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NAGARJUNAKONDA
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VOLUME II
(The Historical Period)

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FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to present before the scholars this second volume of Nagarjunakonda Excavation Report, which is the outcome of a special project undertaken to unveil the extensive remains in the valley in 1954. As a result of this great event, a new approach to combat the total destruction of the cultural heritage was possible by transplanting the ruins. Within a span of six years more than hundred sites were unearthed ranging in dates from Early Stone Age to the late medieval period. Nagarjunakonda came into prominence under the Ikshvaku rulers when structural activities and artistic pursuits reached their height. This present volume gives an account on the historical period relating to the chronological framework with details of religious and secular structural remains, inscriptions, coins besides various other items of daily use. After the decline of the Ikshvaku rulers, Nagarjunakonda witnessed a fall both in political glory and in artistic tradition, which regained its lost position during the Bahmanis, Vijayanagras and Gajapati Kings.

In bringing out this volume, a great deal of hard work has been done by all the members of the Publication Section of the Archaeological Survey of India for which I express my thanks to Dr. B.R. Mani, Director (Pub.), Dr. Arundhati Banerji, S.A. (Pub.), Sh. Hoshiar Singh, Production Officer (Pub.), Dr. Piyush Bhatt and Gunjan Kumar Srivastava, Assistant Archaeologists (Pub.) besides all the members of Drawing Section and Photo Section. Thanks are also due to Sh. K.M. Bhadri, Director (Epigraphy), Mysore, along with his staff, Dr. P.K. Trivedi, S.A. (Excavation Branch IV), Bhubaneswar and Dr. A. Jha, Dy. S.A. (Jaipur Circle).

New Delhi
01-02-2006

(C. Babu Rajeev)
Director General
PREFACE

The Nāgarjunakonda Excavation Report (Text) Vol. II (Historical period) is now completed and is presented in the following pages.

The Editor, at the outset, wishes to record his thanks to the Directors General (Sarvashri J.P. Joshi earlier and M.C. Joshi subsequently) for having given the requisite support to the effective processing of the text of the Report. The Editor also finds a fulfillment for himself in this, by virtue of his close association with Nāgarjunakonda, in the initial years of the Salvage Excavation Project.

While dealing with the draft chapter prepared by several younger colleagues in the Survey, under Dr. Subrahmanyanam and the line drawing material made available, a degree of insufficiency was noted by the Editor, both regarding incomplete stratigraphic material in the several sites, on the basis of relevance to the story of the valley sites, and also by the non-utilisation of available stratigraphic and other information for evolving an authentic chrono-cultural narrative for the eventual Report. A review painstakingly gone through by the Editor revealed much evidentiary data, including precise working levels of important structures and their phases, besides information on the decline of the valley site of Vijayapuri and its disappearance from the historical horizon abruptly in early 4th century A.D., after so much of promise. The emerging Report has now made good these deficiencies.

The rich inscriptionsal materials from the excavations were also discussed with the Epigraphy Branch whose published authentic text and translations have however directly utilised, without any additional discussion, notwithstanding their variation with archaeological evidence from the excavations. The Editor thanks Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), not only for his help, along with his able colleagues, in the Editor’s task, but also for his having contributed an introductory note to the chapter of Epigraphical discoveries, besides supplying the set of photographs of the published inscriptions from Nāgarjunakonda.

The Editor is particularly thankful to the officers and staff from various Circles of the Survey who had contributed in various ways to the successful completion of this Report, among whom he would desire to acknowledge Sarvashri Vidhyadhara Rao (the then incharge of Hyderabad Circle), Dr. B. Narasimhalah, Suptdg. Archaeologist, Madras Circle, Shri Rajagopalan, Deputy Suptdg. Archaeologist, Museums Branch, Madras and his local Asstt. Suptdg. Archaeologist, Sastrl at Nāgarjunakonda Island Museum, R. Ramani, former Stenographer, Madras Circle, for his laborious help in the typing work of the Report at successive stages, B.K. Sharma and Shadi Lal Sr. PAs and R.N. Kaw, photographer.
all in the Directorate General's Office at Delhi. The editor would also like to thank Shri. M.S. Mani, for his diligent and close help in the preparation of the plan drawings for the press, in the Report.

Thanks are also due to several senior and junior colleagues who had given their views during discussions besides all the officers and staff members of the Publication Section of the Survey for making this enormous task possible by bringing out the Vol. II of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Excavations Report.

With this text Report (as and when published), the national obligation to the grand legacy of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (now submerged for good) also stands fulfilled.

K.V. SOUNDARA RAJAN
EDITOR

Makara Sankramana, 1992
New Delhi.
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NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA – VOLUME II
(HISTORICAL PERIOD)

CHAPTER I

EXCAVATIONS OF SITES OF THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

(i) General Introduction (pls. I-VB)

In this second volume of the re-discovery of the sequence of cultures flourishing in the
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley of ancient Palnad on the River Krishna, before its waters deluged it to become
part of the catchment reservoir of the multi-purpose Nagarjunasagar Dam and Hydro Electric Project,
the historical period of the valley stands unravelled and explicated. The area was, then, christened
Vijayapurī and was the capital city of the Ikshvāku line of kings who succeeded in this zone of the
Sātavāhanas of Dhānyakaraka or Amarāvatī, located about 125 km downstream on the river. That after
the Sātavāhanas, the Ikshvāku rule was the most illustrious in the lower Deccan and was the display
of a major indigenous spectrum of the imbued national culture and art, alike for Brāhmanical Hinduism
as with undying glory of Buddhism of the Mahāyāna order (in this tract which was privileged with
the close association of the propounder of the Madhyamika doctrine, Nāgārjuna) is no longer doubted.
Its achievements in the realm of art and civilized way of life, for its age had been so spectacular that
the valley evinced a prodigious activity-cycle by kings, queens, commoners, recluses and exotic
domiciles and northern potentates, promoting in symphony and ardour, the fundamental architectural
art, and craft movements. Records engraved in stone on the several religious edifices and memorial
pillars side by side bore mute testimony to the sublime interactions of socio-cultural graces and building
of a value-system.

The various sectors of the valley, like the river bank string of Hindu temples to the west and north-
west, the citadel nestling amidst the two Kundelugutta hillocks and the river (enclosing an unique
structural evidence of the performance of the Asvamedha ritual for royal recognition), the Buddhist
University and the adjunct hospital (vinirgata-jvarālaya) in the north-east, and the inner foot of the
Nāgārjuna hill on the river where a number of stūpas, chaityas, vihāras, ghāts, dockyard etc., were
maintained by several Buddhist denominations of the Mahāyāna and the Brāhmanical affiliations and
where monks and laity were from far off Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Kamarup, Simhala, Dramila
and others; and humming trade which linked other areas of the lower reaches of the Krishna river;
besides the unique Hārīti Temple and amphitheatre; all these had indeed become fully disclosed by the

(This chapter has been contributed by K.V. Soundara Rajan.)
excavations and had gone into history. Such a formative and at the same time, such a momentous epoch of the early historic times from the beginning of the third century A.D. to the beginning of the next, in which the seeds of pan-Indian cultural ethos had been well and truly laid, coeval with certain other parts of India, as under the Kushans, Kadambas and Kshatrapas on the western flank, had a commonality of civic, secular, religious and aesthetic dimensions, qualitatively and quantitatively, that it may well be deemed as the first burgeoning spectacle of an integrated national way of life and spiritual regeneration of the land and its people.

In the following chapters of the volume, archaeological excavations have been allowed to record their own account of the story of this high-grade temporal and spiritual capital city of Vijayapuri of the Ikshvākus. The documentation highlights the tenor of the city personality, the monumental relics of its sectors of civic life, a growth that had held to its stamina for a whole century or more; the special and ordinary ceramic traditions, its coinage and the epigraphs in Prakrit and Sanskrit, its paraphernalia in terracotta and stucco, bone and stone, its craft in gold, silver, bronze, ivory, and shell, its ritualistic high points like the Asvamedha tank and ancillaries and, above all, its edifices of temples, stūpa-complex, vihāras, the unique Stadium and the ghāt. The picture created, adventitiously though by the threat of permanent submersion — without which whether its pace of rediscovery could have been so crystallised is anybody's guess — is so compact, unitary and comprehensive that for the reconstruction of the history of the zone, the region and the Peninsula, it had acquired an authentic yard-stick. With this yard-stick, one can verily unfold and diagnose 'the state of the Nation' and the cultural diversifications it was acquiring, to become the rallying point for further-developments of the succeeding Pallavas, Chālukyas, Vishṇukundins and the Vākātakas in the south and central India and the Guptas in the Madhyadesa, on the one hand, and of Buddhism and Brāhmaṇical religion and art, on the other. The excavated record of the early historic Ikshvāku metropolis of Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley thus claims to become the largest single concrete measure of the times and its material finds and the surest arbiter of the same.

As could be seen from the earlier records, the valley was not only sporadically explored for its epigraphical and stūpa remains in the early decades of this century, but also submitted to a severely limited probe by the spade, with spectacular reliquaries and an art bonanza, out of all proportions to the scope of the then attempts, by Longhurst and Ramachandran, both officers of the Archaeological Survey of India. The excavations of the Mahā-stūpa and the University area, and the discovery of invaluable sets of epigraphs were certainly luminous landmarks in the history of Andhra Pradesh and of the Nation. The Museum of the scattered sculptural remains that came up in the valley also was an inspiring trend for more investigations into the secrets of the valley's hidden remains.

The salvage excavations, in a systematic and exhaustive scheme, undertaken from 1954 to 1960 acquired a new urgency and programming, in the sequel, and was indeed a daunting task, considering the total area involved, notwithstanding the fact that this essentially mono-cultural site had barely a meter and a half of cultural strata on an average, because this would have necessarily involved several hundreds of structures, many of unknown potentialities and affiliations in this area where western Indian contacts had already been known. When we realise that the monumental structures laid bare in the 136 odd main locations, forming part of the northern and southern series of sectors into which they were divided and out of all proportions to their locational number, were highlighted by prodigious religious, ritual, military and civic edifices seen in utter desuetude, it was destined to become the largest
horizontal area—excavation undertaken anywhere in India and deserves our gratitude as well for the quality and new thrust it has given to the reconstruction of the early history of Andhradesa. It was the largest single exercise also by a team of professional archaeological excavators, over a period of six years, to make out the full evidentiary potential of this comprehensive city site.

At the height of its prosperity in the middle of the third century A.D., the valley had seemingly a monastic community of four thousand strong, besides those of sacerdotal Hinduism and a requisite civic and military population, inhabiting this capital city of Vijayapur. The fortified citadel area near the river on the west and craft communities and industrial units in sectors SII, SIII and SIV, among which, as in sector SII, a goldsmith’s workshop revealing touch-stones, tong, weights, ornamental moulds, slabs etc., in situ were significant; the two citadel gates on the east and west, the latter elaborately planned with guard-rooms, the postern gate on the north and heavy rubble stone as well as plastered brick retainer walls on the river side; temples to a variety of gods like Ashabhujā Vishnu, Pushpabhadasvāmi Śiva Sarvadeva, Kārttikeya and Devasena, Kubera and Buddhist Hāriti and many other affiliations discussed in the Report in this Volume II; the large number of pillared halls on the roadside, for the city gentry to meet and spend their leisure in rest and entertainment, which punctuated various road systems of the city; had all, indeed, after the unprecedented example outside India of the excavations at volcano-smothered Pompeii in Italy, around almost the same era, been the most challenging assignment for Indian archaeology.

A. I (ii) The excavation scheme and the layout of the digs

The Nāgārjunakonda valley, nurturing the Ikshvāku capital, be it realised, was by its hill enclave and riparian character, a very extensive area of nearly 15 sq kilometres. Its scheme of excavation, therefore, had to have an approach and basis, to the extent the earlier explorations and familiarities with its potential had broadly afforded. A volume of research had already been carried out, mostly on its inscriptions, sculptural art and the monastic institutions of the earlier excavations by Longhurst and Ramachandran, on which information is summarised further down this report, had also to be suitably pressed into service for identifying the sectoral frequency of structural remains. The site, it should also be noted, had also an antecedent richness of cultural remains in the Prehistoric and Protohistoric (Neolithic) and Megalithic phases, which have already formed the main concern of the Volume I of the Excavations, already published.

The lay out of the Sectors to be excavated had to take note of the citadel area, the river bank areas and the clusters of the monastic locations, beginning from the Mahā-stūpa, and the fringes of the sharply eastward turning river to the north of the isolated Nāgārjuna hill (which also contained the medieval fort) which had bestowed a degree of sanctity to the river at the northeastern point before its swing eastwards—which explains the grand locations of the river ghāt and the Pushpabhadasvāmi Temple for Śiva at the head of the ghāt, facing westwards into the river front. The scrub-jungle cover in the valley had to some extent also conserved the ancient cultural deposits and had prevented extreme erosional destruction. All the same, the early and formative phase of structural architecture in the Ikshvāku city, with its essentially brick-tile and rubble stone dry-bond constructional techniques, except where the roof required to be concreted and plastered, had the vulnerability against sun and rain, and had often crumbled into desuetude, after the disappearance of the Ikshvāku dynasty. Thus,
CONTOUR PLAN OF NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA

1. SLOPE FROM ALL SIDES OF VALLEY TOWARDS NORTH-WEST
2. SITE-122-DOCK-TANK WITH ENTRANCE GAP, SUPPORTED BY CONTOURS
3. SHOWING RIVER ACTION AT THIS CORNER - (A)
the meter and half cultural accumulation of strata which had hidden the glory of the valley had deserved
to be carefully traced and linked through the material remains that still lay under the earth, often only
as foundational plans.

The scheme of horizontal lay out of the digs had to perceive certain nodal points of distribution
of the activity-cycle of the quondam capital city and also priority zone for concentration of attention.
This had paid rich dividends, as seen from the unique monumental civic and religious remains that had
eventually been laid bare in their outline, on which this Volume reports, justifying the methodical digging
and effective retrieval of the antiquities (figs. 1 and 2)

The axial line for the lay out of the trenches for excavation was laid North-South and East-West
(See fig. 1, key map of the valley) and the nodal commencement of the numbering of the sites (including
those already partially excavated in the earlier decades) was made from the Mahā-stūpa, for logical
as well as sentimental reasons of its being the oldest historico-religious nucleus of the valley, perhaps
of late pre-Ikshvāku period, in the last years of Sātavāhana rule, when Buddhist communities had
spread here in limited bulk from the prime Amarāvatī centre, lower down on the Krishna river. The
sectors were themselves numbered serially, from west-to-east from the river bank; and the ghāṭ which
had a commanding presence was in N-I which also covered the citadel mound; and the sector numbers
were continued in upper rows, north of this baseline, after the N-I row eastwards touched the
Phirangimut hill which girt the eastern boundary of the valley, and thus were aggregated upto the
eastward flowing river across the Nāgārjuna hill. The N-I sector series containing firstly the
westernmost Kārtikeya Temple (Site 82) near the exterior of the south-west bastion and western
gateway of the citadel, then passed through Devasenāpati Temple (Site 39) and the citadel (Aśvamedha
Site 93), moving through Site 105 (the complete Buddhist Vihāra unit) and No. 108 (the four-spoked
Stūpa and its two winged Vihāra), Dhārīṇī Vihāra (Site 38), sixteen pillared mandapa below
Mahāsenāpati hill (whose top was already excavated earlier by Longhurst for his Stūpa No. 9), the
monastic unit in N-IV and ten-spoked Stūpa (Sites 15-16) on the Tellarallabodu (or white stone hillock)
and on to the monastic units of Chula-dhammagiri (Site 42) in N-V. The Ghāṭ, the Dockyard-reservoir
and the Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple were in N VIII to the southwestern part of the Nāgārjuna hill and
beyond it to the north on the river bank were the royal burning ghāṭ sites (126-127, N XIII and N XIV).
Similarly, the southern rows of sectors S I - S II passed through the habitation areas to the south of
the citadel, on the river bank, the temple Site 64 in S IV and the inscribed chaitya-stambhas in the
S III, Site 60 (already standing before the commencement of this excavation Project; and through S
VII containing the Hāriti Temple Site 78 in S XI and right down to S XVII through Site 51 (chaitya
on the Macherla road), forming the west-to-east strike of the sectors.

Such a lay out which is thus obviously making use of known or standing vestiges in the valley, had
the chance of concentrating on any one of the sectors (about 660' x 660' in area) for detailed linkage and
also for follow-up sequence with special zones like the river ghāṭ zone to the west and north-east
(Siddhuladari) respectively, in sector N XIV containing Site 29, Vishnū Ashṭabhujasvāmi
complex.

The scheme besides, allowed habitational pockets to be affiliated with the concerned clusters of
secular, religious and civic character. It may also be stated that the valley had been, as a result, fully
NOTE
1. NO BRAHMICAL EARLY VESTIGES IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE VALLEY
2. EARLY BUDDHIST IN SECLUDED ZONES
3. LATE PERIOD SHOWS INTERMIXED BUDDHISM-BRAHMICAL SITES
4. BRAHMICAL SITE CONCENTRATION ON WESTERN RIVER BANK
5. MAIN HABITATION ZONE OF CITY
6. EXCAVATED SITES
combed, for archaeological remains, above and under the ground, whether of the pre-historic times or the early historical period. Since the prehistoric, megalithic, Neolithic and microlithic sites had been surveyed and excavated (as published in Volume I), the remaining areas had a clarity of distribution of the civic, secular and religious vestiges. The stratigraphic context has been confirmed as essentially Ikshvākū, over a substratum link, however, with Śātavāhana, through Vijayasātakarnī pillar record of the last of the Śātavāhana along with others in pits cut into the lower strata of some of the sites in the Southern sectors close to the citadel mound. With the passage of time, mostly inhabited by tribal groups, the medieval period saw the fortification of the Nāgārjuna hill for logistic purpose by Kondavidu ruling clan and showed also a meagre local habitation of insignificant importance there.

Notwithstanding the fact that with the secure and strategic hill-girt topography, forming a basin between Eddannamottu on the south, Phirangimottu on the east and the singular Nāgārjuna hillock on the north, which could have helped in extensively scattered residential and structural areas in the four corners of the valley, such scatter had been limited, although the south-west sector S XXIA gives Site 80 & 81 as far south as the Yellesvaram ferry, while the northeasterly sector N XXIV gave a string of sites (Nos. 23, 29 and 128) and the eastern-most sector S XX gave Site 55. But it is the base line sectors of N I to N VI and S II to S VIII that displayed the greatest frequency and variety of civic, defensive, ritual, religious and secular edifices with their adjacent sectors adding to it. Thus, one may be justified in stating that it is the central east-west vista, from the entry point into the valley from Macherla, across the valley, to the Dock-tank on the river front1 on the opposite western fringes that had answered for the richest cultural vestiges, in the century and a quarter (c. A.D. 200-325) of the haleon Ikshvāku times and had written their name in the political, socio-cultural and artistic history of Lower Deccan, linking it with the mainstream Indian ethos in many ways. This also fully underscored the achieved objectives of this unique salvage excavation Project of the Survey. The North-West–South-East strike, passing through sectors NX-N IV-S VI-S VIII-S XX, became also the significant dividing line in the valley between the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical-cum-city activity in the early historic period.

1This outstanding oblong structure, mistaken earlier as ‘stadium’ or ‘arena’ but was in fact a tank-dockyard laid out between the northwestern corner of the citadel and the Pushpahadrāsvāmi Temple, consisted of a central flatland land 309 ft x 259 ft and about 15 ft deep in its cultural deposits, was enclosed on all the sides by wide flights of steps with 2 ft wide treads and having a pavilion plan on the west, all of burnt-bricks. This pavilion was in three structural phases (84 ft x 39 ft 69 ft x 33 ft and 50 ft x 44 ft variously in area) with an entrance on the west for the last phase. This last phase was lain over by a 9 ft thick layer of dark silt and sealed by a further sandy deposit of 10-12 ft thick. A 2 ft wide drain with slope from north to south, coming from behind and below the Pushpahadrāsvāmi Temple (which was later to this drain) was debouching into the ‘stadium’ enclosure, and was similar in its technique of construction and almost of the same age as well to an inlet channel discharge excavated at the Vanagiri site of the port city of Kaveripattinam in Tamil Nadu, and conclusively proved that the area was indeed a dock or quay for berthing boats which will enter this enclosure from the north-east corner where there was a clear constructional gap, by contours as well as built embankment. This is perhaps the largest and finest quay or dock of the Śātavāhana-Ikshvāku period of the Andhradeśa in 3rd century A.D. and in India, as a whole, of this period.

