</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

Longurst 1938; Ramachandran 1954; *IAR* 1956-57, 35-38; *IAR* 1957-58, 5-9; *IAR*, 1958-59, 5-10; Sarkar and Misra 1980; Das 1993, 60-70; Stone 1994; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 133-77.

Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa  
National Museum, New Delhi  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
Musée Guimet, Paris

*IAR* 1977-78, 1; Sarma 1988, 115.

Nāgārjuna University, Guntur

*IAR* 1995-96, 127, N.R.V. Prasad 1996, 24-28;  
Hanumantha Rao 1998, 125-28.

Buddhist Museum and Interpretation  
Centre, Amaravati

N. Sastri 1935, 95-99; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 188-89.

Madras Proceedings 1894, nos. 500-501;  
Subramanian 1932, 33; Sarma 1988, 115.

*IAR* 1981-82, 1; *ARDAM* 1984-85, 33-34.

Subramanian 1932, 115; *IAR* 1980-81, 2, *IAR* 1987-88, 2; P.R. Rao 1984, 104; Sarma 1988, 115; Sastry, Bai and Veerender 1992, 9.

*IAR* 1978-79, p. 92 (Yerrampalem); *IAR* 1994-95, 1 (Penukama); *IAR* 2001-02, 8-9 (Errabalen).

*IAR* 1973-74, 4.

*ARASI* 1936-37, 106; *IAR* 1961-62, 1; Sankaranarayan 1967, 29-32; P.R. Rao 1984, 105; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 186-88.

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
27	Seethanagaram	Guntur	Buddhist	• Buddhist remains on Vijayakiladri hill with rubble revetment.
28	Tsandavolu	Guntur	Buddhist?	• Bricks, pottery, pillars and gold coins were found in a mound (monastic remains?).
29	Vaikunthapuram	Guntur	Habitation and Buddhist	• Habitation site and monastic remains.
30	Vaddamānu	Guntur	Buddhist	• Excavation confirmed two small <i>stūpas</i> (d. 2.6 m), a boulder <i>stūpa</i> (d. 13.6 m), two wings of <i>vihāras</i> and a pillared hall on different parts of a hill. Limestone pillars, railing sculpture, coins (PMC, Sadas, Ikṣvāku) and pottery (NBPW, BRW) were also found. • Inscriptions and railing sculpture are dated to ca. 2nd century BCE-2nd century CE.
31	Velpūru (same as Grandhasiri?)	Guntur	Habitation and Brahmanical	• Early historic mound and a Brahmanical shrine. • A Sada inscription (Mahārāja Mahāsada of the Mahāmeghavāhana) was found.
32	Vipparla	Guntur	Habitation	• The place is mentioned in Mayidavolu copper-plate inscription (ca. 4th century CE); exploration found Black and Red Ware.
33	Allūru	Krishna	Habitation and Buddhist	• Habitation site and monastic remains ( <i>stūpa</i> ) • Excavation discovered two Buddha statues and pillar inscriptions, which mention that the monastery belonged to the Puvaseḷiya (Pūrvaśāila) sect.
34	Ghaṇṭasāla	Krishna	Buddhist	• Monastic remains (main <i>stūpa</i> and <i>caitya</i> shrine). • Discovered limestone sculptures (ca. 1st BCE-3rd century CE), coins (Roman and Sātavāhana), pottery (BRW, red ware, grey ware) • Exploration found limestone pillars with carving of bust of a couple at Pushadam, near Ghaṇṭasāla; the sculpture is dated to 2nd-1st century BCE.
35	Gudivāda	Krishna	Buddhist	• Monastic remains ( <i>stūpa</i> ). • Excavation discovered four crystal relic caskets.
36	Gummadidurru	Krishna	Buddhist	• Excavation confirmed a <i>stūpa</i> (d. 16.5 m) decorated with limestone panels (ca. 3rd century CE) and a <i>caitya</i> shrine.

## References

## Museum Collections

*IAR* 1977-78, 1.

Rea 1894, 45; Sarma 1988, 113 (Sandavolu).

*IAR* 1960-61, 1; *IAR* 1974-75, 2; Sarma 1988, 115; Sastry, Bai and Veerender 1992, 9-10.

*IAR* 1981-82, 1-2; *IAR* 1982-83, 2-3; *IAR* 1983-84, 2-3; *IAR* 1984-85, 3-4; ARDAM 1983-84, 41-43; ARDAM 1983-84, 42-43; Sarma 1988, 115; Sastry, Bai and Veerender 1992; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 102-108.

Birla Science Museum, Hyderabad  
Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati

Sircar 1962, 82-87; Shastri 1993, 13-18; Shastri 1996, 353-56.

*IAR* 1962-63, 66; *IAR* 1987-88, 2; Hultzsich 1900-01 (*EI* 6), 87.

*ARASI* (1926-27), 150-52; *IAR* 1956-57, 81; *IAR* 1974-75, 5; Mitra 1971, 215; Sankaranarayanan 1977, 75-89; Sarma 1988, 117; Das 1993, 36-37; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 184-86.

Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati  
Bauddasri Museum, Guntur  
Vijayawada Museum

Rea 1894, 32-43, pls. XIV-XXXIV; *Annual Progress Report, Southern Circle*, 1919-20, 30-31; Barrett 1956; *IAR* 1955-56, 72; *IAR* 1984-85, 5; *IAR* 1989-90, 2; *IAR* 1994-95, 90 (Pushadam); Mitra 1971, 215-16; Das 1993, 37-39; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 129-31; Okada 2000, 50-51, 56-57.

Museum of Fine Art, Boston  
Birla Science Museum  
Musée Guimet, Paris  
Site Museum, Ghantasāla

Subramanian 1932, 11; Rea 1894, 18-31; Mitra 1971, 216; Sarma 1988, 117; Das 1993, 34.

Government Museum, Chennai

*IAR* 1991-92, 123; *ARASI* 1926-27, 152-56; Sarma 1988, 117; Mitra 1971, 212; Das 1993, 42-43; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 131-32.

Archaeological Museum, Amarāvati

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
37	Jaggayyapeta	Krishna	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remains of a large <i>stūpa</i> (d. 19.2 m) and a pillared hall.</li> <li>• Excavation found limestone reliefs that decorated the <i>stūpa</i> (ca. 2nd century BCE), <i>āyaka</i> pillars with Ikṣvāku inscriptions (ca. 3rd century CE) and a Buddha relief with early medieval inscription (ca. 8th century CE).</li> </ul>
38	Jujjuru (near Kanchikacherla)	Krishna	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (four brick <i>stūpa</i>-s) on a hillock.</li> <li>• Excavation found pottery (BRW, RW, Red Ware and Black Ware), limestone coping, <i>chattra</i> of a <i>stūpa</i>, coins (Sada and Ikṣvāku), terracotta figurines and beads of lapis lazuli.</li> </ul>
39	Kadavakollu	Krishna	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (Neolithic, megalithic and early historic).</li> </ul>
40	Kanukollu	Krishna	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mud fort.</li> <li>• BRW and Śālaṅkāyana inscription (ca. 4-5th century CE) were found.</li> </ul>
41	Kesarapalle	Krishna	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (from Neolithic to early medieval).</li> <li>• Excavation found RW and brick structure with Ikṣvāku coins.</li> </ul>
42	Magallu	Krishna	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic mound.</li> </ul>
43	Muktyala (Mukshwarapuram)	Krishna	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Megalithic burials and early historic mound (Bhogalapadu) dated to the Śātavāhana-Ikṣvāku period.</li> </ul>
44	Penukanchiprolu	Krishna	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i>).</li> <li>• A limestone Buddha image and Roman coins were discovered.</li> </ul>
45	Takkelaṭādu	Krishna	Habitation (Buddhist)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and monastic remains.</li> <li>• Excavation found limestone sculptures (Buddha image), inscription, brick shrines, early historic pottery (Red Ware, Black Ware and BRW).</li> </ul>
46	Vemavaram	Krishna	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains?</li> <li>• Limestone sculpture was discovered.</li> </ul>
47	Viyayawada (Vidhyadharapuram, Moghalrajapuram)	Krishna	Habitation Buddhist and Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vidhyadharampuram: remains of an apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrine; Buddha statues and roman coins were discovered.</li> <li>• Moghalrajapuram: rock-cut <i>stūpas</i> at Brahmanical caves.</li> </ul>
48	Karukonda	Khammam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rock-cut monastery ( two monolithic <i>stūpas</i> and two image shrines); dated to the Śālaṅkāyana period (ca. 4-5th century CE).</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

Burgess 1887, 107-13; Mitra 1956, 273-75; Sarma 1988, 117; Das 1993, 35-36; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 179-82.

Government Museum, Chennai

*IAR* 1994-95, 1, 90; *IAR* 1995-96, 1, 127.

*IAR* 1989-90, 2.

*IAR* 1962-63, 66.

*IAR* 1961-62, 2; Sircar 1966, 37-74.

*IAR* 1979-80, 2; *IAR* 1993-94, 4.

*IAR* 1973-74, 6; P.R. Rao 1984, 102.

*IAR* 1975-76, p. 75; Sarma 1988, 117; Subrahmanyam, Rao and Chary 2008.

*IAR* 1956-57, 81; *IAR* 1987-88, 3; Sarma 1988, 117; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 123-24; Munirathnam 2004, 53-56.

Vijayawada Museum  
Bauddasri Museum

Madras Public Proceeding (1889), G.O. 462; Okada 2000, 39-41.

Musee Guimet

Vidhyadharapuram: Madras Public Proceeding (1888), G.O. 97 and 457; Jouveau Dubreuil 1917; Sarma 1988, 117; Okada 2000; Moghal Rajapuram: *IAR* 1975-76, 2.

Government Museum, Chennai; Musee Guimet (listed as Vijaderpuram)

Das 1993, 47, 144; Reddy 2008, 297-98.

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
49	Nialakondapalli	Khammam	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Excavations confirmed a large <i>stūpa</i> (d. 42 m), <i>vihāras</i>, megalithic cairn burials and habitation site.</li> <li>Excavated objects include nine limestone Buddha statues, a head of Buddha and a bronze Buddha, 60 limestone panels (dome slab?; 2x1x0.2m) and coins (Ikṣvāku and Viṣṇukundin).</li> </ul>
50	Aralagaddagudem (near Chinnasuraram)	Nalgonda	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Trial dig found brick structure, early historic pottery and roman coins.</li> </ul>
51	Gajulabanda	Nalgonda	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monastic remains; 3 km north-west of Phanigiri.</li> <li>Excavation discovered a main <i>stūpa</i> (d. 9.6 m), <i>vihāra</i>, stucco figurines and limestone sculpture.</li> </ul>
52	Munagacherla	Nalgonda	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Field survey confirmed the remains of continuous occupation from early historic to later medieval period.</li> </ul>
53	Tirumalagiri or Thirumalagiri	Nalgonda	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monastic remains; 6 km from Phanigiri.</li> <li>Exploration found brick structure and limestone sculpture.</li> </ul>
54	Phanigiri	Nalgonda	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monastic remains on a granite hill; megalithic burials were confirmed at the foot of the hill.</li> <li>Excavation revealed a main <i>stūpa</i> (d. 18m), votive <i>stūpas</i>, apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines, pillared hall, six <i>vihāras</i>; discovered objects include 42 lead coins of Mahātalavara at the southwestern corner of the platform; Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku coins from cells of a <i>vihāra</i> and limestone sculpture and Ikṣvāku inscriptions.</li> </ul>
55	Vardhamanukota or Vardhamanakota	Nalgonda	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monastic remains; 8 km from Phanigiri.</li> <li>Exploration and excavation found a Buddha statue, limestone pillars and panels, terracotta figurines, Sātavāhana and Mahātalavara coins.</li> </ul>
56	Yelleswaram	Nalgonda	Habitation (Buddhist, Brahmanical)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Habitation site (megalithic and early historic).</li> <li>Excavation revealed bathing <i>ghāt</i>, pillared hall, Buddhist <i>stūpas</i>, <i>caitya</i> shrines and brahmanical shrines (ca. 3-4th century CE).</li> <li>Discovered objects include terracotta figurines, beads, metal objects and over 600 coins (roman, Ikṣvāku and Viṣṇukundin).</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

*IAR* 1976-77, 5; *IAR* 1977-78, 3; *IAR* 1986-87, 10; *IAR* 1987-88, 2-3; *IAR* 1988-89, 1; *IAR* 1990-91, 2; *IAR* 1992-93, 2; *IAR* 1993-94, 3; Sarma 1988, 116; *IAR* 1993-94, 3; *IAR* 1996-97, 1; *ARDAM* 1983-84, 28-29; *ARDAM* 1984-85, 16-18, pls. 15-22; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 182; Reddy 2008, 296-97.

Bauddasri Museum, Guntur

AP State Archaeology Website (accessed June 10, 2010).

*IAR* 1970-71, 3-4; Sarma 1988, 118. Dasarathi 1992; B. Subrahmanyam et. al. 2008, 3-4.

*IAR* 1964-65, 73.

Sarma 1988, 119; V.V. Krishna Sastry 1983, 147; B. Subrahmanyam et. al. 2008, 4.

Buddhist Museum and Interpretation Centre, Amaravati

*IAR* 2000-01, 1-2; *IAR* 2001-02, 9; Sarma 1988, 118-19; B. Subrahmanyam et. al. 2008.

State Museum, Hyderabad

Sarma 1988, 119; *ARDAM* 1982-83, 18-19; *ARDAM* 1984-85, 21; B. Subrahmanyam et. al. 2008, 2-3.

Buddhist Museum and Interpretation Centre, Amaravati

Khan 1963, 1-8; *IAR* 1957-58, 9-10, 64; *IAR* 1958-59, 11; *IAR* 1960-61, 3; *IAR* 1961-62, 2; *IAR* 1962-63, 2-3; *IAR* 1963-64, 4; *IAR* 1964-65, 4.