What was considered as six staircases placed at regular intervals on the eastern side, each measuring 6 ft width and connecting the platform with what was thought as ‘arena’ and strengthened by wooden nosings (or gates) with slits for them with their treads and rises smaller than those of larger steps that ran around this reservoir (dock), were really sluice gates for letting in water into the dock from the river side across the foundation of the pavilion complex. Thus, the technical excellence of the arrangement was highly advanced and effectively designed and laid out. The total sifting and sand cover of the structure, seemingly by cataclysmally heavy floods in the river, should have belonged to last Ikshvāku desertion stage of the habitation sites, in the early to middle quarter of the fourth century A.D. and in Rudrapurushadatta’s times.
CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

(i) Introductory

The civic and religious activities of Nāgārjunakonda have highlighted the outlook of the contemporary world which especially in India was built around the monarchical traditions. Kings had their palaces inside a citadel which was located in the midst of strategic environment and had been surrounded by religious edifices and residential localities outside the citadel. Barracks, postern gates, moats and bastions distinguished the citadel which was the centre of intimate ceremony and ritual. Among these were sites where Aśvamedha and royal installation and other rites were performed. The period between second century and fifth century A.D. had seen the rise of imperial prerogatives and insignia which could give legitimacy to the total moral, civic, religious and political sway of the dynasties of kings. Tanks for ceremonial baths like avabhrita snāna were important structures. The river front was related to the common peoples' ritual propensities in their annual calendar of festivals and temple worship. The rise of cults as those of Skanda, Durgā, Śiva and Vishṇu had been an integral part of the martial cum protective role of the king as laid down by Dharma Śāstras. The river itself was seemingly provided with customs and tax functions of the people arriving there, traders with merchandise and thus had hinterland harbour-like dock-reservoir which berthed boats and also collected the drainage system of the temples nearby like Kārttikeya Temple, Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple, etc., through regular outlet sluice channels which led it into the river. The whole river front was thus always agog with ritual cum trade and political activities which was ideally helped by Krishna river which flowed northwards here before it turned east beyond the Nāgārjuna hill. Chhāya-stambhas, Royal Burning Ghāt and other such sepulchral edifices added another dimension to the ritual-laden events connected with royalty and important leaders of the community held in high esteem by the ruling group.

It is interesting to see that both Buddhist stupas and monasteries and Brāhmanical Temples etc., studded the whole area with the former being patronised by the royal queens. The latter set of worship structures, patronised by the kings, monopolised the river front, as seen on the whole western river bank, as well as northern and later in the northeastern opening into the river front behind Aṣṭabhujasvāmi Temple at the Siddhuladari point.

The amphitheatre or stadium, the only monument of its kind seen in India, along with Hārīti Temple-complex on its top terrace, indicated another, exotic dimension which emphasised the presence of many foreigners like Scythian warriors, Amazonian female attendants and other trading citizens of

1 Contributed by K.V. Soundara Rajan.
the capital city of Vijayapuri. These are clearly evidenced also in the sculptures in the valley. Even the art of panel sculptures in the Buddhistic monuments of Nāgārjunakonda was replete with evidences connected with developments of art style under Buddhism which had seeming impacts of the compositional dimensions of group sculptures which revealed west Asian, 'Mediterranean' and north-western Indian and Central Asian life style. As much of the Buddhistic monuments have been of brick and plaster, and could have carried painted exterior and interior — now unfortunately lost to us — as different from the stone using propensities of Brāhmanical temples in the formative stage, a mixed style of stone, brick, timber, title and plaster was part of the structural artmanship of the city.

Metropolitan crafts like that of goldsmiths, various kilns, and industrial localities for defensive, civic and religious edifices was also seen flourishing. Common people had innumerable public places like pavilions located on the arterial road junctions where they could meet, come together and witness entertainments like plays (fig.31) and music, not to mention public booths and taverns, as shown sometimes by vessels set in the strata, within some of these pavilions. Inscriptions and coins showed the flourishing royal mint, scribes and the linguistic and literary self-sufficiency of the citizens and their enlightened value-system.

Seeing as the city did a continual run of life from the primitive early to late Stone Age, Megalithic Iron age and other exclusive cultural developments, the historical period from second century A.D. — which is the key-note of this report — the city was having a high density of population, both urban and folk-tribals. Hospitals (Vigata Jvarālaya), University, cosmopolitan population, Buddhist denominations from several parts of India and neighbourhood tracts (dealing with metaphysics, Buddhist Jātaka lore, sādhanas and integrative yet variegated systems of religious lore and textual knowledge) were the hall mark of the capital city of Vijayapuri, with a definite system of calendar/almanac reckoning in 60-year cycle, and public archival recording of events which suggested the transition from Hinayāna to Mahāyāna on the one hand, within its rich Buddhistic evolutionary developments and, on the side of Brāhmanical religion, of the formative stages of temple building, cults and interaction with main-stream developments in other parts of southern and northern India. Profusion of the Palnad limestone in the neighbourhood helped easy quarrying and dressing; and sculptural art was the continuing thrust of the classical Buddhist art heritage of Amarāvatī and series of other early Hinayāna southern centres in the pre-christian centuries.

Indeed, it can be said that the approximately 15 sq kilometers area of the valley was, perhaps, the most notable clustering of all the classical, political, civic and religio-cultural transactions, with their teeming institutions and structures, ever seen in any part of India; and even the great, highly institutionalised locations for Buddhism, like Nālanda, Valabhi and Vikramasila of the later classical and post-classical, pre-medieval northern India pale into secondary status, when compared with the foundational, highly developed, extensive and intensive, art, cultural and religious panorama of one single valley capital locale of Nāgārjunakonda. That it was witnessing also the 'watershed' period of south Indian cultural history went without saying, and the documentation of Nāgārjunakonda’s multifaceted splendour is thus an encapsulation of the political and religious-cultural high water-mark of life style, reflecting national ethos and standards, through the Nāgārjunakonda or the Vijayapuri miniscule of the Ikshvākus in the lower Krishna Valley.
The inside of the rampart itself revealed mostly Brāhmaṇical ritual edifices directly connected with royalty, like Asvamedha etc., right from the beginning. If one were to summarise the life of early Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, on the basis of all this stratigraphical data of citadel, it could be stated that sporadic but purposive Buddhist institutions and their construction were already initiated in the eastern interior of the valley (Mahā-stūpa stage, and Site 9 prior to Chāḷamṭaḷa followed by a glut of patronage from Virapurushadatta’s reign, second year (Bahusṛutiya—Site 5); sixth year — renovation of Site 1 (Mahā-stūpa); Site 9; eighth regnal year — Sites 7-8 (Mahiśāsaka); eleventh regnal year — Chuladhāmmagiri (Site 43); fourteenth regnal year — suṇdated Buddhist Site 38. At the very beginning of the Ikshvāku reign, when Chāḷamṭaḷa I, with the help of the Rathikas (whose Prakrit memorial pillars are seen at Site 113), established the citadel, and performed Asvamedha, probably during his late years, the rampart was strengthened, first in rubble and mud and later in brick outworks and brick gateway complex etc., in the reign of the second king, Virapurushadatta — whose reign saw the spread of Buddhist sites and monuments here, up to around the second half of the third king — Īhuvala Chāḷamṭaḷa — when Brāhmaṇical edifices for Karitkeya, Śiva, Durgā, etc., were flourishing along the river ghāṭ zone. Buddhist edifices multiplied in greater numbers in the interior, with several residential, denominational and institutional changes. The landward route adopted for the spread of Buddhism from Amarāvatī was apparent from the distribution of Buddhist edifices mainly in the eastern, central and northeastern part of the valley; and correspondingly, the riverine tract was linked with Brāhmaṇical temple and religious spread similarly seen, under direct royal patronage perhaps by river route. The termination of this activity was to be seen just before the advent of Brāhmaṇical Abhirā inscription of Vasushena, perhaps the son of Iśvarasena (early first quarter of the fourth century A.D.) and finally the heavy flooding of silt and sand on the riverine structures particularly around the ghāṭ area by an exceptionally fierce river rise, would have brought the civic life itself to a close.

When we examine the cultural data revealed by excavation, we note that:

1. Natural strategic defensive profile;
2. Entrenched character of the valley with extensive space for capital lay-out;
3. Perennial and arterial river system for communication and transport;
4. Direct riverine contact with all down stream towns up to the delta sea-front of the Krishna Valley;
5. Rich natural resources (Palnad greenish limestone) for art, craft, trade and construction;
6. Boundary location in relation to other kings of lower south, like the Kadambas on the west and Pallavas who were feudatories of the Ikshvākus in the third-fourth century A.D.;
7. A direct classical art style carry-over from Amarāvatī centre of the Sātavāhanas;
8. A political linkage with all centres of the erstwhile Sātavāhana control or contact, from western India, central India and Deccan (the eastern and western) wings of the ‘Sātavāhani-Rāṣṭra’;
9. A period of earliest Buddhist Mahāyāna bloom in transition from the Hinayāna Amarāvatī complex due to Āchārya Nāgārjuna’s domicile in the Śrī Parvata (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa zone);
10. A phase entering the ‘cultural vacuum’ among the Sātavāhanas of Deccan, Guptas of upper India and Pallavas of south, which Ikshvākus successfully and adequately filled, with religious
art being kept as the tour-de-force of the Ikshvāku century (third century A.D.) in Āndhradeśa, all these factors appear to be the major factors which helped in the flowering of the status of the Ikshvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the cultural scene of south India despite their circumscribed territorial limits.

But with all this and perhaps because of their proportionately lesser political stature, the kingdom could not endure in continued linkage, in this southern Āndhradeśa riparian area. This sad denouement necessitated some post-operational diagnosis.

(i) (b) Note on the evidence of citadel stratigraphy

Archaeological evidence of stratigraphy besides pottery types, is immediately vital and relevant to the vicissitudes of the town site of Vijayapuri. An attempt is made below to indicate such aspects of the stratification, as have a bearing upon the growth or the destinies of the city. In this regard, the citadel fortifications, as always, have a sequential significance, in the first instance. We shall, therefore, press into service such aspects of the stratigraphy of the defenses of Vijayapuri as could help us in turn, to piece out the phases of civic life. We can then relate this to such events around in other sites, close to the river, where any natural calamity or other such data could have brought an abrupt end to the life of the structures immediately connected with them, notwithstanding the fact that the cultural life of the city, at the time of, its sudden decline, was in full flow. Further, the structural configurations in certain parts of Vijayapuri, as those close to Pushpabhadrasvāmī-Ghāṭ area, can also loom large in yielding evidence. To such aspects, we may now devote attention.

A trapezoidal area of about 3000 x 2000 ft was enclosed by the citadel wall (fig. 2) which ran along the right bank of the Krishna on the west at an average distance of 350 ft on its bank from the river course, which on the south overlay the summit of the 170 ft high. Peddakundelagutta hill (pl. I), its maximum extent height (at the time of excavations in the fifties of the 20th century A.D.) was about 16 ft above the outside ground level. Trenches laid across the fort wall, both on the east and west (pl. II A) showed that it had been built in two clear but broad phases, the lower, represented by the rampart of murum and mud, about 80 ft wide at the base, resting on the natural soil, except on the river side where it overlaid an earlier occupational deposit represented by a floor and a few hearths; and the upper or second phase represented by a burnt-brick wall 9-14 ft thick built either directly on the bare rock surface or on the existing rampart or on a secondary filling over it on the natural high ground as the case may be. Except for the southern parts of the hill, there was also a ditch (or moat) 12 ft in depth and varying from 74 to 132 ft in width. The first phase itself could be divided into two stages, covering the time of the first two kings. Two main gates on the eastern and western side almost as evidence seems to point, in an east-west line, and a narrow postern gate on the northern side (for emergency) of the last stage were revealed. The western gateway had a minimum width of about 17 ft.

While the ceramic evidence of the pre- to post-rampart layers was almost uniform, the section across both western and eastern defences showed that most of the religious structures outside the wall were relatively late, having been built after the ditch had been filled to a thickness of 8 ft from the bottom of the debris of the brick fortification wall of the second phase. Whether this has any implication for the supply of water source for the earlier ditch which was directly filled from the river, as contours
show, has to be seen, as suggested later down in this section. These religious structures comprised the Kārttikeya Temple and Sarvadeva Temple on the west, the so-called ‘stadium’ (which is indeed a reservoir-dock or quay as shown elsewhere here) on the northwestern end closer to the river bank, suggesting that the river has risen by that time and Dharini Vihara on the east and Kumāranandi’s shrine for Buddha which gave inscribed evidence that this monastery and shrine were perhaps both built in the twenty-fourth regnal year of Ehuvala Chāmantūla (towards the close of the third century A.D.). The post-mud-rampart layers themselves yielded coins of Viśrurushadatta and his successor Ehuvala Chāmantūla, the second and third Ikshvāku kings, along with terracotta and pottery, typical of the period, confirming this.

When we compare this with the three phases of the Pavilion in the western middle of the dock-tank, with an entrance, associated with the latest phase of the pavilion and provided for an enclosure wall, we find that the debris of the structure of this third phase was covered by a heavy layer of dark silt for several metres and finally sealed by an almost equally heavy deposit of sand. This suggests the end of the Ikshvāku city in its desuetude. The above would reveal a relative sequence, as below. We may also note here that the Sarvadeva and Kārttikeya Temples themselves were of more than one structural phase.

I  First mud rampart and ditch (First Phase) c. A.D. 225-250.

II The boulder wall, revetments, and postern gate and chhāya-stambhas of Chāmantūla (pl. II B) and of the Rathikas in Site 113 (Second phase) c. A.D. 250-270 at least.

III Levelling of the ditch over the debris and building of brick defences for ramparts (Third phase) c. A.D. 270-300.

IV Heavy silt and sand covering of the tank structure, in the third phase, on the north-west by a seemingly heavy river flood over several years (Last Phase after c. A.D. 325)

We should now relate this also, before making certain corollaries on the structural phases of Vijayapurī City, with structures inside the ramparts and the first two phases of the ‘Dock’—tank stages (in three parts), the last of which brought the closure to their use effectively by riverine floods permanently. This last structural complex, built entirely of burnt brick, was apparently coeval with the brick rampart (phase III) of the citadel and phase II of Dock-tank structure. If so, its third phase (which also carried an apsidal temple) could be coeval with the life of the religious edifices on the west, prior to Pushpabhadrasvāmi like Sarvadeva Temple, on the river bank and on the east, outside the ramparts, Dhārini Vihara. Since the post-brick rampart phases themselves yielded coins of Viśrurushadatta and after, the earlier mud rampart layers and the citadel itself of the first main phase should be squarely placed in the Chāmantūla (first Ikshvāku) and partly his successor, Viśrurushadatta, along with the river side and inside religious edifices named above, as of the time of or after this second king Viśrurushadatta or probably exclusively of the time of Ehuvala Chāmantūla as in the case of Kūrmanandi shrine. We have some subsequent religious structures within this time as in Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple in the late period of Ehuvala. The underground drainage which was stratigraphically earlier to this last structure but within the Ehuvala (III phase) which debouches through an inlet sluice mouth of rounded flanking heads, into the tank dock should thus be coeval with the main brick phase of the tank construction and belong to the time of Ehuvala Chāmantūla while of
the earlier king Virapurushadatta’s time were the boulder revetment of rampart phase II (in its two main sub phases 1 and 2); If this assumption is correct, we may provisionally conclude that the mud rampart was of the time of Chaṁtamūla, the first Ikshvāku king, the boulder revetment of ramparts (and the lower two brick phases of the western portion of the dock-tank and the drain of the time of Virapurushadatta, and the post-ditch brick rampart and later stages of the religious edifices on the western river bank and the last phase of the dock-tank with the pavilion as well as the ghāṭ of the time of Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla, while between this last and the heavy siltation of the ghāṭ, the sub-phase containing Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple was of the time of prince Virapurushadatta II, as announced by its own dhvaja-stambha record.

The Āśvamedha and other structures within the citadel, connected by drains, for keeping the level of the ‘Avabhrita’ tank at a certain upper level and leading towards the river by a narrow slab-covered drain, should have belonged to both the earliest two kings of the dynasty, as already stated.

The chhāyā stambhas1 (four in number) in a pillared maṇḍapa site, north-east of the citadel, bearing sculptured panels and fragmentary inscriptions (Site 113-N III), proclaiming them to be memorial to the chieftain allies, called here rathikas who presumably fell in the cause of the early Ikshvāku kings, would also seem to be of the same date as of the two main early phases of the citadel area, more probably of the earliest sub-phase, of the time of king Chaṁtamūla and were perhaps even of the pre-mud rampart stage.

All these would show that the Buddhist edifices have a head start seemingly due to certain transitional coevality between late stages of Sātavāhana Amarāvati and the Nāgarjunakonda occupation for Buddhism. Probably, from the later stages of the second king Virapurushadatta’s reign and concentrated along the river bank, Brāhmaṇical structures arose, some of the rubble temples (Site Nos. 82, 99, etc.) could have belonged to this phase.

While structural sub-phases, in some monuments in the valley, show three stages (as a Stūpa No. 9 - Site II of Longhurst in 1938 in S-IV: No. 38 in N. VI Dhārini Vihāra:) most of the structures reveal two main structural phases. While structural phases are chronological indices only when they relate to the same structure and not expansions or extensions thereof, we are led to account for only two major phases. However, since brick structures (secular) start coming up from the time of Chaṁtamūla’s successor Sri Virapurushadatta, we may hold that only the second and the third kings are related to the two main structural phases. The defence cuttings reveal the mud rampart phase (No. 1) of Chaṁtamūla, the rubble retaining wall phase (No. 1a) probably of Virapurushadatta; and the filling of the ditch and provision of brick defences, probably from the time of Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla. Hence, within the phases II and III there had been two to three structural stages in construction. The reservoir between the citadel and Pushpabhadrāsvāmi, also has three phases on its western wing. Kārttikeya Temple (No. 82) of heavy rubble (early

1A chhāyā-stambha for the first king Chaṁtamūla erected by several members of the Ikshvāku clan along with others, in the first year of Virapurushadatta’s reign and found near Stūpa No. 9, also clearly shows that the establishment of the citadel by Chaṁtamūla has already taken place and the growth of the city of Vijayapurī begins in right earnest from his son and successor Sri Virapurushadatta. The name Vijayapurī, however, suggests that (i) it was perhaps named after the last Sātavāhana king (as per his pillar of the sixth year - Vijaya Sātakarni); or (ii) it was started on a cyclical Vijaya Sambhāvatara by Chaṁtamūla when the citadel was established; or (iii) was probably already known by that name in the late Sātavāhana times.
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phase) and Sarvadeva Temple (No. 99) are already existing from the time of Virapurusadatta and Ehuvala respectively. The boundary wall (later phase), winged structural adjunct to the Kārttikeya Temple, has been built during the time of Ehuvala, as shown by the linkage with the western defence stratigraphy. We seem to find that rubble structured temples or constructions, may go with the heavy rubble retaining wall phase (II) of the citadel and thus of Virapurusadatta and dressed stone structures and brick structures of the third phase will be of Ehuvala’s time. In this way, we are able to see the significance of some of the copiously rubble built structures of the early phase, which also seemingly suggest a formative stage of architecture. Even some of the earliest rubble constructions of stūpas may thus relate to Virapurusadatta’s time (where otherwise not so indicated by an inscription).