Bauddasri Museum, Guntur (terracotta jar)

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
57	Annangi	Prakasam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration confirmed a large quantity of pottery (BRW, RW), terracotta figures and a lead coin (Ikṣvāku period?)</li> </ul>
58	Addanki	Prakasam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Megalithic burials and early brahmanical relief (Lajjagauri and linga) were found.</li> </ul>
59	Chandavaram	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (a main <i>stūpa</i>, apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines and <i>vihāras</i>).</li> <li>• Main <i>stūpa</i> (d. 45 m) was decorated with sculptural panels made in limestone and khondalite (ca. 1-2nd century CE). Other excavated objects include Sātavāhana coins and pottery (BRW, RW).</li> </ul>
60	Chinna Ganjam	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i>).</li> <li>• A <i>nāga</i> panel was found at Chidambaraswamy temple.</li> </ul>
61	Dharmavaripalem	Prakasam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (megalithic and early historic); 30km away from Motupalli.</li> <li>• 26 roman coins were discovered by treasure trove.</li> <li>• Minor excavation found wheel-made pottery (Red Ware), terracotta beads and bangle pieces.</li> </ul>
62	Dūpādu	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buddhist remains (<i>stūpa</i>); called Deebegutta or Ralagutta.</li> <li>• <i>Stūpa</i> has <i>āyaka</i> platforms on northern and western sides; khondalite panels (1-2nd century CE) decorated the <i>stūpa</i>'s drum</li> </ul>
63	Irlapadu	Prakasam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration found pottery (BRW, Red Ware, Red Slipped Ware).</li> </ul>
64	Kanuparti	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains; 3 miles to the North-East of Chinna Ganjan.</li> <li>• Excavation found a mound with brick structure and limestone pillars.</li> </ul>
65	Manikeswaram	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Megalithic burials and monastic remains</li> <li>• Exploration found limestone panels</li> </ul>
66	Miriampalli	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Megalithic burials and monastic remains on the bank of the river Gundlakamma; 9km from Tripuranthakam.</li> <li>• Exploration found a Buddhist limestone panel.</li> </ul>
67	Motupalli	Prakasam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancient and Medieval port; yielded Rouletted Ware and Stamped Ware.</li> </ul>
68	Muppalla	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains; 12km northwest of Kandukuru.</li> <li>• Exploration found a limestone Buddha image, large bricks and pottery</li> </ul>

References	Museum Collections
<i>IAR</i> 1977-78, 1.	
<i>IAR</i> 2001-02, 9-10.	Vijayawada Museum
<i>IAR</i> 1965-66, 4; <i>IAR</i> 1972-73, 3; <i>IAR</i> 1973-74, 7 and pl. XIII-A; <i>IAR</i> 1974-75, 6-7; <i>IAR</i> 1975-76, 3-4; <i>IAR</i> 1976-77, 9-10; <i>ARDAM</i> 1972-73, 13-14; <i>ARDAM</i> 1973-74, 2-4; pl. 1-7; <i>ARDAM</i> 1974-75, 8-13; <i>ARDAM</i> 1976-77, 17-24; Das 1993, 43-44; Murthy, 2008, 292-295.	Site Museum, Chandavaram State Museum, Hyderabad
Madras Proceedings 1889, 30th April , no. 382 Public; Sarma 1988, 119; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 128.	Bauddasri Museum, Guntur State Museum, Hyderabad
<i>ARDAM</i> 1983-84, 6-8.	
<i>IAR</i> 1976-77, 3; <i>ARDAM</i> 1976-77, 33; Reddy 1988, 296-300; Subramanian 1932, 12; Das 1993, 43-44; Sarma 1988, 119; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 124.	Bauddasri Museum, Guntur
<i>ARDAM</i> 1974-75, 17; <i>ARDAM</i> 1975-76, 1.	
Madras Public Proceeding 1888, G.O. 415, and 703; Sarma 1988, 119.	Kanuparti Museum
Kesava 2005, 111.	
Kesava 2005, 111.	
P.K.M.Reddy, 2001.	
Kesava 2005, 110.	

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
69	Pedda Ganjam	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (a main <i>stūpa</i> and <i>caitya</i> shrine)</li> <li>• Excavation found a large number of limestone sculptures (ca. 3rd century CE).</li> </ul>
70	Rāmatīrtham	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buddhist monastic site near Cheemakurthi village.</li> <li>• Red Polished Ware and an Avalokiteśvara image were found while digging the Moksharanalingesvara temple.</li> </ul>
71	Uppugunḍūr	Prakasam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i>).</li> <li>• Discovered objects include limestone sculptures (<i>stūpa</i> panel and Buddha statue) and an Ikṣvāku inscription mentioning king Vīrapurisadata.</li> </ul>
72	Guntupalli or Guntupalle	West Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rock cut caves and structural <i>stūpas</i>, dated to between 2nd century BCE and 5th century CE and later.</li> </ul>
73	Arugolu or Arugolanu	West Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains ( a <i>vihāra</i>, main <i>stūpa</i> [Chinnalanja dibba] and votive <i>stūpas</i>) and megalithic burials.</li> <li>• Excavation found limestone sculptures (ca. 2nd century BCE).</li> </ul>
74	Mortha	West Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excavations found two <i>stūpas</i>, pottery, coins and figurines dated to the 3-4th century CE.</li> </ul>
75	Peddavegi	West Godavari	Habitation (Buddhist, Brahmanical)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fortified settlement, brahmanical temples and <i>stūpas</i> (ca. 4-5th century CE)</li> <li>• Discovered objects include carnelian intaglio, pottery (BRW), terracotta figurines, limestone sculpture and two inscriptions (3rd century CE) on limestone pillars.</li> </ul>
76	Adūrū	East Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (main <i>stūpa</i> [d. 20.40 m], apsidal and circular <i>caitya</i> shrines); dated to the 2-3rd century CE.</li> </ul>
77	Errampālem	East Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rock cut monastery. The remains include a circular <i>caitya</i> shrine, five monolithic <i>stūpas</i> [Pandavula-metta] and three monastic cells.</li> </ul>
78	Goganamatham	East Godavari	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration found remains of brick structure and limestone sculpture of Amarāvātī type.</li> </ul>
79	Kapavaram	East Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (rock-cut caves and structural votive <i>stūpas</i>) on Pandavulakonda hill; dated to the 1st century BCE/CE.</li> </ul>

References	Museum Collections
<p>Madras Public Proceedings 1888, G.O. 703; Madras Proceedings 1889, 30th April, no. 382 Public; Rea 1894, 2-3; Subramanian 1932, 12; Das 1993, 39-40.</p>	<p>Government Museum Chennai (Sivaramamurti, LX); Kanuparti Museum</p>
<p><i>IAR</i> 1981-82, 9.</p>	
<p>Chhabra (1959-60), 189-91; <i>IAR</i> 1959-60, 67, pl. LVII A and B; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 183-84.</p>	<p>State Museum, Hyderabad Bauddasri Museum, Guntur</p>
<p>Sewell 1887, 508-511; Longhurst (1917), 30-36; Subramanian 1932, 11; Mitra 1971, 216-18; Sarma 1988, 122; Sankaranarayan 1992, 75-96; Das 1993, 82-85; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 108-114.</p>	<p>Government Museum, Chennai (Buddha statue)</p>
<p>Government of Madas, Public (1893), <i>Archaeology</i>, 14th July, nos. 542, 543; Subramanian 1932, 11; P.R. Rao 1984, 101; Sarma 1988, 121.</p>	<p>Government Museum, Chennai (Sivaramamurti, XVI-1)</p>
<p><i>ARDAM</i> 1983-84, 37.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1984-85, 7-8; <i>IAR</i> 1985-86, 4-6; <i>IAR</i> 1986-87, 15-22; Sarma 1987, 56-60; Sarma 1988, 123; Das 1993, 40-41; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 190-91; Sarma 2002.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1962-63, 65; <i>IAR</i> 1985-86, 1-2; Sarma 1988, 111.</p>	
<p>Krishnarao 1929, 85-89; Sarma 1988, 93-95; Das 1993, 85.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1962-63, 66; Sarma 1988, 111.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1953-54, 21; <i>IAR</i> 2001-02, 2-8; Sarma 1988, 111.</p>	