The following are the chief rubble-built structures excavated:

No. 22 of N IX, 27 in N XVI-XVII of the four spoked Stūpa; No. 28 of N XVIII with rubble stūpa; No. 32-B - a rubble stūpa behind hospital unit in N XXVIII; No. 33, a large rubble enclosure at the foot of Nāgārjuna hill, to stop erosion, enclosing two cells and one stūpa in the middle in N IX; Site 40 - a few walls on the eastern slope of Nāgārjuna hill of rubble in N XVII; Site 57, Kārttikeya Temple and other small shrines with stepped well; Site 67 in S XIII, the Ikshvāku rubble structure found below a post Ikshvāku occupation layer of brick tank; Site 71 in S II ‘club’ or meeting place ‘Mandapa’ built within huge rubble enclosure. The floor of the mandapa is also of rubble packing and stone bases probably for wooden pillars; Site 81, Kārttikeya Temple in N I, earlier temple built of heavy rubble packing, later retained by a brick wall on river side, to which a 36-pillared hall was added subsequently; Site 85 in S III (Hill monastery) where three phases are seen and the whole unit is enclosed by a rubble wall and rubble steps on the south-east corner behind the vihāra; Site 86 in S III- two roomed Vihāra, whose courtyard has a rubble drain, in front of the rooms, to clear off water from the top of the hillock; Site 87 in N IV (habitation area) indicated by rubble walls. A rubble house had also been excavated; Site 89 in N III (Habitation area) of rubble wall, two rubble built rooms with verandah to the south, facing the road, was found here (Site 89-A-N IV). Southern extension of habitation area consisted of rubble walls, rectangular rubble enclosure, with houses built perhaps of wooden material. It was in this complex that a goldsmith’s shop had been excavated; Site 92 in N II residential structures to the south of rubble enclosure in the heart of the citadel; Site 95 in N I, a rubble enclosure on the north-west slope of Peddakundelugutta hill with a tank below (subsequent brick revetments to it are also seen); Site 103 in N II, huge rubble enclosure in which earlier Ikshvāku building material such as pillar fragments were used; Site 105 in N III, a complete Buddhist unit of stūpa, three-winged vihāra, of three cells each and a square shrine in centre for Buddha, the whole unit enclosed by a rubble wall; Site 107 in N III, a twelve-pillared hall with a fallen gargoyle of the roof and enclosed by a rubble wall; Site 109-A in N III, a rubble wall and fragmentary brick wall, in the residential part of the south-east of Site 108; Site 112 in N III, (habitation area) full of rubble enclosures and no brick house structures yielded even in excavation. It was enclosed by rubble walls; Site 113 in N III, Memorial pillars within rubble enclosures to the north-east of the citadel; Site 114 in N III, a sixteen-pillared mandapa (below Mahiśāsaka monastery unit ) enclosed by a rubble wall. A gargoyle of limestone here also fallen from the roof, Site 115 in N III, (habitation) of rubble walled structure; Site 116 in N IX, three-winged Vihāra (below Mahiśāsaka unit) towards the south, enclosed by a rubble habitation area; Site 117 in N V, rubble enclosure walls of a habitation, to S.E. of Mahiśāsaka Vihāra on a lower slope; Site 118 in N IV-structure to S.E.
of Site 15 with rectangular rubble enclosures partitioned by cross wall. Northern portion has a rubble stūpa base; Site 119 in N VIII, with two spacious rubble walls built on the site of a four brick-roomed wing, and to the west of it; Site 120 in N VIII—Rubble rooms by the side of the road on slope of Nāgarjuna hill behind Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple; Site 124 in N IX having rubble enclosure from residential buildings (of perishable materials) to the north-west of the habitation site nearby; Site 125 in N VIII having slope leading to river on way to “Royal burning ghāt” of the Cyclopean rubble bastion. The burning ghāt (Nādagīśvara record) of the period of Ehuvala, should have existed from the time of Śrī Virapurushadatta, as shown by several heavy rubble workings here.

All these would show clearly that phase I of Chāntāmula and particularly phase I a of Śrī Vīra used mainly rubble stones for all constructional and defensive purposes and wood for superstructures, while for phase II from Ehuvala’s time we have brick and fine dressed stone construction. This enables us also to divide the Manḍapas in the early and later periods and both defensive, habitational and religious zones of the valley fall into proper configuration and became generation—raw material indices of chronological and stratigraphical separation of the sub-periods—of the Ikshvāku century at Nāgarjunakonda.

(ii) (a) Note on riverine structural complexes

The distribution of Brāhmanical temples along the river bank and its immediate hinterland only and the entrenched presence of Buddhist monastic institution not only all over the rest of the valley and in exceedingly large number, but also in commanding position like hill tops etc. would seem to reveal their own conclusion on the respective status of the two religions (which were both seemingly State patronised). While both the religions were thus patronised by the king and queen or royal ladies respectively with equal zeal and even hand, the former, the kings, were intrinsically by their clan tradition, wedded to Vedic rituals, as so apparent from their inscribed records as well as the Asvamedha complex spectacularly seen located within the citadel, and thus were on the threshold to enlarging into Purānic worship ritual, with Śiva, Vishnu, Durgā, Kārtikeya and perhaps some minor divinities like dikpālas, navagrahas etc., also. Personally, the kings were committed to monarchical ritual rigmarole like Asvamedha, Vājapeya, Bahusuvrana etc., and were following Sātvāhanas also in this regard. That the city itself was patterned after Amarāvati (habitation mound of Dharanikota) to a certain degree is also interesting. The river front provided with a heavy rubble and brick embankment all along the stretches with a special ‘U’ shaped dock-like recession to the south of the main ghāt, and the inner reservoir (earlier thought to be an ‘arena’) for berthing of boats which enter through a constricted neck in the natural contour and also provided with embankment on three sides and a part of the fourth, would clearly show that as a river-port, excise and custom structures were located in this part of the river front.

(a) If each structural phase normally can be attributed at least one generation (18-25 yrs), then, with four kings ruling and each of them having gone through an average of three structural phases (not less than three generations of people, as a duration of their rule) of which the last king alone might not have ruled as long, and taking note of the very advent of the citadel from the time of Chāntāmula, we may reasonably ascribe 100 years of life from the end of the very first decade of third century. Ehuvala himself ruled for nearly 25 years and Śrī Virapurusha should also have had as long a rule.

(b) Further, since Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple constructional technique involved boxing of brick blocks and veneering them with slab, this is a new stage in Ehuvala’s time (late stage) which combined brick and veneer slabs for quick constructions. We find such techniques used in the canals of the Kaveri delta in Tamil Nadu elsewhere. This would show that massive walls could be designed by this technique and veneer slabs saved.
complex of Site 122. Indeed, the declivity and inward creek-like behaviour of the surface contour may even indicate that, in its heyday, the citadel was surrounded on the north side as well, all along the fortification just beyond Sites 102, 102-A and up to 104, in a moat arrangement, whose waters were controlled along the contour declivity (contour plan, fig. 1 of the river front area and citadel) in permanent supply. The fortification stratigraphy supports this by showing a moat feature (fig. 3).

By the same token, the heavy silt and sand incursion on the once flourishing structures in the ghāt area, resulted in the shift and concentration subsequently of temples in the Siddhuladari gap on the north-east segment of Krishna river. The entire Royal Burning ghāt area should also have been defunct in the late third century or in the early fourth century A.D. with the rise of river level and the Buddhist monasteries of the valley were also shown of their dialectical individuality by that period impacted by modified later Mahāyāna usages involving Hārīti worship, etc. Thus when Samudra Gupta campaigned in the south, this part of Krishna valley containing the Ikshvāku capital was already in decay and early Pallavas were in firm contention over the control of the entire area, perhaps under Śivaskanda Varman.

The valley of Nāgārjunakonda in the late Sātavāhana days was still a secluded tract not provided with the minimum needs of a semi-urban habitation. Seemingly, it was having a rural nucleus which might have been on the western side of the valley, closer to the river front. Its name at that time might perhaps have been just 'Śrīparvata', as neither any Vijayapuri nor Nāgārjunakonda had come, then, into cultural importance. It must have been an outpost of the Sātavāhanas for logistic purpose—the reason why even the latest Sātavāhana record there, of the sixth year of Vijaya Sātakarni, was found in fragmented condition, on the south flank of the easterly course of the river (behind the present Durgamkonda hill) at a place which, in Ikshvāku times, became the Royal 'Burning Ghāt' — which was traditionally always located to the north of a human habitation. We do not even know if, just because of Vijaya Sātakarni's record, a suggestion that Vijayapuri was its then name, will be archaeologically acceptable. But some Buddhistic activity, then, as indicated in the record is obvious. A village should have been existing where the Sectors N VIII, N I, N II and N III mark the excavation grid-layout of the valley. It was here, later, Chāntamulī-I was to erect his first mud rampart with a moat filled through a creek-like inlet of river front (south of the ghāt structure) which could lead water into the moat. This very spot was later reinforced into a regular embankment, through a massive structural reservoir with promenades and provided on its north-west corner within the inlet entrance (which is now destroyed) and used as a dock-tank. For this purpose the moat had to be levelled which happened in Ehuvala's times. In the interior, around the site of the Mahā-stūpa in Sector N XI, there was a concentration of Buddhist activity as seemingly the stūpa itself was in flourishing existence at that time.

An insight into this picture is afforded on the basis of the provenance of pottery types in these two river front and interior sectors, from the lowest strata dug in any appropriate site, during the excavations. Pottery fabrics of Black-and-red ware, black ware, sprinklers of the Kushan genre and red wares of certain important categories including the drinking cup, decorated pottery and inscribed pottery, all of the earliest possible strata, excavated in this broadly single culture city site, help us in this context. The layers 7, 6, 5 and 4, wherever dug in the different parts of the above groups of sectors, during the excavation, have mostly yielded pottery types mentioned above. On a consideration of these, it is seen that these lowest levels have been dug only in Sectors N VIII, N VI, N III, N XI, N XII and S IV
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(among the last of which Longhurst had dug his stūpa, Site 9). Of these themselves, it is further seen that N VIII, N II, N III, N XI and S IV divide themselves into two groups of N VIII, N II and N III of the later citadel area and N XI and S IV of the Buddhist area, as noted above, where even within the pottery fabrics, listed earlier, are the oldest among their recurring types could have occurred.

This would show that the earliest inhabitation of the valley was concentrated around the citadel zone on the river front and also the Mahā-stūpa zones (for Buddhist activity), thereby suggesting that people got divided into the secular population of the main habitation in their layers 5 and 4, while the Buddhist groups in the interior zones specified above were in their levels 7 and 6. While these layer levels by themselves would not have much significance, still being the deepest levels known at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, culturally and physiologically, these suggest the earliest occupation within the chronological range of the valley site, namely, starting from around A.D. 200. Granted this, and that in the first phase A.D. 200-225 of the time of late Sātavāhana and the first Ikshvāku king Chāṃtāmūla, these showed complementary activity, it is interesting that Buddhism had diffused into the valley, for specific structural programmes even before or coeval with the first habitation in the valley. By the same token, almost all the well known subsequent clusters of Buddhist monuments excavated in the valley have to be out of reckoning, as they all did not exist then (except for a few river bank lowest water level sites, and came into being during the second Ikshvāku king Śrī Virapurushadatta, after c. A.D. 250. The Brāhmaṇical edifices had come up even much later from the third (Ehuvala) and the fourth Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta. In between, during the reign of Śrī Virapurushadatta and Ehuvala Chāṃtāmūla, the incidence of Buddhist institutions had been growing from strength to strength, without any competition from any other quarter, steadily. The activity cycle reflected the earliest (continuing) use of the Black-and-red ware (as a projection of the Megalithic burial culture stage earlier, already excavated and published), the black ware which to a great extent was part of this culture and also continuing in the Sātavāhana times, the absence of the Rouletted ware (or even the russet coated ware) and the presence of the Red polished ware sprinklers of the Kushans, the drinking cup, often depicted in secular and religious sculptures of the valley subsequently, the decorated and inscribed sherds (mainly on Black-and-red ware) indicative of the cultural efflorescence and knowledge of a scriptural communication arising from one another. If this activity cycle is to be represented in a framework, it will be as follows: first occupation of the river front in the area where a citadel was built a little later by Chāṃtāmūla, and in the heart of the valley Stūpa nos. 1 and 9 occupied by the Buddhist community and introduction of several sects of Buddhism from different parts of India, into the valley (during Virapurushadatta and Ehuvala’s reign) when it stood fully expanded, followed by a change of scene with Virapurushadatta II’s Brāhmaṇical temple (in Ehuvala’s 16th year), patronage record and comparative decline of Buddhism slowly from the valley and shift into the overland tracts between Macherla and Guntur, in several centres like, Chezlarla, Tadikonda etc., where they flourished in firm monastic settlements as we find by other evidences. The fact that the pottery fabrics under reference are related to the earlier Burial using people, as in salt-glazed type from pit sealed by layer 3 and in some devolved forms like the conical bowls of Red ware simulating the ‘Megalithic’ conical bowls of Black-and-red ware or black ware, in the Sites X IV, N III, N II from layer 4 (which itself is not the lowest layer dug anywhere) also shows that there was broad demographic continuity between the megalith-using people and the further accession of population for the regular river front village habitation and the interior Buddhist activity. The absence of the
‘Rouletted’ ware, but of some dishes similar to this type without ‘roulette’ markings (see type 22 under Pottery) also shows how the area was a hinterland, not robustly connected yet by crafts with Amaravati and other Buddhist sites on the Krishna. In the sequel, we may safely conclude that Nāgārjunakonda comes into existence, in the historical period, mainly from the very end of the second century A.D. and came to be converted into a proper fortified civic habitat mainly from A.D. 220 whereafter, its growth had been phenomenal, even from the prodigious bulk of pottery of different kinds excavated.

This picture is also complementarily supported by the utilisation pattern of the mandapas and main arterial roads in the valley, yielding the same overlapping picture that the civic occupation and Buddhist occupation were unrelated and discrete and they mingle only in the late phase, of the time of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla.

We are thus able to see how, as between the sites of Amaravati (and Dharanikota), and Nāgārjunakonda, there had been a complementary relationship, namely, that it was in the very beginning of the third century A.D. when the rise of Brāhmaṇical dynasties like the early Kadambas and the Pallavas had not been yet signalled, that a concerted move into Nāgārjunakonda valley by Buddhist denominations had been organised; and they had a dominant local life for virtually the entire third century to build up the enviable cluster of denominational religious edifices of monasteries and from the fourth century A.D., this picture has been impacted upon by the rising Kadambas (and Chuṇu Sātakarni of Kuntala) and Pallavas and the incoming Ābhiras from Gujarat (in the company of other central India potentates from Avanti, etc., as narrated in Vasuśeṇa’s record of the 30th year) that a set-back occurred resulting in the shift of Buddhism thereafter into the overland interior tracts like Chezarla and Tadikonda (under Prithvimūla - in fourthifth century A.D. to continue for quite a while till the sixth century A.D. peacefully, when Vishnuvānadbins were ruling in the tracts around Amaravati and Vijayawada, to be ousted again for good during the Chālukya-Pulakesi-II times subsequently.

The Buddhist activities at Vijayapuri thus were for one whole century (the third) to a nicety added a glorious chapter to the religious art of India, of the Amaravati school.

(ii) (b) Stratigraphy of the Aśvamedha Site 93 (figs. 4-6; pls XIV to XVI)

The nature of this site with its lime-concrete cover to the brick construction, as we see it now, precluded any possibility of revealing any stages of original construction. This was an important aspect because, as far as we know both by inscriptions and by the development of ritual/non-ritual structures in the whole period of the four kings of the Ikshvāku dynasty, a clear cut reference to the performance of Aśvamedha is made only with regard to the founder King Chāṁtamūla I. At the same time, the present external lay out and nature of construction of this structure was most likely to have contained elements of his very period, apart from ritual contexts where perfectly laid burnt bricks and plaster concrete but not slab stone work - as is used in some drain etc., ancillary to this Aśvamedha tank and chitti of the tortoise shape nearby, were prevalent from the days of Chāṁtamūla, as we have examined (Chapter I). The early years of Virapurushadatta times essentially employed rubble stones for all varieties of constructional parts of structures. Nor has it been possible during the excavation to cut through and remove a part (or whole) of this structure, owing to the special and significant nature of this monument to a unique religious usage in that period, to reveal its cross section bared of all details. Hence, in order to identify what exactly was the position in the period of Chāṁtamūla I himself at this very site which clearly belongs to him only, one has to eke out the evidence only by the admittedly
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA ĀŚVAMEDHA COMPLEX
(SITE 93, N. I-II)
SECTION FACING WEST

DEBRIS DEPOSITS
(POST OCCUPATIONAL)
TROUGH CONSTRUCTED
OVER THE DRAIN
DRAIN CONNECTED WITH ĀŚVAMEDHA TANK
SIDE PLASTERED WITH LIME

FIG. 4
NAGARJUNAKONDA

ASVAMEDHA SITE

(SITE 93, N II)

SHOWING HORSE SKELETON

NEAR AVABHRITA TANK & KURMA-CHITI

0 1 2 3 FEET

0 1 METRES

NORTH

SOUTH

BRICK STEPS (PROJECTED)

ASHY PATCH

NATURAL SOIL

FIG. 5

22
NĀGĀRJUNAKONṆDA AŚVAMEDHA TANK
(SITE 93, N-II) IN THE CITADEL
SECTION SHOWING UPASAMVEŚANA SITE NEARBY

Fig. 6
scrapy data of layers adjacent to and abutting on this structure. As it was a complicated structure, a straightforward exposure of layers or its flanks part was not also so easy to obtain. Even so, the data, as found and put down below, are helpful. These are of two kinds (fig. 4), namely, (a) the character of the fillings used for levelling phases, and (b) the nature of the underlying primary strata as seen on the flanks. Of the former, we do seem to have some precious evidence, on the east side of this main avabhrita tank structure, where between the two top wallings around (apart from the structural additions in the second phases), we have two sets of floorings, one lower than the top level and should have been earlier, and another flooring above which was coeval with the structure, as we see it now. It is likely, therefore, there was some periodic renovation or restoration of the structure: one (upper floor level) of the time of Ehuvala Chāmrāntamulā and another (earlier floor), which was above 2 ft below and could have belonged to Vīrapurushadatta times. Within this constraint, the regular layers that underran in this area, are also seen to be (layer 2) light brownish soil with brickbats and charcoal pieces which was coeval with the later phase floor; (layer 3) an ashy earth layer; and (layer 4) compact clay layer; and one more below which was obviously the natural soil level. It is also seen that the natural ground, before the structure was laid out here, was a highly undulating and bouldery surface, and some of the stones in the layer immediately overlaying this natural ground level have been cemented with mortar in such a way as to indicate that they could have been used in the earliest stage of construction here (fig. 6). These, at their lowest dip, were followed by layers of clay mixed sand, pebble and gravel spread, a gritty soil and a top humus. Thus, two facts can be surmised, namely, that at the time of Chāmrāntamulā I, the level was half way down the total extant depth of the Aśvamedha tank, almost coinciding also with the bottom level of the other Kūrma chitti tank (which is found with one stepping within it). It could only have been at this lower level that Chāmrāntamulā's structure for Aśvamedha could have been erected. Over this level, at least fourteen courses of brick construction stand and the Kūrma chitti also stands only on this level, at the bottom level of the fourteen courses. There are at least, further continuing, nine more sunk lower courses, below which, near-by but not related to the earliest level, a brick built drain runs with a brick flooring for it on its sides. This early level is adjacent to the bottom of the upper fourteen courses and resting on clayey layers. We have the two-stage fillings and corresponding floors coming up, one after the other, similar to the eastern side, described further above. Hence, the chances are all to hold that the Aśvamedha site (of burnt bricks specially made for the occasion, as is usual for this ritual) stood on the lower working level, somewhere at the bottom of the fourteen upper courses, and nine more lower courses have occurred as sunk below the working level; and in the next two stages, when the level, around, rose naturally by habitational debris, the flanking side of the Aśvamedha was acquiring the two-stage fillings that followed, one perhaps of the time Vīrapurushadatta, and the upper one, almost below the surface humus and layer (1), of the time of Ehuvala Chāmrāntamulā.

This actually would mean that the present Aśvamedha avabhrita tank (fig. 15) and the Kūrma chitti structure were standing above the ground, along with ancillary peripheral walls and such like, including a drain (fig. 16) and got filled up in two stages thereafter, bringing the outer working level almost at the same level as that of the topmost layer below the 'present' ground level. The concreting and strengthening with mortar stage was seemingly coeval with the original use of the tank, together with the Kūrma chitti as well. The fact that the ancient working level of the tank was at a much lower level

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1 i.e., before excavations started in 1954.
NAGARJUNAKONDA ROYAL BURNING GHAT
(SITE 126, N XIV)

FIG. 7
than near the present top is also reinforced by the section at the spot where the horse skeleton was found, perhaps for Upasamīvesana (figs. 4 and 5) ritual, where the original flooring level on the southern side of the avabhrīta tank is seen over a dark gritty soil, at about the 9th brick level again (as observed further above, on the opposite side); and the pit itself had the dark grey soil and another ashy soil layers underlying the bottom level of the pit where the horse skeleton had been located on a stone platform. The present ground level is about 7 ft above the bottom of the pit which itself is about 2.5 ft below the original flooring level of the main tank.