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
80	Kodavali	East Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains; 15 km NW of Pithapuram.</li> <li>• Exploration confirmed brick-built <i>stūpa</i> (?), rock-cut wells and an inscription (ca. 2-3rd century CE) mentioning king Chandasati.</li> </ul>
81	Pithapuram	East Godavari	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A mound with brick structures; RW and BRW were found.</li> </ul>
82	Rajamundry	East Godavari	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i> and <i>vihāra</i>); dated to the 2-4th century CE.</li> <li>• Bommuru (3 km south of Rajamundry) also has remains of a <i>stūpa</i>.</li> </ul>
83	Timmapuram	East Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excavation found brick structure and five reliquaries.</li> </ul>
84	Vangalapudi	East Godavari	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A large brick <i>stūpa</i> on the top of a hill (Yegumalli Tatakonda).</li> </ul>
85	Budigapalli	Karimnagar	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation sites (Neolithic, megalithic and early historic)</li> <li>• Excavations found cairn burials, beads and pottery (BRW, Red Ware, Grey Ware).</li> </ul>
86	Dhūlikatta (Dhudikota)	Karimnagar.	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fortified township (18 ha) and a <i>stūpa</i>; megalithic stone circles were found near the <i>stūpa</i> mound.</li> <li>• Excavation at the fortifications discovered Sātavāhana and Roman coins, terracotta figurines, pottery (BRW). The <i>stūpa</i> yielded limestone sculptures (ca. 2nd century BCE) that encased the <i>stūpa</i> drum.</li> </ul>
87	Kampalli	Karimnagar.	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (a <i>stūpa</i> [d. 8.7 m], <i>vihāra</i> and a pillared hall).</li> </ul>
88	Kasipet	Karimnagar	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration found abundant pottery (Red Ware, Red Polished Ware, BRW), bone and shell bangles and bricks.</li> </ul>
89	Kotilingala	Karimnagar	Habitation (Buddhist)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fortified habitation site and monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i>)</li> <li>• Excavations found coins of local rulers (Samagopa, Gobhada) and early Sātavāhanas (Sātavāhana, Sātakani, Chhhimuka), beads, terracotta figurines and pottery (RW) from the fortifications.</li> <li>• Remains of a <i>stūpa</i> near the Peddavagu river yielded an inscription on <i>chattra</i> (ca. 1st century CE).</li> </ul>
90	Pashgaon	Karimnagar	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buddhist remains (circular and apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines); 4 km South-west of Kotilingala.</li> </ul>

References	Museum Collections
<p><i>ARASI</i> 1907-08, 225; <i>ARASI</i> 1923-24, 88; Krishna Sastri (1925-26), 316-319; Sarma 1988, 112; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 189-90.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1961-62, 96; <i>ARASI</i> 1923-24, 112; Sarma 1988, 112.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1979-80, 1; <i>IAR</i> 1980-81, 1; <i>IAR</i> 1993-94, 2</p>	
<p>Elliot 1883, 34-35.</p>	<p>Chennai Government Museum (relic caskets)</p>
<p><i>IAR</i> 1954-55, 61.</p>	
<p><i>ARDAM</i> 1976-77, 35; Krishna Sastry, 26-27, 31</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1973-74, 5, <i>IAR</i> 1974-75, 3; <i>IAR</i> 1975-76, 2-3; <i>IAR</i> 1976-77, 4-5; <i>ARDAM</i>, 1976-77, 13-17; <i>ARDAM</i> 1984-85, 44-46; Krishna Sastry 1983, 132-33, 136-37, 144-45; Das 1993, 52-54; Sarma 1988, 115; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 114-115.</p>	<p>Karimnagar Museum Buddhist Museum and Interpretation Centre, Amaravati</p>
<p><i>IAR</i> 1986-87, 9.</p>	
<p><i>ARDAM</i>, 1983-84, 16.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1977-78, 76 (listed as a Cuddapah district site); <i>IAR</i> 1980-81, 2; <i>ARDAM</i> 1981-82, 19-22; <i>ARDAM</i> 1983-84, 30-33; Krishna Sastry 1983, 132; Sarma 1988 116; Murthy 1995, 161-62; Kedareshwari (2006).</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1986-87, 10; <i>ARDAM</i> 1981-82, 19-22; Sarma 1988, 116; Kedareshwari (2006), 3-4, pl. III.</p>	

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
91	Peddabankur	Karimnagar	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (megalithic and early historic).</li> <li>• Excavations discovered a pillared hall, terracotta seals, punch marked coins, figurines, Roman and Sātavāhana coins and pottery (BRW, RCPW).</li> </ul>
92	Rayapatnam	Karimnagar	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration found early historical pottery (Red Ware and Red Slipped Ware).</li> </ul>
93	Rebbaladevapalli	Karimnagar	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration found early historical pottery (Black Ware, Red Ware and Red Slipped Ware), <i>Mahāsena</i> coins and beads.</li> </ul>
94	Bodhan	Nizamabad	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historical mound.</li> </ul>
95	Vadluru	Nizamabad	Habitatoin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historical mound.</li> </ul>
96	Bousareddipalli	Medak	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic mound on the western bank of the Manjeera river.</li> <li>• Minor excavation found early historical pottery (Black, Red and Dull-red Ware), carnelian beads and shell bangles.</li> </ul>
97	Kandi	Medak	Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minor excavation found remains of Brahmanical temple and terracotta figurines (ca. 2-3rd century CE)</li> </ul>
98	Kondapur	Medak	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation mound and monastic remains (<i>vihāra</i>, two <i>caitya</i> shrines and a <i>stūpa</i>).</li> <li>• Excavation found terracotta figures, ca. 2,000 coins (Sātavāhana and Roman) and limestone sculptures (Buddhapada, pillars).</li> </ul>
99	Mantoor	Medak	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (Neolithic and early historic); 90 km from Hyderabad.</li> <li>• Minor excavation found terracotta beads, figurines, glass and iron objects.</li> </ul>
100	Rekulapadu	Medak	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic mound; 8 km north-west of Malikarjunapalli.</li> <li>• Minor excavation found brick remains, pottery (RCW), beads and terracotta figures.</li> </ul>
101	Polakonda	Warangal	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site (Neolithic, megalithic and early historic)</li> <li>• An inscribed coin that read '<i>mahathala[vasa] siva saka</i> (or <i>sadha</i>) was found.</li> </ul>
102	Hyderabad	Hyderabad	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rock-cut inscription (ca. 4th century CE) was found in the eastern outskirts of the city on the right bank of the Musi river; it records the donation of a stone-cell for the use of a person attached to Govindarāja <i>vihāra</i>.</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

*IAR* 1967-68, 2; *IAR* 1968-69, 1-2; *IAR* 1970-71, 2; *IAR* 1971-72, 2-3; *IAR* 1972-73, 2-3; *IAR* 1974-75, 5; *ARDAM* 1972-73, 3-6; *ARDAM* 1973-74, 1-3; *ARDAM* 1974-75, 1-3; Krishna Sastry 1983, 124, 139-44; Sarma 1988, 113.

*ARDAM* 1983-84, 16.

*ARDAM* 1983-84, 17.

*ARDAM* 1974-75, 20; Krishna Sastry 1983, 128; Murthy 1995, 161.

Krishna Sastry 1983, 128-29.

*ARDAM* 1983-84, 2-3.

*ARDAM* 1982-83, 28-29.

Yazdani 1941, 171-85; Ghosh 1989, vol. 2, 234-35; Sarma 1988, 118.

Archaeological Museum, Kondapur

*ARDAM* 1983-84, 4.

*ARDAM* 1983-84, 3.

*ARDAM*, 1976-77, 26-29; *IAR* 1975-76, 5-6; *IAR* 1976-77, 10; Krishna Sastry 1983, 37, 129.

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(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
103	Keesaragutta	Hyderabad	Habitation and Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fortified habitation site and an early Siva temple (ca. 5-6th century CE in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period).</li> <li>Excavation found pottery (Black, Grey, Red, Red-Slipped and Black-Slipped Ware), Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins and inscriptions.</li> </ul>
104	Peddamarur	Mahbubnagar	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Habitation site (megalithic and early historic)</li> <li>Excavation found pottery, carnelian beads and a Sātavāhana coin (Sātakaṇi III).</li> </ul>
105	Ketavaram	Kurnoor	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pre-historic rock shelter and early-historic habitation site</li> <li>A <i>brāhmī</i> inscription (ca. 3-4th century CE) was found.</li> </ul>
106	Satanikota	Kurnoor	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Habitation sites (mesolithic, megalithic and early historic) periods; early historic settlement was fortified by wall and moat.</li> <li>Excavations discovered a variety of pottery (BRW, RW), an inscribed lead coin that read 'Siri Sata Kumara' (ca. 1st century CE?), terracotta figure and precious stones.</li> </ul>
107*	Siddarajalingapuram	Kurnoor	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Excavation revealed structural walls, a kiln and hearth and pottery (BRW).</li> </ul>
108	Veerapuram	Kurnoor	Habitation and Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Habitation sites (neolithic, megalithic and early historic)</li> <li>Excavations discovered remains of early brahmanical temples, pottery (BRW, RCW, RW) and coins (PMC, Sātavāhana, Mahārathi).</li> </ul>
109	Gulyapalayam	Anantapur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Habitation sites (Neolithic, megalithic and early historic); 7 km from Guntakal on Uravakonda road.</li> </ul>
110	Lingarajapalem (near Dharmavaram)	Anantapur	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A local mound called Rakasimitta contains a <i>stūpa</i>.</li> </ul>
111	Sasanakota or Sassenikota	Anantapur	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Excavation confirmed brick structure, pottery (RW, RCPW, BRW) and Sātavāhana coins.</li> </ul>
112	Dommaranandyala	Cuddapah	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Early historic site on the bank of the Penner river; 8km from Jammulamaduru.</li> <li>Exploration noted houses constructed with ancient bricks and early pottery (BRW, Red Ware, Polished Red Ware, Black Ware).</li> </ul>
113	Nandalur-Adapur	Cuddapah	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monastic remains on hillock (Lanjakanumalagutta) on the bank of the Bahuda river.</li> <li>Excavation found a white granite Buddhapada with inscription, terracotta figurines and <i>mahārathi</i> coins.</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

*ARDAM* 1976-77, *IAR* 1975-76, 1; *IAR* 1976-77, 3.

*IAR* 1977-78, 12-13; Krishna Sastry 1983, 60.

*IAR* 1977-78, 3.

*IAR* 1974-75, 5; *IAR* 1977-78, 3-11; *IAR* 1979-80, 2-6; *IAR* 2000-01, 1; Ghosh 1989, vol. 2, 400-01.

*IAR* 1979-80, 6.

Sastri, Bai and Rao 1984.

*ARDAM* 1982-83, 20-21.

Sarma 1999, 81.

*IAR* 1955-56, 72; *IAR* 1957-58, 64; *IAR* 1974-75, 6; *IAR* 2001-02, 2.

*ARDAM*, 1983-84, 19.

*ARDAM* 1976-77, 5; *IAR* 1979-80, 1; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 125; Sarma 1999, 81; Ramachandra Murty and Chalam 2005, 291-96; Rao 2005, 347 and pl. 3; Ramachandra Murthy (2006).

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
114	Peddachepalle	Cuddapah	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historical mound that probably contains Buddhist remains</li> <li>• Abundant pottery (BRW, red ware, red polished ware) and a ring well were found in the mound.</li> </ul>
115	Penukanchiprolu	Cuddapah	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i>)</li> <li>• A limestone Buddha was found from the site.</li> </ul>
116	Pushpagiri	Cuddapah	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remains of a <i>stūpa</i> (d. 11 m) on a hill near Kotluru.</li> <li>• The place was mentioned in a Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription (ca. 3rd century CE) and a Hyderabad inscription (ca. 4th century CE).</li> </ul>
117	Tallapaka	Cuddapah	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic mound; 5 km from Nandalur across the river.</li> <li>• Exploration of the mound found BRW, a lotus medallion and a large number of bricks.</li> </ul>
118	Duvvar or Duvvuru	Nellore	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic mound called Kotadibba.</li> <li>• Explorations found pottery (BRW, Red Ware) and large number of coins (PMC, Sātavāhana, Ikṣvāku).</li> </ul>
119	Kothapatnam	Nellore	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and remains of an ancient port.</li> <li>• Excavation discovered a series of granaries, China ware, RW, celadon ware and beads.</li> </ul>
120	Mahimaluru (Buddhapādu)	Nellore	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarma (1999) mentions that the site yielded a Buddhist base (?).</li> </ul>
121	Pudur	Nellore	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic settlement surrounded by moat and structural remains (Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku period).</li> <li>• Excavation yielded terracotta ring-well, conical jar, pottery (Red-Slipped Ware, Amphorae, and RW), coins and semiprecious stone beads.</li> </ul>
122	Rāmatīrtham	Nellore	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A mound (Bodipatidibba) that seems to contain Buddhist remains</li> <li>• Exploration found an apsidal shrine and pottery (RW).</li> </ul>
123	Rudrakota	Nellore	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yielded fragment of lotus and <i>chattrā</i>.</li> </ul>
124	Vedapalem	Nellore	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Early historic pottery (BRW, Red Ware and Black Polished Ware) were found.</li> </ul>

## References

## Museum Collections

*IAR* 1977-78, 76; Sarma 1988, 111.