There is thus evidence enough, scrappy though, to reconstruct the story of this structure as follows. Over the bouldery surface of the natural soil, at least two layers had developed by the time the citadel was, perhaps, raised and when the Āsvamedha ritual was performed by Chāṃṭamūla 1, the Kūrna chiti kunda was raised to about 4 ft, brought nearly 2.5 ft above the bottom of the main avabhrīta tank (fig. 15), which was at about 6 ft below the present ground level from its bottom. The tank itself had to be sunk to a third terrace (downwards) level to reach its bottom, adding up to a total depth of slightly more than 6 ft resting on the ancient flooring level indicated above, near the horse pit and both the Kūrna chiti and the tank were thus raised over the ancient floor level, at least at the time of the second king, but had been filled up in such a way that they assume now the artificial appearance of the two masonry receptacles sunk within the ground from almost the present ground level below the humus, and not revealing their original working level. From the manner in which the lime-concrete had been provided, covering the outside of the structure right down to the ancient floor level, it could be presumed that this was the work during the time at least of Virapurushadatta, if not of Chāṃṭamūla I himself. We find lime-concrete in both phases I and II of the ramparts before the IIIrd brick phase and the Kūrna chiti would have then looked as a chiti or kunda in its original lay out, in which the yajñā was performed, and not like a pond, as it looks now. Since it is of about waist height, it was ascribable also to the categories of Āsvamedha yajñakundas of various heights of the Yajamānas, for various objectives. It got filled up with aeolian sand in later times. Here, as this Kundā is up to waist or navel level approximately, it might suggest the Āsvamedha performance twice, this being the second.

Not only are the Āsvamedha tank, the Kūrna chiti and the horse skeleton pit, thus, in relatable levels and ascribable also to an ancient floor level, but also there had been fillings of two phases, subsequent to its completed construction, leading one to surmise that there had, in all, been at least three stages of its post-structural developments, together relatable to the phases of the three kings. What is even more important is that, at the time of its construction, they should have stood out, above the then working level as standing structures (in the case of the first two above), and perhaps at the time the moat was filled up and levelled, this complex was also getting filled up to bring it to the then working level, and was maintained thereafter as an inspiring focus, mainly at the time of Ehuvala Chāṃṭamūla, after which about, a foot of further deposit had accumulated, in the post Ikshvāku period of desertion.

Stratigraphic data supporting severe damage caused by rising Krishna river, in the Ikshvāku period (figs. 7–11).

Sites 125-127 (Royal Burning ghat) ; fig. 7

(126) No. of layers – 4; Section E-W
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA ROYAL BURNING GHĀṬ

RIVER SLOPE REVETMENT AGAINST FLOODS IN TWO PHASES

(SITE 126, N XIII)

Fig. 8
Layer 4. Lowest rubble stone soling for the retaining wall;
Layer 3. Layer on which stone boulder walls had been erected longitudinally and across, at regular intervals, on top of layer 3;
(i) floor slabs on top of layer 3 and drains;
(ii) Stone walls sealed variously by top of layer 2 and top of layer 1a;
(iii) Some of the walls sealed by layer 2a;
(iv) post-hole on top of layer 3a as well as layer 3;
(v) drain sealed by top of layer 2;
(vi) main stone wall (in section) having 2b and 2a as contemporary layers and sealed by layer 1a.

There was a set of drains on layer 3 which got de-commissioned after serving the period of time of layer 2 by layer 1.

Section - North-South

No. of layers - upto 4;
Main walls built on layer 3;
Tile debris on layer 2;

Outermost (closest to the river) main wall on top of layer 4 sealed by layer 3.
Next, on top of layer 3, and sealed by layer 1
Another wall on top of layer 3 sealed by layer 2

Only debris pile in layer 2 and layer 1 of post-destruction character.
This shows the series of efforts to raise the embankment as the river encroached.

Sites 126-127 (1957-58) Section facing south

(a) Sector No. NX1

Stone walls as embankment against river erosion. Plaster floor and slab bench showing 2 phases, the embankment phase below and floor (continuous for long stretches and slab bench above; top 2 layers. This is coeval with the floor phase of slab sealed by layer 2 in (b) below.

(b) Section facing south

5 layers - top of layer 5 showing a rubble wall sealed by layer 4. Brick wall on top of layer 3 with slab flooring sealed by top of layer 3 or bottom of layer 2.

Embarkment of rubble laid on natural or bottom of layer 5. All these data seem to show that these walls and packed steps had been successfully raised, as the river water level gradually rose till the brick floor phase. Hence, embankment phase, rubble wall phase and brick and floor phases were the three stages of the river flood management construction.
CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Site 126, Sector N. XIV Div. 3 Section facing south

This shows 6 layers above the natural soil, of which layer 6 is a rubble stone spread almost like a soling, over which layer 5 is yellowish gravel and stones. Bottom of layer 4 is a perfect gravel flooring at a receding stage which was filled by loose silt layer 4 and on top of it, again, gravel and rubble soling having some slab flooring remnants. This was filled by loose gravel with brickbats (layer 3). Further 8 metres inside on this, we find a fine brick walled enclosure with well laid out floor of slab, complete with compact soling and showing atleast eleven courses of brick standing of which four are in the foundation on the outside while on the inside level is slightly high up to seven courses from below, over which the slab flooring has been laid. Layer 2 seals it. Here is the mechanism of maintenance of the structural precincts, consistent with the rise of river water level, there being rubble-filling floor (of brick wall) and destruction of brick wall, reflecting variously top of layer 7, top of layer 5, top of layer 4 and top of layer 3, deliberately maintained in stages, of which from top of layer 4 alone brick and slab had been used. Thus, two pre-existing stages prior to the brick structure had been mainly the flood management for the site and might perhaps represent the whole of Chāntamūla and Vīrapurushadatta period, while the brick and slab last stage is of the Ehuvala period.

Site 96 — Ancillary structure opposite western gateway along the river bank (96A, fig. 9)

No. of layers — 8 (natural soil; E. W. Section)

Layer 7 — rammed brickbat flooring.

Outer-side (western) layers 6 to 3 hard dark silt with gravel and pebbles and brickbats respectively. Layer 2 sandy layer without pebbles and layer 1. Structure: a rubble wall, filled with pebbles, standing on natural, with heavy mud mortar outer cover but not on the inside and followed by strong thick lime mortared brick walling in such a way as to show that the rubble wall was the earliest and had been reinforced at the level of outer layer (top of layer 5) with brick and mud outer reinforcing. Layers 4, 3, 2, 1, formed after its destruction.

Hence, top of layer 8 (natural) and top of layer 5 are the significant levels of the two phases, perhaps of Vīrapurushadatta and Ehuvala’s times. The collection of pebbles, rubble etc., in the inner (eastern side) seen on top of layer 5 outside and a little high up and at layer 2 level, mark the stage at which the brick outer cover was given.

This appears to be a massive flood management structure, in the form of an L-shaped wall in the stages of Vīrapurushadatta (in rubble) and brick outer cave of Ehuvala’s times. It shows how these had to be continuing water over the river action to prevent its encroaching the banks. It is very interesting that contour 350 ft had made a distinctive incursion at this very point almost close to Site 93 within the citadel before swinging out near Site 101 into the main bed; indicating how vulnerable this track was and how the Structure 96A was absolutely justified at that time and how eventually it proved of no avail. At the time the river rose to much more than 350 ft and caused havoc to the citadel and the further northerly structures, around A.D. 300-310 perhaps.

Site 122 N — VIII — Long Section E. W. Looking South (fig. 10)

This is a classic record of the vicissitudes of the river water movements in this area from the earliest stage of life in the valley to the end of the Ikshvāku period. It consists of light river borne deposits (pl. IV) or "layers" above the natural soil which was rocky.
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA

HEAVY BARBICON-LIKE PROTECTIVE WALL
(OUTSIDE THE WESTERN GATE)
(SITE 96 A, N-I)
SECTION FACING SOUTH

FIG. 9
Of these, *layer 8* shows the sedate movement of water, resulting in a horizontal deposit of white muddy and gritty clay with stones and brickbats. Layer 7, on the other hand, is suddenly of heavy thickness of as much as 2-3 ft, on average, of dark silt with occasional white clayey substance and whose top level has been very badly eroded in several convolutions by the subsequent river action.

*Layer 6* was of brown sandy deposit with washed potsherds and was as thick as, if not thicker than, the layer below, approximately 2-3 ft. This thickness is generally more at the easterly end of the section, and as one goes west, there is a mild gradient towards the river bed. *Layer 5* is dark compact silty deposit which, though slightly undulating, is only of about 18 inches (av.) thickness. *Layer 4* is again dark (compact) silt with brickbats and potsherds, slightly heavier but of about 18 inches (av.) thickness.

*Layer 3* is most compact and heaviest filling of the westerly part of the section extending inwards to about 150 ft eastwards, from the river bed proper where it had undercut the layer 6 top and also successively in the regimes of layers 5 and 4 and had overwhelmed the banks in layer 3 with a destructive in-swell and deposition of compact dark clayey silt.

Layers 2 and 1 are sandy deposits which, as they go west towards the river, show a lot of cross-bedding, besides a steep fall nearest to the actual river bed and are, together with a part of layer 3, post-Ikshvāku in character entirely.

The lowest layers 8, 7 and 6 are seen only at the most easterly end for a stretch of about 60 ft from the eastern end, and layers 5 and 4 are not seen further west, beyond this point. While nearest to the river, only layer 8 is represented and over which it is all a talus entirely of layer 3, all the way through the nearly 100 ft from the river bed eastwards.

These depositional regimes, reduced to factors of river carrier and aggradational flood-water play, could be transcribed in this way. At the time of the pre-Ikshvāku natural soil the river was extending during monsoon already up to about 160 ft inland, from the dry season river bed proper, but it was seasonal, weak and a gentle movement, resulting in a thin horizontal deposit which was layer 8. During the time layer 7 was formed, there had been a sudden spurt in river action resulting in a fairly heavy silt with clayey white substance—which could be leached lime from the lime stones in the substratum. Its top got badly eroded, pitted, convoluted and undercut during the time layer 6 was formed in a heavier mantle of brown sandy deposit with a lot of washed potsherds. This convolution was maximum up to about 100 ft from the river bed eastwards and comparatively less erosional beyond it, for about 60-70 ft Layers 5 and 4 along with even layers 8 and 7, are seen only in the innermost east-end stretch of about 60-70 ft and are not seen beyond, right up to the dry river bed proper; and layer 3 is the overwhelming compact dark grey silt which fully covered not only the structures close to the river bank for about 100 ft inwards, but also churned and undercut them, closest to the river for a stretch, and fully overlay layer 8 in the entire stretch, except for nearly 60-70 ft, in the easternmost interior of the section.

We may ascribe, thus the deposit of layer 8 (above the natural soil upto the top of the next layer 7, to the periods of the first and second king and the first and second rise of river bank level respectively),
NAGARJUNAKONDA

SECTION SHOWING RIVER BORNE DEPOSITS

SITE 122 F. N-VIII

NORTH

SOUTH

0 1 2 3 4 FEET
when the moat was functioning and the river was forming an inner creek, at the Site 122, before any of the structures have come up, like dock-tank complex, drain, Pushpabhadrasvami complex, etc. During the regime of layer 6, there was a heavy swell of the river floods, undercutting the bank and convoluting the top of 7, up to even 150 ft inland eastwards in the creek. Then, the moat should have been filled as a safety measure, in the dry season; and to save the mud rampart, brick-walls replaced them, and the heavy brick-built dock-tank complex, the heavy brick-built drain and the river bank structure on the western tank deck and the ghāṭ itself should all have been constructed, in a concerted flood management through monumental secular structural series. Thereafter, we find that layers 5 and 4 were, again, sedate silty deposits and including layer 6, they were represented only in the easternmost part— which is the area of the dock-tank complex and not beyond it to the west, as they had been all washed off by the river action, soon after the top of layer 7 period. Then, flood reflected in layer 3, completely over-powered the entire river bank zone, by an angrier aggradational regime of the river, and was the end of the story, and, together with layers 2 and 1, these three layers were primarily the end of the Ikshvāku period and after. It would seem that, by the very deposit of layer 3 and incidental erosion, all the other layers were destroyed and hence layer 4 alone may be deemed as the last Ikshvāku layer. The phase, during the layers 5 and 4, would be the period of Ehuvala, and of layer 3 period that of Rudrapurushadatta when the concentration of the population was seen at the easternmost end of the valley and Siddhuladari river front became most used for all purposes for Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and secular needs. The structure close to the Siddhuladari river bank—are all seen, whether Buddhist or Brāhmaṇical, to belong to the late Ikshvāku phase.

This clearly indicates why the moat was filled and the massive complex on the river bank erected (excepting that the dock-tank, which was a natural creek of the river, could not also be filled up and levelled as it would have been more expedient to tame it through a dock-tank, then by filling it also and exposing the area to the fury of the river again on the made up soil). When the rising river, despite all these, again attacked at the end of Ehuvala’s time or Rudrapurushadatta’s early years (represented by layer 3 — part) then nothing could be done further, except to give up the western part of the valley, involving the citadel, the habitations nearby (which also show, in most cases, desertion-deposits markedly) and the river bank structures (which could not be desilted, in the continuing rise of the river water flow on the banks). There is thus clear proof that the mortal blow to the Ikshvāku civic life in Vijayapuri was dealt by the river, whose flood management, through a moat first, then, by levelling it and finally by raising massive structures and the dock-tank and ghāṭ, during the period of the three kings, could not retrieve the situation. This explains also why, after this catastrophic end of western Vijayapuri, life was continuing for a while in the east end of the valley, and it took at least a few decades for the Pallavas, under Sivaskanakavarmman to bring about the political transition of power in this lower Krishna valley zone.

(II) (c) Stratigraphic evidence of the rise of river level from c. A.D. 210-325 — Sites along the river bank (Northern sector).

These comprise from north-to-south, excluding for the time being the Royal Burning Ghāṭ complex (125, 126 and 127), the following locations. The ghāṭ (34), Sites 99, 98, 96, 82, 83B and 83A, up to the stretch where the citadel walls run. It will form a category by itself, in view of direct relationship with the citadel stretch for obvious reasons of security and will not be comparable with
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA, SARVADEVA TEMPLE

SECTION FACING SOUTH IN RELATION TO RAMPART

(SITE 99, N-VIII)

Fig. 11
the river bank sites further south down to the Elesvaram ferry point, comprising 83B, 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80 and 81, as they are not only unrelated to the citadel area but also would not have received such maintenance at the hands of the rulers as the former group and had been sporadically used even in the post-Ikshvákū times. In fact, these latter would have been totally public and private, while the former group should have necessarily come into the direct concern of the state officials for maintenance and stratigraphic surveillance. We will thus deal with the first group, bringing out such features as excavations have revealed as are common to most of them, besides their own individual structural or architectural features and development. For this purpose, it should be noted first that their features, besides their inherent functions, will be linked with their location on the river bank and thus involving appropriate maintenance in good strength by retaining walls, embankments, etc., peripherally well beyond the actual structural nucleus they enclose, subject only to the consideration that this will be related to the then current river flow level in dry and monsoon seasons. One common feature, at the outset, they have even with the more southerly category of sites, is that all these are below the 350°, contour level, at dissimilar elevation above the actual than river water level, the Sites 34, 99, 97 (river bank adjunct), 96 (western gate), 82 and 83B had been the lowest located sites, which by itself makes them a sub-category under the sites within the ambit of the citadel, listed above. Leaving among these the ghāt (34) which has been dealt with elsewhere in detail on other considerations, we should be having 99, 97, 96 (ancillary), 82 and 83B as warranting priority of description.

Site 99 (fig. 11) was the Sarvadeva Temple, as revealed by its record of Eli Śrī, in the 11th R.E. of Ehuvala Chārntamula. It is approximately datable to c. A.D. 281. This inscription was in fragmentary condition in which as many as seven copies of the same text seem to have been made. We may take it, thus, that it was reflecting, both politically and ritually, a significant event in the life of Vijayapuri. On the political side, it might have represented a victory of Eli Śrī in a battle, perhaps against the Kandara-Āndagotris like Hastivarma or his successor Dāmodaravarma, or even the early Pallavas; and on the religious side, it might indeed have been a commemorative occasion of bringing all the divinities for a river bank ritual adhivāsa by Eli Śrī, among which a Kārtikeya image would surely have been there, besides Śiva who would have been installed in the circular temple. Its double-storied character and largeness of layout might have been fully in keeping with the several divinities who were assembled there, in distinctive shrines of various shapes – square, octagonal, rectangular, etc.

The stratigraphy of the site reveals the following aspects. Firstly, the orientation. While its south side parts are oriented almost north-south and east-west, the main upper and spacious part is oriented differently. Further, while the southerly parts use considerable volume of rubble stones, the upper level parts are well built in brick and carved slab work. We have already indicated elsewhere that rubble use was characteristic of Virapurushadatta phase, and full and finite use of bricks and slabs that of Ehuvala Chārntamula. As this temple had been built by Eli Śrī in Ehuvala’s times, we may take it that only the upper part was added on the particular occasion of the Adhivāsa and that since it was adding an upper storey to the already existing shrine or structure, it was called Sataalatalāvaram. If this presumption is correct, we may conclude that the event celebrated was a special one; and perhaps for every divinity shrine attending the adhivāsa, one copy of the record was appended, which could mean that at least six or seven different divinities were under honoured worship there, among which Śiva, Vishnu, Durgā, Kārtikeya and Kubera perhaps could be surmised. As the inscription refers to only one Prāsāda, it would mean that of the upper floors spacious erection only.
NÄGÄRJUNAKONDA KÄRTTIKEYA TEMPLE

(SITE 82, N-I) SECTION FACING SOUTH

FIG 12
Coming to the stratigraphic detail, we have already noted elsewhere that the ghāṭ (Site 34) was built on the layer 8 of the relevant trench and sector excavated, same as the layer on which the dock-tank was erected, while massive brick inlet drain emptying into this tank is on layer 9. The Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple is also on layer 8, while there was one rubble built stepped embankment of a narrow kind in front of this temple, on the river bank, which was earlier to the grand ghāṭ. The secondary extension of the ghāṭ further northward was later to the grand main ghāṭ. Hence, we have here three stages respectively prior to the grand ghāṭ, of the time of the ghāṭ and immediately succeeding the ghāṭ, as of an extension thereof.

Coming to Site 99 (including the river bank adjunct of 96, which latter was the site of the western gate of the citadel), this Sarvadeva Temple had also been seen as of three stages, the earliest at the lowest river bank level was profusely using rubble stone, while two more stages were using dressed slab and cut-stone pillars and brick core here and there. The inscription on it, as we know, refers itself to the 11th regnal year of Ehuvala; while the Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple was built nearly thirteen years later in the 24th year of the same king, by his cousin Virapurushadatta II. Thus, between these two, we have, the more northerly grand ghāṭ created later to the Sarvadeva Temple which means that at the time of the Sarvadeva Temple was being used, the grand ghāṭ as well as the inner dock-tank (Site 122) had not come into being, including the Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple, but a drain collecting the water from the southern slopes of Nāgarjuna hill was emptying it into a natural inland creek of the river which pre-existed the subsequent built-up tank.

As the moat of the defences were, according to the stratigraphic data of the rampart sectors, filled up and levelled during the time of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla in the third phase of the defence system, when brick rampart walls, postern gate etc., were added or constructed, the sequence of events here could be commencing with the levelling of the moat, which set the stage for the massive construction of the dock-tank (Site 122; pl.III A), perhaps in one related operation one following the other and since the completion of the dock-yard was followed by the erection of the Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple and the grand ghāṭ structure, the levelling of the moat should have taken place, after the 11th year of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla and completed well before his 24th year, followed in that year by the Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple and the ghāṭ. We have another interesting event of the 24th year of this king elsewhere here when the Kumāranandī Vihāra, as seen in the record on the casing slab of a pedestal in the chaitya-griha there (Site 106). This site is also seen to overlie the stratigraphic level at which after the moat was levelled, the brick ramparts were built. Hence, the sequence of events between the 11th and 24th R.E. of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla get extended to include the Kumāranandī Vihāra erection also which could have come soon after the 11th year when perhaps the brick ramparts were built, and the dock-tank, the inscribed slab and installation of a Buddha figure in the Kumāranandī Vihāra, and even handedly (?) the Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple and the ghāṭ as well, in the 24th year. The Sarvadeva Temple, however, preceded the filling of the moat and the moat thus was existing only in Chāṁtamūla-I’s and Śrī Virapurushadatta’s time. When the creek of the river was occupying the site of 122, up to this 11th year and after that we have the Site 122, coming up with the Pushapabhadravāṁī Temple and ghāṭ on the one hand and the Kumāranandī Vihāra statue and record on the other, by all these, one can note that Ehuvala’s time were witnessing tremendous structural activity in fine brick and slab stone veneering work and most of the structures to the north of Site 93 (Kārttikeya Temple) right up to the ghāṭ were erected between his 11th and 24th R.E. of the three stages of construction seen in most of these places,
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA (GHAT)

SECTION E-W SHOWING RIVER BORNE FLOOD DEPOSITS IN STAGES

(SITE 34) SECTION FACING SOUTH

Fig. 13
excepting the lowest which was either during the closing years of Virapurushadatta and the first ten years of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla, the rest were in his later year in two phases. Incidentally, it gives a measure of the time taken for such constructions on the river bank, like Sites 99 and 122, filling up of ghāṭ etc., all of which had taken more than 20 years to be completed in all respects.

The next site, No. 96, is on the river bank adjunct seemingly for the western gate, as this is directly oriented to it and should have functioned as an ancillary structure for activities of people connected with those, who might have constantly used the western gate and the river. It comprises a strong plastered brick wall strengthened by rubble fillings behind. It turned in an ‘L’ shaped pattern, the eastward limb being with several offsets in a zig-zag course while its western limb had a balustraded flight of stone steps leading to the water front. In view of the level at which it is found it could be seen that it should have been started during Virapurushadatta’s time and completed, along with the elaborate western gateway, during Ehuvala’s time. Thus, both the river front structure and the western gate including the rampart walls were existing in some rough rubble built form during even Chāmtamūla’s and Virapurushadatta’s times, but were reconstructed in fine brick masonry early during Ehuvala’s time. That the western gateway in its elaborate character was built in a sequence with the brick rampart construction of the citadel itself was a clear possibility, and since the moat was filled around the 11th R.E. of Ehuvala, these western gate and ancillary river front structures were built in the early decade and a half of the king’s reign.

The next river front structure was Site 82 which was the Kārttikeya Temple complex (fig.12), outside the southwestern corner bastion of the defences. We know that Kārttikeya Temple should be built on the western part of a city, according to ancient town-planning. This complex had an earlier temple built towards the western side in the central part, in heavy rubble packing, which was later retained by a strong brick wall on the river site and along with that, a 36-pillared hall was added, with a small structure in the southeastern corner of it. A 64-pillared hall was located on the south side, with a winged shrine part built also towards the north of the central mandapa each wing consisting of four rooms with front verandahs. It had further two shrines to the west, and a square well in the courtyard. A boundary wall to the entire complex had apparently been built last, during the time of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla, as shown by the evidence of a trench linking this boundary wall with the western gate. Thus, at its earliest stage, this temple for Kārttikeya should have existed much earlier to Ehuvala Chāmtamūla, and we may even think, if the heavy rubble construction of the early stage has any significance, it was probably existing during the time of Virapurushadatta for the first time. Obviously, the temple in its main shrine and through the pillared hall in front, was oriented eastwards into the citadel. It is interesting to see that while this is appropriately so, the direction of the Pushapabhadravāmi Temple facing westwards, was equally appropriate (apart from the fact that it was facing the river here accidentally) since Śiva shrine will have to face away from the habitation area, and hence its orientation westward is a deliberate one, not in any way related to the existence of the river to its west, though it falls into position that way also. Equally interesting is the provision of the well in its courtyard which indicates that notwithstanding the location of the temple on the river bank, a separate temple well is part of the traditional requirement of a temple lay out.

The last structure, in any way related to the citadel unit, along the river bank, should be Site 83B. This was obviously part of the complex comprising 83, 83A and 83B, of which the last was the western-
NAGARJUNAKONDA

Ghâj - Section across the ghâj terrace

(SITE 34)

LIMIT OF RIVER SILT & CLAY OVER GHÂJ

GHÂJ STEPS

Fig. 14

0 2 4 6 8 10 FEET

0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES
CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

most, to the south of the complex and comprised three nice\textsuperscript{14} plastered rectangular tanks with brick enclosure wall and flooring within. It is this last which is 83B. It is difficult to say if this complex comprised a shrine. Here again, the rectangular hall built to the west of an underground mandapa was of an earlier phase. The entire complex appears to be a system of utilising the natural springs of the river bank to provide for ritual bath, even during the dry season, in its underground tank and the three rectangular tanks beyond to the South-West which was not exactly thus for secular functions. It could have been for ritual baths on the river as well as for having a cooling bath in summer when the river water level fell away from the bank further to the south-west and being highly bouldery and with swift flow, was not easily enjoyed. The very nature of the location of this site, particularly 83B, would show how it had been built at a time when the water level of the River Krishna was at its lowest—which situation changed subsequently during the Ikshvāku century so that, by the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., it had been able to damage and silt up most of the structures from the grand ghāṭ (Site 34) downwards towards the south of almost all the river bank structures which had been enumerated above, ending life in the western half of the valley and even including some sites like 70, 71, 72, 73, 77, 79, 80 and 81 in the same period. The concerned stratigraphic situation is illustrated in figs. 7, 13.

Site 34 (pls. III B, XXIX B, XXX) — The Ghāṭ-Section across the ghāṭ terrace (figs. 13 and 14) there were ten layers upto natural soil, all yielding potsherds. Top of 6 — brick retaining base or core upto top of layer 3a which was the basement slab terrace with layer 3 running over it and fully coeval with second slab terrace, which had the lowest balustraded steps, upto top of layer 2b which is coeval with next (second), slab terrace and balustraded steps) and flourishing upto layer 2a. Layer 2 is coeval with third slab terrace and fourth (broken) balustraded step. Layer 1 is coeval with the top landing slab and steps (plastered).

The composition of the river-ward abutting layers from layer 10 upwards was stones, pebbles and potsherds in gravel layer 10; dark grey silt layer 9; potsherds and gravel layer 8; sand layer 7 with slab piece in it; clay layer 6; heavy sand layer 5a; silt layer 5; heavy sandy clay and silt layer 2b — covering the steps. Layers 2a, 2 and 1 were quickly covering all the rest of the ghāṭ terraces — total depth of deposit being about 14 ft upto top of ghāṭ level from basement river bed level layer 10.

It could be seen, therefore, that the rising river had been totally engulfing, in stages, the entire ghāṭ, whereas, at the time of its construction, around the 24th year of Ehuvala Chāmāntūla, the river water should have been at layer 5 level or 5a level; and that was nearly 9 feet below the top terrace and at the lowest basement slab terrace level. Within the next 20 years, it had risen to destroy the entire ghāṭ, Sarvadeva Temple, Kārttikeya Temple and several others on the river bank, not to mention the royal burning ghāṭ also (Sites 125-126). When we visualise what the river bank, at the stretch between where the citadel was to be built and later the ghāṭ, stood, we are able to see the urgent need for embankment projects that were demanding priority, even prior to the erection of the mud rampart. In this connection, the Site 96a, where a skirting massive wall was erected looms large in importance, since it is here that the 350° contour made a bold ingress and came out beyond, to make deep inroads into the bank of the (later) ghāṭ, section, all of which was caused by the dolphin’s nose-like cross hurdle projection into the river that the Nāgarjuna hill posed. This embankment was, therefore, provided, with a massive rubble block wall with hearting filled with pebbles and stones and externally provided with a mud plastered exterior, strengthening it of several feet thickness, to which, at a subsequent period and at a higher level, a brick revetment was also provided. This was vital to the stability of the fort
CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

wall, first built of mud by Chāmtamūla and later provided with a massive brick wall in Ehuvala's time. Thus, this flood-management embankment of Site 96a was one of the chief achievements of the time of Virapurushadatta and was to be further strengthened by Ehuvala with brick masonry revetment, indicating that the river was constantly trying to affect the river bank, here, and the rulers were aware of it.

Sector N-I Division 99

93-D, Drains connected with Aśvamedha Section (fig. 16; pls. XV B, XVI A)

These are represented by (1) section across the drain facing west (2) section facing south, where the outer brick wall and pottery dump-like layer overlain by whitish earth with stones and debris is seen and (3) section facing north, where the drain is shown at its appropriate level in the full series of deposits from natural soil to top humus.

Of these, sections (2) and (3), also supplemented by (1) are important in as much as they indicated the working level of operation for the outer wall and the drain. This drain is actually sunk at the level of layer 6 and is partly cut into the natural rocky surface of white hard gravel and has flanking brick facings and flooring of brick. The sides are plastered in lime. Over layer 6 is layer 5 which reflects the life span of the drain, since the entire scheme of trough for the construction of the drain is sealed by layer 4 which is an ash deposit with potsherds while layer 5 is a greyish earth with occasional potsherds. This layer 4 is also contemporary to the brick rampart. It is also seen that the drain scheme with a few man-holes for inspection had been dismantled in its upper courses by the people of the level of top of layer 5—almost coeval with layer 4—as brick-robbed, while layer 3 and 2 are all debris layers of desertion. The drain had also been provided with a coping of bricks for protection on the top of layer 5 and this had been disturbed in the time of layer 4 which itself, for all intents and purposes commenced the phase of desertion. The height of the drain was of nine courses of bricks and its one last course was visible in the layer 4 bottom.

These facts also tally well with the nine courses of bricks which are seen sunk into the ground in the Aśvamedha tank. Hence, the bottom of the drain and bottom of the Aśvamedha tank had been kept to almost the same level up to the top of layer 5, which was in the life time of the drain level. This meant that the drain was also standing up in its wall, above its working level which was the bottom of layer 5 or top of layer 6, though it was sunk well into layer 6, while layer 4 level bottom was additionally also coeval with the brick rampart wall of the time of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla. This gives the indication that the drain for the Aśvamedha tank is much earlier to the erection of the brick rampart wall and ties well with its having been of the time of Chāmtamūla I whose time is represented by layer 6, while layer 5 could be representing Virapurushadatta's time. Further, since the destruction and desertion of the drain top had begun at the very bottom of layer 4, but after a certain lapse of time, it would be feasible to consider this as having happened in the time between Ehuvala and Rudrapurushadatta, were after there had been periodic plundering of bricks from the site, out of the topmost visible level of the drain scheme and also other structures as well, indicating that there was no life inside the citadel from thereon. This is important as it would show how the closing years of Ehuvala, well after his 24th year obviously, had been rudely disturbed to such a degree as to enable life and activity in the citadel to come to a close, to result in the desertion of the site and brick robbing. We have already stated elsewhere that activity in the valley itself had not yet come to a close, but was continued in
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SECTION OF ASVAMEDHA DRAIN

FACING NORTH

POST USAGE (DEBRIS LAYER)

DARK BROWN EARTH

SECTIONAL ELEVATION
RECONSTRUCTED

Fig. 16
the interior eastern part of the valley. The reason for the western part which contained the densest habitation to be adversely affected would more likely have been the damage and destruction caused by the river floods, somewhere between Ehuvala and Rudrapurushadatta’s times. It is seen that almost every habitation site in the western area shows debris and desertion layers in the top levels, consistently to reinforce this major break down of life and activity in the western or northwestern parts of the valley, including the citadel and the ghāṭ. It is interesting to see that there was already threatening river action in the ghāṭ and Pushapabhadrasvamī Temple Site 34, where up to the point where the temple came subsequently, there had been a succession of tilted layers of river gravel and silt; and it was to push the river course back that the ghāṭ was itself constructed and the temple also fittingly raised over the immediate rear of the ghāṭ top landing.

Stratigraphy of Sites 70 and 71A (Sector N – III)
(Division 358 Section across B.1-B.4 looking east)

This is an important site of the habitation (fig. 17) area where streets and lanes are running nearby and a goldsmith’s shop had also been identified by its own internal evidence of artefacts related to this craftwork.

The stratigraphy is important since most of the structures here were rubble-built, seemingly in Virapurushadatta’s times. The total number of layers was 7 above the natural soil level of kankary nodular spread, over which a black silt of nearly a foot thick revealed a big pot, buried at this level within a foundation trench. It is likely that this black soil is a pre-Ikshvāku layer, as it is seen in many other habitation sites also. On either side are seen on top of next layer 6 (and sunk into the black soil layer) variously, a rubble wall rising up to the top of next layer 5, and another, wall to the north, brick-built and raised over layer 5, with a foundation offset and at least 4 layers further at which level, some brick-bat cluster are seen fallen suggesting the end of the first stage level of this wall. The structure itself rose up to the top of layer 4, further, where a regular floor had been provided for it, commonly with the rubble wall also. But it had been destroyed soon thereafter by several pits and debris layers suggesting desertion (see also Site 92 A for a similar desertion deposit) from inside the citadel also (fig. 18). The period of time represented, thus, was from Virapurushadatta’s time to several stages in the period of almost the end phase of Ehuvala or soon thereafter in the 4th king’s time. This seems to reveal that something happened at this juncture between Ehuvala’s reign end and Rudrapurushadatta’s early years which resulted in heavy pits and debris and desertion of the site which is seen all over the site and many sites of the western part of the valley. This correlates well with the fact established on the river bank sites, including the ghāṭ which had been destroyed by the river action and there was a shift to the interior parts of the valley, as we have shown elsewhere. The total thickness of the layers here above natural soil, was about 5 ft, of which the desertion debris layers themselves constitute nearly half on the upper part, indicating the disuse of the site for habitation, and a good floor immediately below this whole set of desertion layers (3-1) could further suggest that the desertion had been abrupt.

Division 358 Section looking west (A.4-A.3)

Shows the drain built for the brick structure mentioned earlier above, also at layer 6 level and coeval with the commencement of the structure.

There was also another larger pot, placed at the same level (layer 6), as in the case of the earlier
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA BATHS
(SITE 70 A, S-II)
(DIVISION 358)
SECTION IN HABITATION AREA
SHOWING DESERTION LAYERS

SECTION LOOKING WEST
SOUTH
WALL
POT
NORTH
DESERTION LAYERS

0 1 2 3 METRES
0 3 6 9 10 FEET

SECTION LOOKING WEST
ACROSS B1-B4
DESERTION LAYERS
PIT
WALL
 POT
ASHY BROWN WITH BRICK BATS
KANKARI EARTH

SECTION LOOKING WEST
ACROSS A4-A3
SOUTH

SECTION LOOKING NORTH
ACROSS A3-B3
WEST
DRAIN
EAST

Fig. 17
pot mentioned above, between the rubble wall and the brick wall. The debris layer and interlocked
desertion layers are extant, here also, above layer 4.

One important feature of the stratigraphy of the westerly habitational zone of the city of Vijayapurī
is that, compared to the Buddhist stūpa and vihāra sites in the different interior locations, the thickness
of the deposits is decidedly more. This is, of course, partly due to the fact that the valley itself slopes
gradually from the eastern and southeastern to the western river bank. Even so, it could be seen that
even structural sub-phases and main phases themselves are more in the western part of the valley. This
only highlights the fact that in Buddhist sites, because of disciplined or orderly frugal life, kitchen debris
or occupational layers do not, generally, accumulate. Desertion layers are seen on the other hand,
accumulating more quickly than when these sites had been in use, in both these parts of the valley.

In this connection, the evidence within the citadel itself gives ample proof of the fact that it had
been seriously disturbed in its life and activity towards the period between the closing years of Ehuvala
and early years of Rudrapurushadatta, by large scale debris and desertion layers in even the important
sites like the Āśvamedha tank complex (Site 93D). There is every reason to believe that the habitation
sites densest in their cluster in the northwestern and western river bank part of the valley, together with
the citadel itself where brick rampart phase is to be ascribed to Ehuvala Chāntamūla, had been the worst
affected, in this regard and in this manner and Buddhist establishment in the interior, on the other hand,
had also been facing problems of denominational changes, all of which result in a shift of activity mostly
in the eastern part of the valley from the closing years of the third century A.D. A chronological chart
showing the items ascribable to the phase of the four kings in the valley, which can be seen at the end
of the report, may show the totality of the picture, including the comments of their vicissitudes in each
case, as far as evidence was forthcoming from the excavations.

(II) (d) Stratigraphic evidence from the river bank Sites 123, 122 and 121

1. The floor level of Pushapabhadravāṃī Temple is built on layer 8 and is contemporary with
layer 5b. The retaining wall No. 16 of this complex is also built on layer 8. The main ghāṭ is also built
on layer 8. The tank or dock (reservoir) is also built on layer 8. The separate smaller stepped ghāṭ to
the immediate south of the main ghāṭ and in front of the apsidal temple is, however, built on top of
layer 10. This means that this ghāṭ is an earlier one, earlier to both the larger main ghāṭ and the apsidal
temple. Similarly, the brick drain with open outlet channel of outcurved mouth, draining into the tank-
dock, is built on layer 10 and layer 9, in two stages. The earlier stage is seen at its northern end in
a narrower form and of limited stretch; and the main drain, larger, in extension of it, is a subsequent
addition to it. Thus, the main drain (first phase) and the stepped smaller ghāṭ separately seen in front
of Pushapabhadravāṃī Temple are of layer 10, and are coeval. The tank, itself is built on layer 8,
as seen above. The sequence of age will thus be:

Stepped ghāṭ of temple
Earlier drain from Nāgārjuna hill slope
Larger drain with curved inlet sluice gate
Temple—main ghāṭ—retaining wall 16—Tank (all these)

... Phase I
... Phase II (a)
... Phase II (b)
... Phase III

That the main ghāṭ zone was destroyed by the time of layer 3 is also seen. Hence in this area,
after layer 3, there is no Ikshvāku activity.
2. Again the main ghāṭ, coeval with its further extension south and Sarvadeva Temple (itself in three stages) had the third stage of Sarvadeva Temple coeval with the main ghāṭ. In this site of Sarvadeva Temple, the first rubble stage is seemingly of the time of Vīrapurushadatta; and second stage of the time of early phase of Ehuvala Chāṃṭamūla:

Sarvadeva Temple (Vīrapurushadatta) ... 1st stage
Śiva temple ghāṭ (older phase) - drain from Nāgārjuna hill ... 2nd stage (early part of Ehuvala)
Śiva Temple - Main ghāṭ - Retaining wall No. 16 - Inlet brick drain tank - extension of ghāṭ with the Sarvadeva fringe ... 3rd stage (rubble part of Ehuvala)

3. Site 74 (rubble-built) had yielded thirty-three lead coins bearing Vīrapurushadatta legend and, thus, were of his period. Sites 72 and 73 had Sātvāhana perforated tiles and hence are of the earliest Ikshvāku phase. Site 72 also gave Vīrapurushadatta lead coins. Hence Sites 72, 73, 74 are together of Chāṃṭamūla (1st king) and Vīrapurushadatta (the second king’s) time respectively. Site 57 also has Vīrapurushadatta phase rubble-work make-up. Similarly, Sites 66, 95, 120, 115, 117, 119, 124, 105, 106, 57, 59, 87, 89, 115 and 111, are also all of rubble work of Vīrapurushadatta’s time.

All this shows that stratigraphy of the river side sites including the Defences clearly indicates that there were three main phases, mostly of the three kings Chāṃṭamūla, Vīrapurushadatta and Ehuvala Chāṃṭamūla (including the last Rudrapurushadatta sub-phase).

The decorated wares also clearly indicate a continuation of the Amarāvati school of Sātvāhana traditions in pottery decorations as well as of special early pottery only in those cases. It is interesting that most of the inscribed pottery examples are on the Black-and-red ware or black-slipped ware and particularly from the area around Mahā-stūpa and the University site, suggesting that the arrival of monks from Amarāvati to Nāgārjunakonda before or around the very beginning of the third century A.D. if not slightly earlier, when the Mahā-stūpa had been already established and a University of monks perhaps existed, but no citadel was there, and the land belonged to the Sātvāhana empire. After the Ikshvākus, only in the early medieval times, around the twelfth-thirteenth century A.D. and after, this place was frequented and, by then, their activity was confined only on the river bank sites, the Nāgārjuna hill fort and not in the interior old habitational parts of the valley.