*IAR* 1975-76, 75; Sarma 1999, 81.

Buddhist Museum and Interpretation  
Centre, Amaravati

Vogel 1929-30 (*EI* 20), no. F; Parabrahma Sastry 1984,  
96; Sarma 1999, 81; Srinivasulu 2005, 457-59.

*IAR* 1980-81, 1; P.R. Rao, 109-110.

*IAR* 1978-79, 93; *IAR* 1988-89, 3; *IAR* 1989-90, 122.

*IAR* 1996-97, 1; K.P. Rao 2001.

*ARASI* 1930-34, 111-112; Sarma 1988, 119, Sarma 1999,  
81.

*IAR* 1973-74, 6; *IAR* 1994-95, 2; *IAR* 1995-96, 2.

Sarma 1999, 81; ASI website (accessed 10 June 2010).

*IAR* 1987-88, 6-7; Sarma 1999, 81.

*IAR* 1991-92, 124.

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
125	Bavikonda	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpas</i>, apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines, <i>vihāras</i> and refectory).</li> <li>• Excavated objects include khondalite sculptures, inscriptions, pottery and relic caskets.</li> </ul>
126	Dharapalem (Dharmapalem)	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A trial excavation found a possible <i>stūpa</i> and sculpture of a five-hooded <i>nāga</i>.</li> </ul>
127	Gopalapatnam (near Tuni)	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpas</i> and <i>vihāras</i>)</li> <li>• Excavation yielded stucco figures, pottery (RW, BRW), a <i>brāhmī</i> inscription.</li> </ul>
128	Gunanupuram	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancient mound that seems to contain Buddhist remains.</li> </ul>
129	Jami	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains on the low hill overlooking the Gostani river</li> </ul>
130	Kotturu	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>stūpa</i> and <i>vihāra</i>) on the southern slopes of the Panchadarla hill on the left bank of the Sarada river.</li> <li>• Excavations found relic caskets (with gold foil, crystal, silver flowers, 107 beads) with votive inscriptions.</li> </ul>
131	Lingarajapalem	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains on a low hill; a limestone <i>dharmacakra</i> and a pillar with <i>stūpa</i> relief were found.</li> </ul>
132	Markondaputta	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pillars of a Buddhist monastery were found.</li> </ul>
133	Pavurallakonda (in Bheemli) or Palavalasa	Vishakha= patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (<i>vihāras</i>, apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines, votive <i>stūpas</i> and pillared hall) and rock-cut cisterns on the top of Narasimhaswamy konda.</li> <li>• Excavation found coins (Sātavāhana and Roman), pottery (BRW, red-slipped ware), sculpture (Muchilinda <i>nāga</i> and a lotus medallion at the entrance to the <i>caitya</i> shrine), a relic casket and inscriptions (ca. 2nd century BCE-3rd century CE).</li> </ul>
134	Rāmatīrtham	Vishakha- patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (main <i>stūpa</i>, apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines, <i>vihāras</i> and votive <i>stūpas</i>) on two hills (Gugubhaktakonda and Durgakonda);</li> <li>• Excavation found a clay seal (ca. 1-2nd century CE); a Buddha stature and Jain sculptures (ca. 8-9th century CE).</li> </ul>
135	Sankaram	Vishakha= patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excavation revealed numerous rock-cut <i>stūpas</i> on a western hill (Lingalakonda) and monastic remains (main <i>stūpa</i>, brick votive <i>stūpa</i>, <i>vihāras</i>, apsidal rock cut shrines) on eastern hill (Bojjanakonda). Collected coins and sculptures are dated to the 2nd -10th century CE.</li> </ul>

References	Museum Collections
<p><i>ARDAM</i> 1983-84, 20-28; <i>ARDAM</i> 1984-85, 10-15; <i>IAR</i> 1983-84, 7; <i>IAR</i> 1986-87, 15; Sarma 1988, 120; N.R.V. Das 1993, 47-49; Prasad 1993; N.R.V. Prasad 1994; Fogelin 2006, 97-101.</p>	
<p>Fogelin 2006, 102.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1990-91, 2; <i>IAR</i> 1991-92; <i>IAR</i> 1992-93, 3; <i>IAR</i> 1993-94, 5; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 124-25.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1955-56, 72; Sarma 1988, 120.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1955-56, 72; Sarma 1988, 120.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1954-55, 23-24; <i>IAR</i> 1997-98, 222; Subrahmanyam 1998, 102; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 114.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1954-55, 61; <i>IAR</i> 1959-60, 67, pl. LVII-C; Sarma 1988, 121; Fogelin 2006, 104.</p>	<p>Archaeological Museum, Amarāvātī</p>
<p><i>IAR</i> 1955-56, 73; Sarma 1988, 120.</p>	
<p><i>IAR</i> 1991-92, 3; <i>IAR</i> 1995-96, 128; <i>IAR</i> 1996-97, 2; <i>IAR</i> 2000-01, 2-3; <i>IAR</i> 2001-02, 11; Subrahmanyam 1998, 112-13; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 95-96. Fogelin 2006, 101-02.</p>	
<p><i>ARASI</i> 1910-11, 78-88; Mitra 1971, 220-21; Sarma 1988, 121; Subrahmanyam 1998, 113; Das 1993, 126-28; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 128; Fogelin 2006, 105.</p>	<p>Government Museum, Chennai</p>
<p><i>ARASI</i> 1907-08, 149-80; Mitra 1971, 218-20; Sarma 1988, 121; Subrahmanyam 1998, 118; Das 1993, 45-47; Fogelin 2006, 102-03.</p>	<p>Government Museum, Chennai</p>

(cont.)

Nos.	Sites	District	Types	Description
136	Thotlakonda	Vishakha= patnam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains (main <i>stūpa</i>, <i>vihāras</i>, circular and apsidal <i>caitya</i> shrines).</li> <li>• Excavation found khondalite sculptures, a variety of pottery (e.g. Red Ware and BRW) and Roman coins.</li> </ul>
137	Dandapuram	Srikakulam	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and Buddhist remains (two <i>stūpas</i> on the north-east side of the mound).</li> <li>• Excavation found a brick structure over a stone foundation, terracotta objects and a variety of pottery (BRW and Red Ware).</li> </ul>
138	Dirghasi	Srikakulam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exploration noted large baked bricks, Red Ware, Red Slipped Ware and shell bangles.</li> <li>• A <i>brāhmī</i> inscription was found (unpublished).</li> </ul>
139	Kalingapatnam	Srikakulam	Habitation and Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Habitation site and monastic remains; main <i>stūpa</i> (d. 23 m) has a cylindrical structure.</li> <li>• Early historic pottery (Black Polished Ware, BRW, RW) was found.</li> </ul>
140	Mukhalingam	Srikakulam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excavation found early historic pottery (RW and BRW) and a Sātavāhana coin; surrounding hills also yielded RW.</li> </ul>
141	Salihundam	Srikakulam	Buddhist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monastic remains ( a main <i>stūpa</i>, a circular <i>caitya</i> shrine, two apsidal shrines and votive <i>stūpas</i>).</li> <li>• Excavation discovered inscriptions (ca. 2nd century BCE and later) and esoteric Buddhist sculptures (ca. 10-12th century CE).</li> </ul>
142	Singupuram	Srikakulam	Habitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attributed to ancient Sinhapur; 10 km North-West of Salihundam.</li> <li>• Exploration found RW, BRW and Black Polished Ware.</li> </ul>
143	Gudimallam	Chittor	Brahmanical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parasuramesvara temple enshrines an early Siva linga (ca. 1st century CE).</li> <li>• Excavation yielded BRW and RCW.</li> </ul>