4. River ghāṭ development

The river (main) ghāṭ area had seen a gradual development, particularly from the inception of the mud defences and the moat of the citadel, both of the time of the first king Śrī Chāṃṭamūla and, at that time, the river was forming an inlet creek at the ghāṭ area by the natural swinging action of the running stream, before skirting the Nāgārjuna hill to turn eastwards. This was advantageously utilised for filling the moat on the northern side of the defences with water, but this very river-creek, when it began to create problems in flood seasons had to be controlled by the provision of rubble retaining wall-and-
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SITE 122 E

SECTION ACROSS EMBANKMENTS ON RIVER SIDE

FACING SOUTH

WEST
POST OCCUPATION SAND & Silt
CROSS BEDDED RIVER BED DEPOSIT

DARK ALLUVIUM

WALL NO. 19

STEPS & PIT 2

TILE LID

FEET

METERS

0
5
10

EAST

WALL NO. 2

FLOOR II

STEPS
slab fitted smaller ghàt, first, around layer 10 level; and later, the organisation of the creek—which was also then perhaps used as a river ford port for boats—into a regular dock-reservoir with brick core and stone veneered flanks, with stepped arrangement at regular intervals, had been necessitated at layer 8 level; and this latter expansion was clearly possible only in the period when the moat was itself filled up and levelled—which was around the beginning of Ehuvala’s reign (c. A.D. 325-50) — and hence we get here a synchronism (roughly around Virapurushadatta’s reign) with rubble structures having been earlier to the tank (brick core and stone-slab phase), but coeval with the earliest river-creek phase and Sarvadeva Temple, 1st phase. The brick defences phase was coeval with the brick and stone tank-dock and Sarvadeva Temple (phases II and III).

All this was got achieved by the time of the Pushapabhadravāmi Temple, somewhere in the closing decade of the 3rd century A.D., under Ehuvala’s last years. But, within two decades, the fury of the river which had been rising in its bed and its monsoon ‘bank-ful’ stage, all through the time of Chāntamula-Virapurushadatta — early Ehuvala stages, by as much as 15-20 feet above the pre-Ikshvāku bed level, had resulted in the massive inundation of the ghàt and throwing of heavy mantle of sand and silt, coevally also with the destruction of the other river bank site of Royal Burning Ghàt, on the north and northeastern slope of the Nāgārjuna hill. The fact that, in the medieval times, the further southern stretch of the river, between the citadel and Yelleshvaram ghàt, was more frequented, showed that the heavy mantle of silt and sand in the main ghàt on Pushapabhadravāmi Temple (whose working level was layer 8) and on the tank-dock, made it unsuitable for any ceremonial river bath-cum-ritual zone even in the medieval times.

Thus, the major flooding of the river took place around the first decade or two of the fourth century A.D. We can support this also by the fact that the Ābhira advent and the erection of the Ashjabhajasvāmi Temple which took place well into the opening of the fourth century A.D., was also in a shifted location, on the Siddhuladari Ghàt, which virtually replaced the main ghàt near the citadel by that time (as even till our excavations) as the more frequented and inhabited zone in the late Ikshvāku stage. Rudrapurushadatta’s activities and records are also seen involved mainly in the more easterly part of the valley on the hill slope sites of the Phirangimotu hill, near the University area, etc. There is evidence even to think that the Hārīti Temple, the stadium complex of sites, etc., were also constructed towards the very close of the third or opening decade of the fourth century A.D. and indeed by then we find several inconsequential stūpa and monastic sites also on either flank of the road leading to Macherla, out of the valley, at the eastern end of the valley, beyond the eastward turn of the Phirangimotu hill.

Thus, the shifts of population and activity in the valley had come almost a full circle. It started with the Buddhist activity confined to the very eastern part of the valley, then the western and riverbank with the citadel zone became the most strategic and civic zone. Then, it swung back, after its main ghàt had been desolated by the river silt and sand, again towards the east; and with that the swansong of the valley life was also sung, until resumed in the medieval times.

The key roads of movement in this period were (I) the north-south road from Mahā-stūpa towards Siddhuladari river bank, R-1; (II) the two east-to-west roads — one (IIa) from Chuladhammagiri to the citadel and main ghàt zone of the western river bank R-2 (R-2 had also two Sub-roads which sought to link the area between R-2 and R-3) and allied monastic sites like Mahiśakṣa complex; and the other (IIb) to the south of the citadel or Peddakundelugutta hillock across the most densely peopled
residential zones—R-3; and (III) the third one from the main ghāt, north-to-south along the river bank from ghāt southwards upto Yellesvaram ferry-crossing point—R-4. These had been reduced eventually to only two main roads, namely (I) and (IIa) the late also linking the Yellesvaram ferry point then at the close of the valley life.

5. The Brāhmanical activity which began in right earnest from Vīrapurushadatta’s reign along with continuing Buddhist activity (after a formative period in the career of Śrī Chāṁtamūla, when only Buddhist monuments, memorial pillars and mud-citadel zone activity was extant) could not develop into the valley further beyond early fourth century A.D., therefore mainly due to the desolation of the ghāt and temple area on the western flank; and with the third decade of the fourth century A.D., the valley ceased to be of any importance. If the ghāt silting had been only a medieval phenomenon, which is negated by evidence the stratigraphy of the river ghāt and adjacent sites we should have had many Brāhmanical temples at least coming up in the fourth and the fifth century A.D. also, of the continuing Ikshvāku to post-Ikshvāku times, if not further still on the western part of the valley on the river bank or around the citadel—which had not happened. Hence, the Ikshvāku activity had been brought to a close in the early fourth century A.D. by the combined effect of the following factors:

1. The cessation of even the secondary importance of Buddhist activity and full swing of Brāhmanical activity;

2. change in Mahāyāna Buddhistic credo which did not find the monastic establishment in the valley carrying germs of further devolution, but getting stagnant;

3. river action which partially but rudely stopped the effective use of river ghāt on the western flank; and certainly also,

4. by the induction of extraneous chieftains like Ābhīras, Kshatrapas, etc., witnessing a late spurt in Brāhmanical activity in only the Siddhuladari river bank area.

The valley, thereafter, became a moribund museum of the Ikshvāku heritage of standing monuments, by the second decade of the fourth century A.D., and it was left only for Time and Clime to cause their deterioration and decay quickly enough. The light brick timber and tile edifices of the Buddhist and other establishments should have become an easy prey to these processes of deterioration. The entrenched character of the valley also became logistically less important from the fourth century A.D., and the upper plateau, outside the valley, on the road to Guntur, had become more congenial, as we find from Chezerla, Tadikonda, etc., in this zone becoming important Buddhist and Brāhmanical establishments in the subsequent centuries, when Lower Krishna and delta area had been ruled by the Vishnuśūndina (c. A.D. 450-600). These were variously the Kandara kings of Anandagotra, the Pallavas and the Prithvipāla (whose copper plate charters, recently found, refer to several large Buddhist monasteries in this upland tract including one for Jainism).

6. Pre- or early Ikshvāku phase?

That the Ikshvākus were first the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas in this tract of the Krishna valley is also evident. The feasibility of their having selected Nāgārjunakonda for their eventual capital city

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1 Vardhamāna Mahā-vihāra mentioned in the charter.
should be based also on the fact that they themselves belonged to it, as domiciles. That certain crucial battles with contending claimants for wrestling power from the Sātvāhanas, were fought here is also shown by the Memorial Chhāyā Stambha site close to the site of the citadel (which came to be built by Chāṁtamūla subsequent to his victory, and one by Vīrapurushadatta for Chāṁtamūla in his first year). It could also reinforce their domicility in the valley. The existence of the Mahā-stūpa in Nāgārjunakonda valley (indirectly referred to in Vijaya Sātakarni's pillar record here), already before the actual commencement of the Ikshvākus' rule officially, would suggest that the valley was a Buddhist religious centre even at that time. That the defences of the Ikshvākus were not erected on virgin soil may be difficult to establish conclusively, as the mud rampart was built directly over the hard rocky bed, but it could equally be held that, at that time, the eastern part of the valley with its Mahā-stūpa focus should have been more populated, besides certain small patches, like site of Stūpa No. 9 (between Sites 58 and 59) to the south-east of the citadel. That there was occupation of a pre-defence phase in the valley is more than obvious, and the very nature of pottery evidence dominant in this phase, namely, Black-and-red ware and black-slipped ware consistently well represented then in the inhabited parts of the valley, go to make us designate them as much a pre-Ikshvāku level politically or historically, as an early Ikshvāku level, archaeologically. This can enable us to consider the advent of the very first occupation of the valley when Ikshvākus had not yet risen to political power, as from the last two decades of the second century A.D. We may as well call this early Ikshvākus or proto-Ikshvākus phase. Correspondingly, the Ikshvākus rule itself could have been taken as beginning from this period and we may as well ascribe the level to Chāṁtamūla who was, in any case, a local chieftain of great importance at that time. Of structures in each king's handiworks at Nāgārjunakonda, namely, mud and rubble phase, rubble and tile phase, and brick and slab phase respectively, we have three sub-phases, each of these sub-phases could be of one natural generation.

It has been generally held that the Sātvāhana rule, vis-a-vis the Ikshvāku advent in Nāgārjunakonda (to rule over the entire present-day Guntur and Krishna districts), besides the adjacent northern bank district like Nalagonḍa, should be considered as having officially closed only by the opening decades of the third century A.D. We have to take Yajñā Sātakarni and Vijaya Sātakarni, as the two last Sātvāhana rulers having ruled over Nāgārjunakonda, as shown by the coins of the former (in hoards) in the lowest level of habitation from site in division 177 of sector N.III (see also under Chapter VIII coins from the excavations, Sātvāhana coins) and by the inscribed pillar of the 6th year of Vijaya Sātakarni discovered in the royal cremation site to the northern side of Nāgārjuna hill. We do not, however, have firm dates for this last phase kings of the Sātvāhana dynasty. If we take the totality of the archaeological evidence, in the form of pottery, building techniques, antiquities, coins, inscriptions, etc., of the excavated sites in the Nāgārjunakonda valley, we are inclined to observe the clear devolution and not a lineal continuance of the Sātvāhana and Ikshvāku temporal overlordship of this area. The first king of the Ikshvāku dynasty, Śrī Chāṁtamūla, with the other mahāraṭhi chieftains who made common cause with him in wrestling independence and establishment of the Ikshvāku rule in the valley, should clearly have taken advantage of the decline of Sātvāhana rule in the Krishna valley, and were striking perhaps at the most opportune time. The fact that they proclaimed their Brāhmaṇical-Vedic affiliations in ritual and religion in their records forcibly would seem to show a high individuality and stamina, if we note that in the closing stages of the second century A.D., Buddhism had yet an undisputed dominance and patronage in the hearts of the people of Āndhradesa
and also in its close bonds with eastern and western Deccan and central India (where again Buddhism was holding significant sway amidst all strata of the population, rulers, craftsmen and tradesmen).

The crux of the argument, however, would be that the early or proto-Ikshvāku period and rule should have been before A.D. 200 and hence we find Black-and-red ware in plenty, black ware and Kaolin ware in the earliest stages. Further, in order to have performed Aśvamedha and other yajñas and to have an old mother alive in the first year of Vīrapurushadatta and nearly twenty royal wives, as enumerated in Chāṁtamūla’s memorial record then, should have taken at least 30-40 years after Chāṁtamūla became a chieftain feudatory in his own right perhaps at the age of 20. Thus, the very closing decades of the second century should have seen him as chieftain but he started ruling as the king of Vijayapuri in the citadel (where he performed the Aśvamedha, in Site 93), for about 10 years at least. Hence, life at Nāgārjunakόṇda in the early historical period (when Megaliths had become a near-memory for people, by the observed exclusion of the Megalithic tomb area without any overlapping habitations, was under transition in the second half of the second century A.D. and Ikshvāku chieftaincy began about A.D. 190 and Chāṁtamūla’s independent reign from around A.D. 210 and the succession by Vīrapurusha by A.D. 245.

Vīrapurushadatta ruled well over 24 years and similarly Ehuvala ruled well over 24 years and Rudrapurushadatta at least for 10 years and the Ābhira advent should be deemed to have taken place in the opening decades of the fourth century A.D., but life continued then only in the eastern part of the valley till the first two decades of the fourth century A.D. Thus, the effective unofficial control of the valley under the Ikshvākus should be deemed as from c. A.D. 190, to 310. By that later time, political stability in the valley and secular amenities had all declined severely, making subsequent chieftaincies of the upland disinclined to promoting civic activity there, quite apart from their new Brāhmaṇical affiliations.

7. All these would seem to suggest that the rise of Nāgārjunakόṇda as a religious centre, firstly for Buddhism in its shift from Amarāvatī centre, and later, as the capital of the Ikshvāku dynasty (in both of which stages, at least partly, it was under a local chieftainship, perhaps, of Chāṁtamūla) could be eked out tentatively in the following chronological scheme in near-absolute time scale:

Prior to king Chāṁtamūla, as an independent early or pre-Ikshvāku phase (c. A.D. 190), Sātavāhana rule extended notionally up to Vijaya Sātakarni (6th year).

1. King Vāsishthiputra Śrī Chāṁtamūla of the Ikshvāku dynasty (chieftain-feudatory first, and independent king later): c. A.D. 190-220
   and
   c. A.D. 220-245

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1 Rise of Krishna river level in the Ikshvāku period:
340 ft above M.S.L. — River level which prevailed in Chāṁtamūla’s reign
354 ft above M.S.L. — High water mark in Ehuvala’s time:
followed by
Deposit of sand and silt in c. A.D. 300 or thereabouts during
Rudrapurushadatta’s time.

End of Nāgārjunakόṇda civic activity. — c. A.D. 325
CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2. Mātharīputra Śri Vīrapurushadatta
   c. A.D. 245-270

3. Vāśishṭhiputra Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla and Vīrapurushadatta II (Royal prince) overlapping.
   c. A.D. 270-300

4. Rudrapurushadatta (partly overlapping with 3 above)
   c. A.D. 300-310

5. Ābhīra advent and later stage of city
   (No post-Ikṣvāku occupational levels till A.D. 1300)
   c. A.D. 310-325

Inscribed evidence—for chronology

An interesting aspect of the inscribed evidence from the valley, pertaining to the foundation or improvements to the various religious monuments in the valley by or under the aegis of the Ikṣvāku kings, was the language used. While Buddhist monuments carried records drafted in Prakrit, the Brāhmaṇical monuments had Sanskrit records. There were two notable exceptions: those of the 24th year of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, the third king (c. A.D. 294), during which, one calling himself Kumāranandi and Īśvaradatta's son and a headsman of Syandakaparvata in association with his son, Īśvarabhata and his wife and other relatives, installed a stone image of Lord Buddha (AR. Ep. 1959-60, p. 54, Index No. 101; AR. Ep. 56-57, p. 41, 28; E.I., Vol. XXXV, pp. 11-13) and, correspondingly, a Prakrit record of the 30th year of Ābhīra Vasusheṇa, establishing the image of Ashtabhujasvāmī (E.I., Vol. XXIV, pt. IV). It could be seen that both these records pertain respectively to the last of Ehuvala's inscriptions in the valley and almost of the fourth century A.D. and seemingly but not clearly in the Ābhīra epoch A.D. 248, in the case of the latter. It could be explained in the latter case, first, that it was an inscription by a king of an area outside the Ikṣvāku territory and whose dynastic records are all in Prakrit, hence do not relate themselves to the usages current in the valley.

In so far as the former is concerned, its language Sanskrit, though in a Buddhist monument or for a Buddhist purpose (though the exact monument is not clear) would indicate certain changes which are taking place in the valley, in so far as Sanskrit is concerned. Indeed this is also the earliest Sanskrit record in the valley. We know that in the fourth century A.D., the Gupta monarch Samudragupta (Allahabad pillar prasasti) organised a campaign in which he swept over the various parts of lower southern India, upto and including northern Tamil Nadu (then said to be ruled by a Vishnugopa at Kanchi). The renaissance of Sanskrit for public records could not have been influenced by this campaign as it is much later to the Ikṣvāku record. Perhaps then the influence is from the Kshatrapa side.

Not only are there no more Prakrit and Buddhist records in the valley, but also all the Ikṣvāku records thereafter, obviously attuned to the Brāhmaṇical foundations that they pertain to, are in Sanskrit. There is also among these a seemingly late third or early fourth century record (MASI, No. 71, 1938, p. 28) which is undated, incomplete and in Sanskrit, narrating about a Dharma Kathika¹ (public discoursor on Dharma) who has toiled hard in the subjects of logic, polity and grammar-

¹It is interesting to recall the Devnimori (Gujarat) casket record of Rudrasena III (A.D 348-378) which is dated in a Kathika king's era, by which Kathis or Ābhīra era is perhaps referred to. Here again, a Dharma Kathika is referred to in Sanskrit style.
order but yet the record is couched in Sanskrit. Since the Pushapabhadravāmi Temple record of the year 16 of Ehuvala (c. A.D. 286) is already in Sanskrit, but is for a Brāhmaṇical temple, it would not be a case in point of our present suggestion. It is only when Buddhist records themselves are in Sanskrit in the 24th year of Ehuvala, it could more effectively be an index of the change. This gives a cross check with Samudragupta’s campaign record and reveals the resurgence of Sanskrit for universal use by religious groups other than the Brāhmaṇical community also already in this part of south India.

With the absence of Rouletted ware and the Russet-coated ware in any of the excavated levels, but presence of the Kushan red ware (of the sprinkler’s etc.) giving the earliest beginning of the Ikṣvāku layers around the first decade of the third century A.D. as terminus ante quem, we have another index of a terminus post quem on Prakrit records for Buddhism in the very close of the third century A.D. The Ābhāra interlude in the last quarter of the third century or early fourth century A.D. by Vasuṣhena (who was possibly the son of Iṣvarashana of Nasik) apparently produced additionally the change and by already the 16th year of Ehuvala when the Pushapabhadravāmi Temple was erected by prince Virapurusadatta, the royal princely son of Ehuvala, the change tallied with the Ābhāra record reasonably. Hence the Ābhāra and Samudragupta’s campaign both, on heels of each other, had virtually resulted in the cultural changes in the Nāgarjunakonda valley and the Ikṣvāku dynasty itself comes to a close at least from after the 11th year of Rudrapuruṣadatta (his record for Chhāyā-stambha for his royal mother Srīvammabhotta in c. A.D. 309-10). We may even hold that Samudragupta’s campaign which refers to Vishnu-gopa—obviously a Pallava—at Kanchi would show that by the time of his campaign, the Pallavas had assumed control of the Krishna Valley, Nellore and northern part of Tamil Nadu at least. This also supports the absence of any Ikṣvāku record in the valley after A.D. 310 as shown above. Thus, by and large, the Ikṣvāku rule was between c. A.D. 210 to c. 310 or say A.D. 320 for just about a century, but had several facets of changes and impacts on it from the points of view of architectural tradition, use of raw materials, language of records, pottery fabrics in use and the varying growth of the city in the period of 3 or 4 kings who were belonging to the dynasty.

River bank fluctuation and structural locations

When we look at the problem of the location of the structure on the river bank, from the point of view of the contours upon which they were built, the picture again is most edifying, as we find that rubble structures had been built in as low a contour level as 334.4 (even on the burning ghāṭ etc) and brick adjuncts or superstructures start coming mainly at the level of 345.50, while the ghāṭ was built on almost same contour. But at the time of the incursion of river floods to bring an end to the life on the ghāṭ and river bank, the level of silting had risen as high as 354, in such a way that it would have brought under river borne deposits, the entire ghāṭ and Sites 122, 99, 121, 120, 34, 102-A, 97, 96 and 82 effectively. We find that the black silt and sand are the terminal phase of a continuing threat of river flood water, as seen from trenches dug in NVIII numbered as 148, 162, 168 etc., and data revealed.