- Places marked with an asterisk (\*) are not shown on Map 6 as the location is not confirmed
- BRW: Black and Red Ware; NBPW: Northern Black Polished Ware; PMC: Punch Marked Coins; RCW: Russet Coated Ware; RW: Rouletted Ware;

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## Museum Collections

*IAR* 1987-88, 5-6; *IAR* 1988-89, 5; *IAR* 1989-90, 4-8; *IAR* 1990-91, 2; *IAR* 1991-92, 3-4; *IAR* 1992-93, 3-4; Krishna Sastry, Subramanyan, Krishna Rao 1992; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 94-95; Fogelin 2006

*IAR* 2000-01, 2; *IAR* 2001-02, 10-11; Subrahmanyam 1998, 46-.

*IAR* 1966-67, 65; *AP state archaeology website* (accessed June 27, 2010)

*IAR* 1961-62, 96; *IAR* 1976-77, 10; *IAR* 1977-78, 14; *IAR* 1978-79, 66; *IAR* 1979-80, 11; Sarma 1988, 120.

*IAR* 1957-58, 64; *IAR* 1961-62, 3; *IAR* 1971-72, 4

*Annual Report, Southern Circle 1919-20*, 34-38; *IAR* 1953-54, 11; *IAR* 2001-02, 323; Subrahmanyam 1964; Mitra 1971, 221-22; Sarma 1988, 120; Das 1993, 50-52, 128-31; Hanumantha Rao 1998, 117-23; Fogelin 2006, 106.

*IAR* 1961-62, 96

*IAR* 1973-74, 1; Sarma 1994



APPENDIX C

AMARĀVATĪ INSCRIPTIONS\*

I. Early Period Inscriptions (ca. 200-100 BCE)

Total: 74

Tsukamoto Amarāvātī 1, 5, 9, 99-117, 129, 145, 205-12 [correspond respectively to Lüders 1266, Chanda 37/38/43, 36, 1-20, 39, Sivaramamurti 1, Ghosh and Sarkar A-H/Ghosh 41]<sup>1</sup>, Ghosh 1-36, 38-40, 42-44, 7A, Srinivasan A [=Ghosh 37], Sarma 72-76

(Label Inscriptions: Chanda 36 [cf: Sivaramarti 3], Sivaramamurti 1, Ghosh 41 [=Ghosh and Sarkar A-H])

1. Units of Donations

(1) Single Individuals: 37

Male 21:

Luders 1266, Chanda 3, Ghosh 2, 3, 4, 7, 7A, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 37/ Srinivasan A, 38, 39, Sarma 74

Female 16:

Chanda 1, 6, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, Ghosh 5, 10, 12, 13, 23, 29, 31, 35, 42

(2) Small Groups: 6

Male groups 5:

Chanda 14, Ghosh 14, 37, 39, 40

Female groups 1:

Chanda 37/38/43 (cf: Sivaramamurti 2)

(3) Large kinship and social groups: 8

Towns (*nigama*): 4

Chanda 4, 5, 15, Ghosh 6

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<sup>1</sup> On the transliteration and interpretation of the inscriptions, I followed Tsukamoto (1998), if inscriptions are in his list. As this book is published in Japanese and is not easily available for many readers, however, I labeled each inscription by using the Lüders list and other English publications.

Tribes/Families (*kula*): 2

Chanda 7, 8

Villages (*gāma*): 2

Chanda 2, Ghosh 1

## 2. Donor's Identifications

### (1) By kin relationships: 21

Male: 12

Son of someone (7): Chanda 14, 19, Ghosh 19, 26, 28, 39, 40

Brother of someone (1): Ghosh 11

Clan/Community (4): Ghosh 7A, 24, 25, Chanda 10

Female: 9

Mother of someone (3) Chanda 13, 16, 17

Wife of someone (5) Chanda 9, 12, Ghosh 5, 23, 35

Daughter of someone (1) Ghosh 31

### (1) By Occupations: 12

Male: 10

Monk (3): Chanda 1, 3, 11

Merchant/banker (*sethi*) (2): Ghosh 3, Sarma 74

General (*senāgopa, senāpati*) (2): Lüders 1266, Ghosh 7A

Prince (*kumāra*) (1): Ghosh 2

Chief Artisan (1) (*āvesanin*): Ghosh 38

Attendant of a princess (1): Ghosh 37/Srinivasan A

Female: 2

Nun (2): Chanda 1, Ghosh 10

### (2) By Geographical Names: 3

Chanda 6, Ghosh 14, 27

### (3) By Name: 6

Male: 4

Ghosh 4, 15, 16, 20

Female: 2

Ghosh 12, 29

## II. Late Period Inscriptions (ca. 50 BCE –250 CE)

Total number of Inscriptions: 230

Tsukamoto Amarāvati 2, 3, 4A, 6-98, 118-28, 130-144, 146-180, 182-204 [covering Lüders 1206-44, 1246-52, 1253/1314, 1254-58, 1259/Sivaramamurti 75, 1260-65, 1267-68, 1269/Chanda 46, 1270-79, 1280/Sarkar 55, 1281-98, 1299/1320, 1300/Sarkar 53, 1301-02, 1303/1322, 1304-23, 1324/Chanda 41, 1325-26, 1205a/1454/Chanda 34, Chanda 21-33, 35, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48-58, Sivaramamurti 9, 28, 38, 43, 49, 65, 66, 68, 76, 78, 82, 85, 94, 96, 103, 105, 107, 115, 122, 123], Raghavan 1, Rama Rao A, B, Sarkar 45-52, 57-71, Sarma 77-89

Number of the Recorded Main Donors: 129 (Male 55; Female 74)

### 1. Units of Donations

#### (1) Single Individuals: 35

Male: 11

Lüders 1221, 1241, 1253/1314, 1270, 1279, 1282, 1289, 1291, Chanda 31, 33, 55

Female: 24

Lüders 1217, 1219, 1234, 1237, 1240, 1242, 1246, 1251, 1257, 1264, 1285, 1286, 1298, Chanda 32, 41, 52, 53, Sivaramamurti 49, 65, 85, 96, 103, Sarkar 57, Sarma 88