For Site 122 which was indeed a harbour to berth boats, there was a deliberate letting in of and controlled debouching of the storm water of the hillslope also through the long brick drain underneath and earlier to Pushapabhadravāmi Temple working level, in such a way that even the moat was filled in by only this source of water, before the construction of the harbour site of 122 and prior to Ehuvala’s time, it should have been the need to build a magnificent ghāṭ, the Pushapabhadravāmi Temple and the regular harbour itself for the boats that controlled the creek of water to the actual requirements.
Hence, it is presumable that even during the time of Chāmtamūla and Vīra, there was a rough and ready inlet through which boats can come to as near the fort ditch as possible; and the regular harbour was built later of bricks, with reservoir, administrative buildings and weir gates towards the old moat side of Site 102. The contours of this part of the valley are indeed eloquent and revealing. This inlet for supply of water to the ditch should have made Site 102 as very strategic earlier, answering for the massive rubble enclosures with personnel posted for perennial watch. The water supply channel tended to erode the moat itself at a weak point and should have led to the necessity of levelling the moat, as a safety measure. This should have happened in late stage of Śri Vīra and the marine constructions have given the appropriate physiographic stability to the area of Sites 122 (fig. 19), 123, Ghat and 34 (fig. 30), at zenith of Ikshvāku opulence in Ehuvala’s times. Thus, the massive constructional pattern on this part of the river bank was guided by functional as well as precautionary requirements, and one may even think that without such massive reinforcement like embankment constructions, and the citadel, the river front itself might have been severely threatened and created problems. Hence, it would seem that these constructions were combining riparian port needs for trade, environment needs for a massive ghat, and the protection needs from the wrath of the river swallowed during monsoon flood. The last aspect, notwithstanding such hind-sight had proved disastrous, but one should say that as flood management projects – which also helped to beautify the river bank and boost river borne trade these were unique and outstanding for their period in India.

**Note on the roads in the Ikshvāku valley metropolis**

There are three to four major road links in the valley

1. river bank road connecting Sites 81, 80, 73 and 70 upto the ghat;

2. From Macherla side entrance into the valley through Pullaredigudem (modern village) towards Sites 80 and 81. From this village point, a road branches also towards Peddakundelugutta hill land and connects the river bank road between Sites 70 and 73;

3. From Chula-dharmagiri hillock, on towards the university area and to Siddhuladari river bank; and another goes towards the eastern gate of the citadel (covering Sites 88, 107, 110, on the way and through the citadel to the river bank, north of Site 70); and a third branches off beyond Site 37 towards the Dock (tank) covering also Sites 38, 36 and 121.

The (modern) village nucleus (which should have originally been a cross road) is directly connected with Chula-dharmagiri through Site 45. The groups around Hārīti Temple and Stadium (amphitheatre) are connected, however, from the village nucleus road a little way before reaching the villages from Macherla side reaching upto Site 17 and has a cross path leading towards Sites 45 and 46. The university area is connected only by one-way road from the road to Siddhuladari, from beyond Site 11. The university area is not connected with Hārīti Temple or stadium. This mainly because the latter is on an upper bench of the hill slope. The bathing tank Site 18, on the other hand, though seemingly a public place, is for exclusive use, as it is also on the upper slope, near Hārīti Temple and Arena. The local people use the river, Buddhists do not use the river or public tank and hence some exclusive alien groups must have used this.

The *mandapas* were almost entirely for secular public use, apart from Brāhmaṇical (in the river bank sector). These *mandapas* are not in anyway relatable to Buddhism. The area of Buddhist
monuments are reasonably isolated from the road scheme connecting the mandapas. Since the monasteries are residential and do not require any direct public approach, like the mandapas, but are within enclosure walls for privacy, the mandapas were not used by the Buddhists anywhere. However, routes like the one from Chula-dhammagiri to the ghāt and Siddhuladari were highways which were used by all, including the eastern clusters of monasteries there.

Another interesting feature was that Chula-dhammagiri itself was unrelated to the general public path going from Macherla, past the road-front to it.

There appears to be a distinctive distributional zone of the Buddhist clusters and Brāhmaṇical concentration and use. There are no Brāhmaṇical early vestiges in the eastern part of the valley and Buddhism was seemingly very secluded and generally monopolised the life style and activities here.

In the late phase, however, Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist institutions are check-by-jowl and overlapping in each other's clusters. Buddhist sectors are N XIII, VII, VIII, I, II, III & S II, S III, IV, XI, XII & XXI, while Brāhmaṇical sectors are N IX, N X, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XX, XXI, IV, V, VI, & S VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XIX and XX.

This may suggest also that such monuments which are mutually closer, may be relating to the late phase of Buddhism—liaising with resurgent Brāhmaṇism before Buddhism fades away from the valley and in Andhredasa from the late fourth century A.D., except in overland areas between Macherla and Amarāvatī-Guntur tract of Guntur district where, even some feudatories of Vishnukundin king like Prithvipāla, appear to have patronised and even erected some vihāras (cf. copper plate charters issued by Prithivī Śri-Mūlarāja from Koṇḍavindu in Guntur district) Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Vol. XVI, 1990 no. 8). This has also a significance for the development of Brāhmaṇical architecture in the valley from its modest beginning in the early fourth century A.D., as we see in Pushapabhadrasvāmī Temple and Asṭābhujasvāmī Temple variously and growing in the post-Ikṣvāku period also without any hitch.

By and large the river ghāt was used for Brāhmaṇical activities and interior and overland areas for Buddhism. The picture is eloquent when we connect the monument zones where Buddhism and Brāhmaṇical activities are overlapping as in the areas immediately outside the citadel in the clusters Sites 105, 106, 36 which are Buddhist and Sites 119, 109, which are Brāhmaṇical. Similarly Site 86 is Buddhist on the Peddakundelugutta hill while Site 85 nearby and Site 39 a little away are Brāhmaṇical. The location of Kubera Temple Site 64 in S III sector further queers up the trend. Even on the river ghāt, there is a stray Buddhist affiliated monument in Site 79, in the midst of Brāhmaṇical sites like Sites 78, 77 etc.

Thus, the religious changes showing mutual cordiality mark the later period, that is, from the closing year of the third century A.D. to early fourth and this separates the early Ikṣvāku monuments like the Mahīśāsaka Bahuṣrutiya, Chula-dhammagiri, University (run entirely by Buddhist group), on a different footing, and we have to find out the material factors which show the distinctive features of early monopolistic Buddhism and later tolerant Buddhism and if we have isolated these factors, we get an insight into the cultural and political life in the valley also in the early to late Ikṣvāku times. The dichotomy in the later stages is revealed by the several factors.
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We also see another factor, namely, that below and including south of Sector S XII—S XVII—S XX, there had been no outstanding excavated material remains. This is in tune with the rocky hinterland of the valley where even in modern times, Lambadi habitation existed and hence even earlier, there could have been tribals or indigenous forest communities living, who were not mixing with the general population. This area right up to Eddannamotu slope is a fallow zone for cultural materials or habitations.

The structures like mandapas, etc., punctuating the road system of the valley have been described in detail in the following section A-IV (a) (vi).

Structural devices and archetypal limitations

While generally the Buddhist monastic buildings represent the denominational variations of the credo by the presence or absence of the Buddha-chāitya, the presence of a Buddha-pāda, etc., from architectural and structural points of view, certain features of interest strike one. As the structural activity in the valley should have been in the hands of entirely local artisans and architects, these features, in some respects are common to both Buddhist and Brāhmanical structures and even for habitational structures, and there was no question of any external stimulus or impact on their techniques. We have already shown how the extensive and even exclusive use of rubble stones had been a characteristic of the Vīrapurushadatta period or what may be called the second main phase of structural activity (the earliest being that of Chāntamūla I and the third main phase and fourth ending phase being those of Ehuvala Chāntamūla and Rudrapurushadatta). Thus, where we have stūpas built of rubble stones or bounded by rubble stones, apart from the use of this material for the compound wall of the monastery also we may conveniently refer them to this second main phase. This has been fully borne out by archaeological data of other kind also. There are two further features in this connection which appear for the first time only in the third and the last (or fourth) phase of structural activity in the valley. The first device is the use of a squarish narrow cubicle, placed generally at the centre of enclosure walls of structures, whether monastic complexes or Brāhmanical temples, so that a narrow, one-at-a-time entry alone is facilitated. We find such a cubiced entry in Site 23, a Buddhist complex in the northeast corner of the valley; in the Nakatara Vihāra to the north of Chula-dhārmanagiri hill where the interior pillar gave the 10th R.E. record of Vīrapurushadatta but the compound wall was of a subsequent phase (Site 22); and in the Pushapabhadrāsvāmi Temple on its northern side compound wall. In all these cases, the structural feature is relatable to Ehuvala Chāntamūla times either epigraphically or stratigraphically. It thus serves as a convenient index of the occurrence of this usage as a datable device. The other feature pertains to the last king Rudrapurushadatta and is seemingly a hemispherical chamber but with a square inner shrine room (or circular inside also as seen in the Sites 24 and 26), the former of which contained within, the displaced shaft carrying the sculptural freeze and record of the memorial to Śrī Vamma Bhatta, in the time (11th year) of Rudrapurushadatta. It is also interesting that we do not have any parallel to this and it is found as a late development only in the eastern part of the valley, which became more inhabited in the period after the end of Ehuvala's times. There are also some significant use or non-use of brick floors for the monasteries as in Site 24 where some cells have brick floor in the relatively later phase cells, and earthen floor in the earlier ones. This might be indicative of general improvement of buildings in the later period, while the earlier phases are spartan and austere. Further, most of the very late phase monastic units like Sites 24, 26, 30, 52, 53, 54 are all again in the eastern part.
of the valley, and many of them have been built even without foundations for the stūpa. These, again, tend to confirm large scale shift of people to the eastern part of the valley, after the close of Ehuvala’s times.

In the ultimate analysis, it is seen that the structural architecture, as such, of the Nāgārjunakondā structures of any description, has an insular and circumscribed character — which was perhaps the reason why its technological know-how, if any, had not been transmitted to the closely succeeding century on the upland Guntur-Krishna area further, as a stimulatively designed progenitor mode, while sculptural art had certainly made certain common cause with that of the Pallava art which followed. As architectural modes have a normal tendency to be successively transmitted from period to period, especially in the formative stages of its growth for the Brāhmanical temple forms — as witnessed from the fifth century A.D. onwards in lower southern India under the Pallavas — there had been no significant bequeathal of techniques or forms or methodology from the side of the Ikshvāku Nāgārjunakondā after the early fourth century A.D., which highlights, again, the archetypically insular or local character of the Ikshvāku period, in so far as Brāhmanical temples mode are concerned — a religion of which they certainly were the high priests in so far as their own capital town and period was concerned, in cultic developments but not in architectural design evolution. Buddhist architecture which they continued from the almost unitary style of the Amarāvati school, was seen diversified, though on a somewhat lower key, in the several denominational edifices of the monastic communities which were surely responsible for fundamental changes in Buddhist philosophical and doctrinal developments subsequently in the whole of south India. By and large, thus, it is the art of formal sculpture that became the most outstanding contribution and legacy and indirectly the cult-variations that augmented the several religious worship foci, in the temples of strictly moderate architectural formulations. The self-sufficient nature of the raw material source might have been the reason and a deterrent in this regard, but even more so was the fact that, virtually, it was a valley kingdom format of Nāgārjunakondā, tied to the topographical inhibitions, doubtless because of strategic or logistic political advantages, that weighed heavily with the Ikshvākus. Their bequeathal was more spectacularly seen in scriptal development, sculptural art, cultic growth and endogamous political affiliations. On the other hand, in dealing with toponymy, they had surely shown great and expedient resourcefulness and self-sufficiency but not any innovations. Perhaps that they were, even economically, in a low-ebb in the reign of Rudrapurushadatta might have been the reason.

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<th>Structures</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<td>Post Rudrapurushadatta</td>
<td>Ashtabhujasvāmi Temple</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rudrapurushadatta</td>
<td>11 years to possibly 15 years</td>
<td>c. A.D. 300-320</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hārītī Temple site</td>
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<td>Monastic sites</td>
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<td>(24,26,30,52,53,54)</td>
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<td>Ehuvala Chārintamūla II</td>
<td>Ghāy second year</td>
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<td>Pushapabhadraśvāmi Temple</td>
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<td>Dock-tank eleventh year</td>
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<td>Sarvadeva Temple (24th) year</td>
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<td>King</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ehuvala Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>Kārttikeya Temple, Kubera Temple, Brick ramparts, Public bath near Hāriti Temple, Amphitheatre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vīrapurushadatta</td>
<td>Most of the Buddhist edifices of Nāgārjunakonda belong to his times except the Mahā-stūpa and the rubble revetments to the citadel walls and the provision of the moat</td>
<td>c. A.D. 245-270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāntamūla I</td>
<td>No records except structures like the earliest mud Defences. But Aśvamedha site belonged to his time.</td>
<td>c. A.D. 225-245 Chieftains from c. A.D. 190-225 perhaps, and probably under the support of Kshatrapas of Ujjain</td>
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**NOTE:** It may be that the Ikshvākus were essentially considering themselves as the indirect feudatories (or filiates) of the Kshatrapas (as shown by the Svāmi titles in the earliest records), rather than of the Sātavāhanas and should have had, during the life-time of Chāntamūla, before he became king, considerable local independence, even when the Sātavāhanas were ruling from Amaravati at that time. At least, after the time of Yajña Sātakarni, they should have started their claim for independence and even Vijaya Sātakarni’s 6th year pillar record is in a peripheral place (in the Burning Ghât site and may be of dubious importance as a symbol of Sātavāhanas overlordship). But Chāntamūla I was able to shake himself free totally only in the 1st quarter of the third century A.D. and held the kingdom thereafter for a sufficient while, to perform Aśvamedha, and leave a secure kingdom to Vīrapurushadatta. Their regional contestants were the Chūrus of Kuntala, while the Kshatrapas, in their decline, were attacked by Ābhītras and this perhaps explains how the Ābhītras and the Kshatrapas are present, as mentioned in Vasuśenā’s record, at a time when Ikshvākus were fading out, at Nāgārjunakonda. It is after their withdrawal that the Pallavas assume their control over the region but they have no direct interest in Vijayapuri, but only in the region of lower Krishna valley, as a whole.

**Orientation of structures as evidence**

It would seem that the orientations of structures built in the different phases of Ikshvāku rule do not conform to the same norm. The earliest structures are all almost due EW-NS, while the later structures are tending to become somewhat NE-SW. Since the earlier among the structures were the rubble-built ones, and most of the brick and slab built structures are of the changed orientation, it could be deduced that most of the rubble-built structures were earlier, as is indeed so, from stratigraphic and
the defence structural evidence from the citadel also. Further, the river bank structures had been built on as low a contour as between 339 ft above monsoon river level in the early stages and up to 344 ft (monsoon river level), whereas the later-phase, river-bank structures are as high as 345-350 ft above M.S.L.

The dry water level of the river should have been then approximately 330 ft and the bankful stage around 340 ft, and the structures built at 339 ft would thus have been among the oldest, especially since they also follow the due east-west orientation - in their rubble enclosure walls. We also find that in structures where the enclosure wall is of rubble and the inner structures built of brick and slab, in addition to rubble base, they show two divergent orientation within themselves, implying two stages of construction. In the 'Navagraha' Temple-complex itself, for instance (Site 78), the southernmost and northernmost structures are due EW in orientation, whereas the apsidal structural group within, in the middle, is of a different orientation. Hence, there was an interval of time between the structures with these two different orientations, and rubble ones are earlier, on the same basis, as shown stratigraphically also. If we take this as a norm, and check with other structures in the valley, they consistently reveal two distinctive stages in almost every case, and are supported by inscribed evidence where available. Hence, in the first-stage of the valley, along the river, 339 ft contour level and rubble construction, were of the earlier stage; and 344 ft or higher contours, of the second brick-and-slab stage. By the same token, the earlier structures were unorganised ritually, while the later are organised and well built. Thus, between A.D. 200-250 when rubble structures were regularly and overwhelmingly used, the ritual for temples was unorganised, while from A.D. 250-300, there is a clear organisation in the ritual structures of several shapes, apsidal predominantly, but with good square, rectangular, circular and octagonal forms also found used.

If we compare the orientation norms, now, to the citadel structures, we find interestingly that Sites 93, 97, 82, 95 and 102 are all in E-W orientation, in contrast especially to the northern river bank and other neighbourhood structures outside the citadel, like the Ghāt 123, 122, etc., which show a changed NE-SW orientation. Even some mandapas like 121 are also of the older EW orientation. Hence, within the citadel, most of the rubble structures would belong to the first two rulers, while the brick and slab additions are of the third ruler and perhaps of the fourth also.

If we now compare it even with the more interior structures, we see further that (1) Buddhist monuments also follow this rule, both in respect of orientation and the use or otherwise of rubble primarily for the structures; and (2) that some of the earliest Buddhist monuments, as in Mahā-stūpa proper, and in the 'university' area, this orientation becomes the yardstick of age. We see the Mahā-stūpa itself was due EW in its cardinal sides, while all its subsequent adjacent chaitya and vihāra adjuncts— which are indeed by inscriptions shown so—are of different orientation. Site 10 is due EW, while Site 5 is of changed orientation; and similarly so, in the 'university' area. When we take, for example, the Chula-dhammagiri group of sites, this is even more glaring. Site 14 here is due east-west, while Site 43 is of changed orientation. In the case of even the Mahīśāsaka complex (Sites 7-8) site, the Main stūpa is EW and the vihāra in which the pillar record is found, for the benefit of the masters of the Mahīśāsaka sect is of a changed format. This showed the stūpa there was pre-existing. Perhaps the pillars and the renovation of the vihāra was done by Kadabali Siri. We see from inscriptions that Koḍabali Siri, the sister of Ehuvala, had got erected the pillars. In Site 3 of the 'university' area, the main stūpa, chaitya and vihāra are EW, while all the remaining structures are of changed orientation.
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Site 38 is EW, but 105, not far away, is of changed orientation. Site 57 (Kārttikeya Temple) is of changed orientation.

Thus, we are led to presume that, on the river bank, all early structures were not only at lower river bank level, but were of rubble-built character; were not on an organised ritual base; and were of EW-NS orientation. The citadel structures also follow this norm. All evolved structures following specific ritual norms in temple plan and lay-out, besides all developed secular structures like the harbour-tank, ghāṭ, some mandapas, many Buddhist institutions and the amphitheatre and other such erections of the time of Ehuvala and after, do not follow the EW orientation and have other yardsticks.

These criteria also help in understanding the distribution of structures in the valley in the earlier (upto early years of Viṣṇupurushadatta) and the later Ikṣvāku phases. The former, as we have suggested, on other grounds already, are confined to the western part of the valley, while the later phase structures are more predominantly seen in the northern river bank, on the one hand, and in the eastern interior of the valley. Since the 375 ft contour seems to have been the line of interior upland from the riparian lower land, we find the former had been occupied mostly by Buddhists, while the latter had been covered by the citadel and the Brāhmaṇical and habitational structures. Whatever land lay above 375 ft contour was more jungle-clad and strewn with rocky out-crops and thus were unsuitable for the city development, but by their secluded character, were particularly preferred for Buddhist monuments.

Religious dichotomy as a partial cause for decline of city

The decline and disappearance of Nāgarjunakonda as the Ikṣvāku metropolis is, in a way, more enigmatic than the end of the Ikṣvāku dynasty itself. We have already seen a natural disaster like the angry river damaging a good part of the river bank constructions including sections of the citadel and the complex of structures in the NW in Sectors N VIII and N IX. For, even upto the closing years of Ehuvala Chāmṭamula when virtually the civic life reached its peak of cultural achievements, there was no indication that the setback was around the corner. Succeeding the Śātavāhanas illustrious by intrepidity and an uncanny vision of Śrī Chāmṭamula the only king to have actually noted by coeval material evidence as an Āśvamedhayāji, the Ikṣvākus had proved themselves worthy by the multiple dimensions of the religious patronage, political linkage and civic foresight in raising several unusual monuments like the Āśvamedha edifices, the tank-cum-dock structure, the amphitheatre and their precious perception of inscriptive publicity, coinage, sublime art calibre and bipartisan patronage of their own chosen Brāhmaṇical religion, in harmonious competition with Buddhism the cherished religion of the Śātavāhanas of Ândhradesa by their royal queens and kins women. It was nothing short of a disaster that their valley capital suddenly found their royal leadership being liquidated by unpredictable temporal and cosmic discomfiture. At the same time, given the tempo of their urbanised city and state of organisational flair, one should not search for unlikely causes for this anti-climax. It could very well be that resurgent Brāhmaṇical religion had its bandwagon of patrons from other parts of India to snuff out Buddhism. It appears that Rudrapurushadatta could not have in him the mettle to wield the sceptre with adequate competence; and it could even be that Buddhism itself received its signals aright and shifted to fresh fields and pastures new. But it was the accumulating toponymic set backs in the riparian model of the metropolis, on the banks of swift flowing Krishna—the life line of lower Ândhradesa—that had itself become the destructive agency. The despondency engendered by the
destruction of the river bank structures in their pleasing clusters of powered art medium as well as adroit flood management, should have been too deep for them to get over and the contenders watching on the sidelines perhaps made the best of it, but still not in the valley. The civic spectrum of Nāgārjunakonda, thus, is one of calculated emergence into fame and sudden disappearance from the pages of history without shuffling its feet. If we sectorise the picture of the valley, at the turn of the fourth century or the close of the third, their full-steam vigour could not have envisaged that, within just a decade or so, they will be laid low.