#### (2) Small Groups: 80

Main Donors (m: male; f: female): 32

Lüders 1207 (f: 1), 1209 (m: 3, f: 3), 1216 (m: 1, f: 1), 1222 (m: 1, f: 1), 1223 (m: 1, f: 1), 1224 (f: 1), 1235 (f: 2), 1243 (m: 2; f: 1), 1262 (f: 3), 1271 (m: 4; f: 1); 1272 (m: 2), 1280 (m: 1; f: 1), 1281 (m: 1; f: 1), 1283 (f: 3), 1284 (f: 2), 1292 (f: 3), 1295 (m: 1; f: 2), Chanda 23 (m: 1; f: 1), 25 (m: 1; f: 1), 40 (m: 2; f: 1), 55 (m: 7; f: 4), 56 (f: 2), 57 (m: 3; f: 3), 58 (f: 2), Sivaramamurti 66 (f: 2), 96 (m: 1; f: 1), 78 (m: 3), 94 (m: 1 plus more [unidentified]), Sarkar 63 (m: 1; f: 2), Sarma 85 (m: 4), 86 (f: 2), 87 (m: 2; f: 2)

Main Donors (m: male; f: female) with Joint Donors (indicated by prefix sa-): 47

Lüders 1205a/1454 (f: 1), 1206 (f: 1), 1210 (m: 1), 1213 (m: 1), 1214 (m: 1), 1229 (m: 1), 1230 (m: 2), 1231 (f: 1), 1232 (m: 1), 1239 (f: 1), 1244 (f: 1), 1247 (m: 1), 1248 (m: 2), 1249 (m: 1), 1250 (m: 1; f: 2), 1252 (f: 2), 1254 (m: 1), 1255 (m: 2), 1256 (m: 2), 1258 (f: 1), 1259 (m: 1), 1260 (f: 1), 1268 (f: 1), 1269 (f: 1), 1273 (m: 1),

1274 (f: 1), 1276 (f: 1), 1278 (m: 1), 1287 (f: 1), 1294 (f: 2), 1300 (m: 1), 1301 (m: 1), 1302 (m: 1), 1303 (m: 1), 1315 (f: 1), 1321 (f: 1), Chanda 21 (?), 22, (m: 1), 24 (m: 1), 27 (m: 1; f: 1), 35 (f: 1), 42 (m: 1), 45 (f: 1), 48 (m: 1), 49 (f: 1), Sarkar 61 (m: 2), Sarma 85

- (3) Large collective donations: 1  
Township (*nigama*) (1) Lüders 1261

## 2. Relationships of the Donors in Small Group Donations

### (1) Main Donors

Families: 14

Husband and wife (1): Lüders 1216

Husband, his wife and children (3): Lüders 1209, 1271, Sarma 87

Gahapati and his grandson's wife (1): Lüders 1222

Brothers and Sisters (1): Lüders 1223<sup>2</sup>, 1243

Mother and daughter (3): Lüders 1260, 1295, Sarma 86

Mother, daughter, and granddaughter (1): Lüders 1262

Wife of a farmer and her granddaughter (1): Chanda 56

Families and/or friends (4): Lüders 1207, 1251, Chanda 57, Sivaramamurti 66

Others: 21

Monks and/or nuns (7): Lüders 1223, 1237, 1257, 1272, 1280, Chanda 58, Sivaramamurti 96.

Monks and/or Nuns and lay people (10): Lüders 1224, 1230, 1262<sup>3</sup>, 1284, 1295<sup>4</sup>, Chanda 27, 55, Sivaramamurti 94, Sarkar 63.

Wives of merchants (1): Lüders 1292

Two *gahapati*-s (1): Lüders 1248

A wife of merchant and a gahapati (1): Lüders 1281

A daughter of gahapati, a wife of ploughman and her granddaughter (1): Chanda 56

### (2) Joint Donors' Relations to Main Donors

Children and/or Grandchildren (16): Lüders 1210, 1215, 1231, 1232, 1239, 1250, 1255, 1268, 1276, 1300, 1321, Chanda 24, 44, 45, 49, Sarma 85.

Wife (1): Lüders 1302, Sarkar 57

<sup>2</sup> It records a donation from a monk and a nun, who were also brother and sister.

<sup>3</sup> It records nun's donations with her daughter and granddaughter.

<sup>4</sup> It records nun's donations with her granddaughter.

Brother and/or Sister (3): Lüders 1258, 1315, Sarkar 66  
 Mother and/or Father (3): Lüders 1213, 1256, Chanda 35  
 Wife and Children (4): Lüders 1220, 1259, 1277, Chanda 42  
 Wife, Children and Grandchildren (1): Lüders 1229  
 Wife and Brother and/or Sister (2): Lüders 1249, Chanda 48  
 Wife, Brother and/or Sister and Children (1): Lüders 1248  
 Brother/Sisters and Children (3): Lüders 1205a/1454, 1206,  
 1252  
 Mother, Brother and/or Sister and Children (1): Lüders 1303  
 Father, Wife and Brothers and/or Sisters (3): Lüders 1254,  
 Chanda 22, Sarkar 61  
 Father, Mother, Wife, Sisters and Children (1): Lüders 1301  
 Family, Friends and Relatives (11): Lüders 1214, 1230, 1244,  
 1247, 1269, 1273, 1274, 1278, 1287, 1294, Chanda 21.

### 3. Donors' Identifications

#### (1) Gahapatīs and Their Families: 31

Lüders 1205a/1454, 1206, 1209, 1211, 1216, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1239,  
 1244, 1247, 1248, 1252, 1254, 1255, 1260, 1274, 1277, 1280, 1281,  
 1302 Chanda 24, 25, 27, 48, 56, Rama Rao A, B, Sivarama-  
 murti 85, Sharma 78, 87.

#### (2) Nuns: 22

Lüders 1223, 1224, 1237, 1242, 1246, 1250, 1252, 1257, 1258, 1262,  
 1264, 1272, 1280, 1284, 1286, 1295, 1315, Sivaramamurti 96,  
 Chanda 58, Sarkar 63, 68, Sarma 88.

#### (3) Monks: 17

Lüders 1223, 1230, 1233, 1267, 1270, 1272, 1280, 1289, 1295,  
 1299/1320, Chanda 31, 40, 55, 58, Sivaramurti 94, 96, Sarkar  
 63

#### (4) Merchants (*seṭhi*), Traders (*vāniya*) and Their Families: 9

Lüders 1213, 1214, 1229, 1239, 1278, 1281 (also *gahapati's* son),  
 1292, Chanda 52, Sivaramamurti 103

#### (5) Families of Monks and/or Nuns: 5

Lüders 1234, 1250, 1262, 1295, 1315

#### (6) Treasurer or Goldsmith (*heranika*): 3

Lüders 1239, 1247 (also *gahapati's* son), 1297.

## (7) Official: 3

Official of waterhouse (*pānīyagharika*) (1) Lüders 1279

Scribe (*lekhaka*) (1) Lüders 1291

Viceroy? (*uparaka*=skt: *uparika*?) (1): Chanda 33

(8) Perfumer (*gadhika*): 2

Lüders 1210, 1230

## (9) Artisan and Their Families: 2

Leather worker (*cammakāra*) (1) Lüders 1273

Daughter of the artisan (*āvesanin*) (1) Lüders 1298

## (10) Royal Families: 1

Princess (*kumārī*) (1) Chanda 28

## (11) Others: 2

Daughter of great cowherd (*mahā-govallava*) (1) Chanda 41

Wife of ploughman (*hālikā*) (1) Chanda 56

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