The Sectors N VIII to XII, N I V and S I-VIII had paraded their civil and aesthetic religious maturity in no uncertain terms, and the thriving population of perhaps not less than a lakh of high calibre gentry could not overcome their insular fate with any degree of confidence and thus the redoubtable Ikshvākus became prisoners to their own entrenched topographic confinement, while it was the upland of Macherla to Guntur stretch that was to live for another day, carrying the lamp of culture to its further logical conclusions in the centuries from the fourth to tenth when they were to be engulfed by the ascending Imperial Chola power. The lacuna in Nāgārjunakonda for eight blighted centuries, after the disappearance of the Ikshvākus, before medieval potentialities could re-enliven the valley, was the most tragic part of the home of the Sātavāhanī-rāštṛa and Ikshvāku splendour. Indeed, much nostalgic interest attaches to the chhāyā-stambhas (memorial pillars) of the first of the Ikshvākus and his cohorts, that the very Krishna which destroyed their civic pinnacle should for ever engulf them under the Nāgārjunasagar reservoir catchment. The excavated glory of the Ikshvāku city is thus, no small compensation for their buried history.

The urban setting of Nāgārjunakonda as a capital city is to be evaluated on the basis of the cultural differentiale that mark the urbanism of early historic capital cities of kingdoms in south India. The following could generally be deemed as reflecting the status of an urbanised city, in terms of material remains, irrespective of an art and aesthetic status additionally, as was so clearly picturised at Nāgārjunakonda:

1. brick structures of uniform brick size, including brick drains for houses, streets, etc.;
2. coinage of the ruling group in good circulation;
3. deluxe pottery marking the use of well produced pots and pan;
4. writing and inscription of public importance;
5. fortification;
6. antiquities reflecting high craft application;
7. well marked divisions of the habitational, defensive and religious-ritual locations;
8. public buildings of importance;
9. gold and silver objects and coins;
10. trade and transport indices.

It can be seen that these had been progressively acquired at Nāgārjunakonda during the entire period of about a century, of the four rulers. In the first stage Nos. 3,5,9 (above) were seen; then in
the second stage, indices Nos. 2, 4, 7, 10 were marked; and in the third and zenith stage, items 1, 6, 7, 8, 10 were most emphatically present, but in so far as 2 was concerned, the media was mostly lead though silver coins, suggesting a rather economically impaired kingdom. It is very likely that the reason was that maritime and external trade had virtually ground to a halt in this period, in comparison with the Sātavāhana times — which marked a high point in this respect — and only local trade through the Krishna river was flourishing, keeping the entire kingdom of Guntur and partly Krishna districts in viable contact, through its sea-coast marts. That the river Krishna was the life-line was not to be doubted. In the final years of the life of the kingdom, almost all these urban indices had suddenly received a set back, and a rather rurban decline had resulted. Art also had ceased to be an impelling force, especially for Buddhism, though Brāhmaṇical religion was faring better on its own steam. Perhaps, apart from river bank flood disruption and external interferences, as seen in the Āhūtha Vasuśēna’s record in the Ashṭabhujaśavāmī Temple, the royal leadership was also not displaying any intrepidity and was receding into its shell and could not read the signals of the time aright.

In a way, among the cities of Deccan (upper and lower) in early historical times, a city which could be compared with Nāgārjunakonda, in its circumstantial rise, great heights of importance and abrupt decline, could be Bhogavardhana (or Bhokardan, between Ellora and Ajanta in Maharashtra). It is here that a fortified Sātavāhana town which began in the late pre-Christian centuries had virtually declined and disappeared by the early Gupta times of the 4th–5th century A.D., despite its great promise, ideal trade structure in the Ajanta-Ellora-Aurangabad Buddhist triangle area, where so many cultural forces had been afoot.

The civic status of Nāgārjunakonda was almost wholly sustained by its Buddhist plenitude and Brāhmaṇical advent. The period following the two in the fourth century A.D. was itself a twilight period for the former religion and a formative period for the latter and the closest successor to the Sātavāhanas, namely the Ikshvākus, could not and did not have, in this transition period, the leadership politically speaking, which could withstand, by its location, the transition and outlive it. Physical cause added to its set back. The swing from Buddhism to Brāhmaṇical architecture for the craftsmen was also a daunting task (as has been shown in a different way at Ellora also when it saw the end of the Buddhist initiative and the flowering of the Brāhmaṇical, as it had Chālukas and Rāṣṭrakūtas to give it and sustain the tempo of evolution by their own antecedent achievements). The Brāhmaṇical presentation at Nāgārjunakonda, on the other hand, was highly rudimentary and rested on the cults of Kārttikeya and Śiva and, at the last stage, of Vishṇu and had other claimants like the Pallavas to begin a new chapter elsewhere and even by them, only after a span of nearly a century. Nāgārjunakonda declined as a city, therefore, more by being a creature of rather conflicting or dichotomised circumstances of religion.

Nāgārjunakonda — its place in south Indian archaeology

The Ikshväku capital of Nāgārjunakonda had an important place in the development of culture and religion in south India. Its established Buddhist monastic institutions and its formative Brāhmaṇical temple and cults had their inevitable links with comparable and coeval activities in different parts of southern India. In fact, the post-Sātavāhana period had been the spring-board for the launching of considerable cultural effervescence and became the nursery for early art and architecture of the Brāhmaṇical side and the movement of Buddhism itself further down into Tamil Nadu and northwards
into Deccan, well before the end of the sixth century A.D. when Kanchipuram of the Pallavas established itself on the political and cultural map of lower southern India. There had also been earlier maritime marts on the Tamil coast which were contemporary to Sâtavâhana ports of the Êndra coast. This was also a period of the compilations of several literary works like Hala’s Sattasai in the Deccan and the Sangam literature in Tamilnadu. This period saw virtually the end of stûpas for Buddhism and the advent of the monastic institutions of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the development of Mahâyânism into early sixth century A.D. as of Ellora. We have references to Pāṣupata and Buddhist activities in the city of Kanchipuram, at the hands of Mahendravarma I Pallava, in his burlesque (prahasana,) called Mattavilâsa. We have also, as we know, references to the vedic college (Ghaṭika) at Kanchi to which Mayurasarman the Kadamba king went. We find Roman trade being at its decline and inland links with the Kushans of the north being revealed in archaeological data like their typical pottery. What makes Nâgârjunakonda important is that it had selectively, perhaps circumstantially, absorbed and transmitted cultural traits, in its trade, art and cult. Its links had been largely with the Kâshtrapas of Ujjain and Chûtus (Sâtakarnis) of Kuntala. Peculiarly, Nâgârjunakonda disappeared out of the political scene, before Samudragupta’s campaign in the south and thus its contributions actually belong to the Sâtavâhana age essentially—as its final devolutionary phase which saw, contrariwise, the consolidation of the Kadambas of Banavasi, Pallavas of Kanchi and Vishnukundins of the lower Andhra area.

If we can divide the bequeathal of Nâgârjunakonda into religious, architectural and structural increments to culture seen in its immediately succeeding period, virtually from the second quarter of the fourth century A.D. together with the pottery and terracotta traditions thrown up by it, we find a discrete picture, which underscores in every way, the end of the ‘classical’ period and the beginning of the post-classical, indigenous phase of empire-building and of Indian art and archaeology. We see clearly that only the resurgence of the Brâhmaical art and cult had contained the germs for mainstream pan-Indian cultural synthesis. We may present the data in the form of a chart and then evaluate it. The period involved will be from c. A.D. 300-500.

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The directions of diffusion of the fulcrum of power after the end of the Ikshvākus in lower Krishna valley, appear to be in three disparate but distinct zones, the first westwards, resulting in the rise of Kadambas of Vanavāsi and early Western Chālukyas of Badami; the second southwards, witnessing the expansion and rise of the Pallavas of Kanchi in Tamilnadu and the third, north and north-east, after the brief Brihatpalayanas, by Vishnukundins who, in coastal Krishna and Godavari, link themselves later with the Vākṣṭakas of central India.

In this the significant presence of the Ābhīra Vasuśeṣa, Vishnu Śivalananda Śatakarnī (Chuṭus), Avanti princes and Yavanarāja of Saṅjayapura (Saṅjamana), in what was probably the last inscription within the Ikshvāku period of Nāgārjunakonda, seemed to have spearheaded or at least motivated these changes, by sheer decline of erstwhile early historic smaller dynasties coeval with Ikshvākus and rise of new dynasties with great vigour and, almost all, strongly inclined specifically towards Brāhmanical Hinduism. The Ābhīra presence and its Asṭabhujaśvāmi Temple erected by Vasuśeṣa is clearly echoed both in Badami Chālukyan territory (as in the Cave III of Badami Asṭabhuja Vishnu sculpture and the Virupākṣha Temple, Pattadakal sculpture, on its north wall, of Asṭabhuja Vishnu) and in the Pallava region where both Poygai Alvar hymns (c. A.D. 500) and a temple for Vishnu Asṭabhuja existed at Kanchi itself, and these reveal strong undercurrents of diffusion in this regard. Buddhism had some short innings, till the twilight stage between fifth century and seventh century A.D. in the upland Guntur and Krishna districts, as at Tadikona, under Prithivimula Mahārāja’s Charters and subsequently at Kanchi, as referred to by Hiuen Tsang, the
Chinese Chronicler. Nāgārjunakonda’s high noon coincided also with the high noon of the port-cities of Tamil Nadu like Kaveripattinam (with its Buddha vihāra with bronze and Buddha-pāda of Palnad greenish limestone, as a fall-out; and the inlet channel of Vanagiriṣṭas contemporary to the similar drain structure discharging into the dock-tank Site 122 of Nāgārjunakonda). The Tamil Buddhist monks were themselves perhaps represented at Nāgārjunakonda, as shown by the Buddha-pāda (E.I. Vol. XX) record which refers to the ‘Dramila’ region also, and Kaveripattinam zone should have been the halfway house, then, between lower Krishna valley and Sri Lanka.

The terracottas of Yakshas, Hārīti, etc., are well distributed in Karnatakā and Andhradesa. The ‘Burning Ghāt’ site fertility sculpture record of Khanduvula, a queen of Ehuvala Chārintamūla similarly sparks off into the ‘Lajja Gaurī’ or Nagna-nāyikā sculptures of both Karnatakā and Andhradesa, in the early Chālukyan period.

There is one interesting feature in public records, namely, that we do not have any copper-plate charters of Ikshvākus – seemingly because of the circumscribed nature of their kingdom, but Pallavas (early line of Śivaskandavarman as well as the Simhāvishṇu line) have such copper-plate charters, and similarly Visnukundins of Andhradesa and the Chālukyas of Badami, apart from, Prithvirimula in the Guntur district, already mentioned earlier, stone inscriptions of these major dynasties. The Kadambas also have their pillar records on stone, at Talāgūnda. Thus, almost all early copper plates of lower southern India are post-Ikshvāku. Geographically, the Ikshvākus of lower Krishna seem to have become the clearing house for the rise of the three political kingdoms of great power, and thus formed the tri-junction of early historic water-shed stage, which tells much about their key-zone as well as the prestige of their art and religious calibre. Further, Prakrit also ceases to be the script base for records – as it commenced even from the late stage of the Ikshvākus themselves at Nāgārjunakonda – and Sanskrit grows in prominence and profuse use, almost becoming the state archival language and further spawns in these three regions the nursery for the growth of early Kannada, early Tamil and early Telugu script also, created with important subsequent consequences. Thus, Nāgārjunakonda of the Ikshvākus was, in more ways than one, the pivot of lower Deccan, in the cultural and political history of south India, which almost totally weaned itself away from its central and western Indian earlier influences and became the continuing indigenous focal point for nurturing a pan-Indian legacy of the mainstream, in lower southern India.

Integrated chronological consideration: main features

The excavated evidences, though confined to one single dynasty of four kings and of a duration of just over a century (c. A.D. 220-325) have an internal sequential evolution, influenced mostly by physical and morphological elements, which help us in refining the periodisation or phases of the historic process which saw the rise and fall of the Ikshvāku capital of Vijayapuri.

Using the tools of archaeological analysis and all the data obtained earlier in this chapter, we find that the chronological stages had been helped by:

a) changes in the defences of the citadel on its own stratigraphy;

b) consistent use of certain types of raw materials in constructional phases;
c) preferred topographical environment for the religious monument clusters and secular public buildings variously — as related to the growth of the city;

d) toponymy and riparian aspects of river port and river career

On the basis of the evidence of the defences, we find that the citadel was fortified by a mud rampart in the period of the first king Châmtamûla, utilising the availability of bed rock, linking Pedda and Chinnakundelugutta hillocks, for the cutting of a moat on the northern side mostly, including to a certain extent the northwestern parts as well (fig. 3). The purpose, at that time, would have been two-fold: firstly, to entrench themselves for strategic purposes by the fortifications; and secondly, to allow the water from the Krishna river to be diverted into the moats, through the natural creek-like ingress which was then existing — which contour survey has revealed in a N-W-ward strike from the middle of the northern rampart side of the Chinnakundelugutta hill (fig. 2). This mud rampart, thus, was linking the Peddakundelugutta in a straight line on the western (river) side upto the front where rocky high ground ran then turning east, linking the Chinnakundelugutta and the bigger hill in a curved eastern fortification, leaving sufficient and maximum space within the citadel thus, for the royal residence, the soldiery and for certain logistic, ritual and industrial requirements. The stepped cutting of live basement rock for the moat (pl. XA; fig. 3) would show that the potentialities of this bed rock has been fully appreciated for their purpose at that stage. By the introduction of river water into the moat or ditch and with an upland between the two hillocks, the western river side of the citadel was to be defended most, with the landward eastern wall stretch forming an interior flank which will always be in public eye and fully protected. The two main gates directly connected thus were on the western and eastern flanks, dividing the interior space of the citadel into northern and southern parts (pls. XVII A and XVIII B). There was no gate on the northern side in the early phase (until in the third phase, after the moat had been filled, a formal brick and stone postern gate had been provided (pl. XIX B) as none was necessary since there was the creek which indeed, along with the river bank, would have been the natural river port/front for boats to come from downstream, especially, from Amaravati and the estuary of Krishna. The port facility was in fact also expanded impressively in the third stage by the construction of a regular harbour of large reservoir (pl. IX-X A, fig. 24) with well provided landing steps on all the sides, with a drain, keeping a good supply of even the storm water in the rainy months provided on the northern hill slope side of this reservoir; and this reservoir was connected with the river by a gap on its north-west corner and was seemingly provided with sluice gate now totally destroyed by floods. The ghât itself was linked to this harbour arrangement on the river front (pl. II B) by embankment wall.

There is also a feature of the memorial pillar (châtyâ-stambhas; pl. II A, Site 9, No. 60) close to No. 9, 36 and Site 58-59 for the fellow-warrior chief who lost their life, at a time the first king Châmtamûla was establishing himself as an independent ruler, at the decline of the Sâtavâhana rule, not much after Vijaya Satakarni (whose sixth year record is found in the Burning Ghât zone on the north of Nâgarjuna hill). This site (No. 113) is immediately to the east of the citadel. We would be able to show lower down, that this 'war memorial' site had been enclosed by a rubble wall probably in the second stage, during the rule of Srî Virapurushadatta.

There are at least four distinctive locations of châtyâ-stambhas in the valley. These are represented respectively by Sites 36, 113, 60, and 24. The last mentioned is also the latest in the
reigon of Rudrapurushadatta for his mother Siri Varmaabhatta and is located in the vicinity of Sites 17 and 18, far east at the foot of the turn of the Phirangimotu hill northwards.

The other three, north-south, can be deemed as a stretch of groups, Site 113 being farthest north, Site 36 being in the middle though closest to the ramparts and Site 60 being a southerly one. Of these the one nearest to Stupa No. 9, belongs to the first king Châmtamûla erected by all his relatives. There is another, further north (No. 113), which was for the feudatory supporters of Châmtamûla and should have, in the sequence of events, been erected during the time of Châmtamûla himself, followed by his own memorial pillar mentioned above. All others are later. There is one in the Senapati memorial (Site 36) which refers to one Châmtamûla who seemingly took this name after the founder of the clan and hence probably well after his passing away. We have already seen that the easternmost in Sector XII is the last. Now the earliest among these which are nearest to the citadel were themselves before the establishment of the citadel. Indeed, this stretch N II (eastern part), N III and S IV were already the battle-field prior to the establishment of the kingdom. Hence their position with reference to the citadel is purely adventitious; and indeed the citadel had been governed by the logistics of the river and the Kundelugutta hillocks.

The character of the various excavated sites in these sectors are all either of Vîra and Ehuvala, except for the memorial pillar sites. Hence, the latter were existing during Vira's times. As the citadel was built during Châmtamûla, the sequence would be - chhayâ-stambha sites - Châmtamûla's citadel - Vîra and Ehuvala stage sites. The latter brings a good many of Buddhist structures also. Unlike Stupa No. 9 which is the earliest of the Châmtamûla-Vîra - Ehuvala triple stages, these stupas and monasteries are of the latest stage. The natural high ground between Kundelugutta hills, Mahiśasaka hill and small outcrops of Sites 112 and 58 had provided the venue for the fights which took place during the time Châmtamûla was establishing himself and resulted in his victories and establishment of the war memorial (113) first and then the citadel - followed by other memorial pillars in the post-citadel phase during Vîrapurusha mostly. The last ones in the eastern most sector is besides for a lady and is on a different footing.

The picture is thus clear that the site of the war memorials was confined to N-III and S-IV in two adjacent areas, the lone Senapati memorial (no. 36) being the westernmost. There are no memorial pillars within the citadel. We would do well to accept the sector Nos. N-III and S-IV, as the war memorial zone, with other sites including the citadel itself and the stupas beginning from Stupa 9 spread over the three king's reigns. Of these, Châmtamûla's reign did not produce any organised residential or habitational sites which began only from Vira's time, with rubble enclosures and constructions, and were at the peak in Ehuvala's times providing fine dressed stone pillared and slab coursed structures of various descriptions.

One is thus tempted to accept the earliest scene of activity upto the establishment of the citadel, confined mostly to the sectors east of N III, N II, N I, S IV which became both sentimentally and stratigraphically the oldest zone of the valley in the historical period, except for Mahâ-stupa elsewhere which was located in the southern fringes of sector N XI, adjacent to and north of N V and seemingly was approached then from the Macherla entry into the valley by Buddhists; and the establishment of high points, all along Nâgârjuna hill and Phirangimotu hill by Buddhism was a stage coeval with and succeeding the establishment of the citadel and centre of action on the river bank in N III, N I and S IV.
The stratigraphy of the defences (ramparts moat fillings and materials used) itself showed clearly three stages (fig. 3) namely, mud rampart stage, heavy boulder reinforcement stage by retaining walls, and the brick and dressed stone stage, including and after the filling and levelling of the moat variously. This has added significance because it shows firstly that, upto the 2nd stage end, the moat existed and, secondly, in the third stage when the regular and elaborately built harbour or dock reservoir of fine dressed stone and brick came, there was no need for the moat and indeed, the northern side of the citadel had been just adjacent to this harbour and hence its protection had been made easier. It could be seen that the army barracks, mostly of rubble and large boulders on the Chinnakundelagutta top had already existed in the second stage when the moat was still in use (fig. 3). The 1st stage ramparts were of mud filling. But even then at some stage (Ia) there was an effort to provide a limited retaining wall on its west by rubble. This became more urgent seemingly only in the 2nd stage when a massive rubble block retaining wall was provided, against which layers of this phase II ran and were contemporaneous. The top of these layers themselves became the working level, at the third stage, when the moat was filled, for a brick rampart to be built, along with brick revetment walls as well (fig. 3).

Thus two things are clear, firstly that a concerted attempt was made to strengthen the defences only in the second (Virapurushadatta) stage, and secondly, they used exclusively rubble blocks for the constructions. It would appear logical also that almost, if not invariably, all the rubble constructions (a list of which is given in separate note earlier) seemed to have a pattern and belong to the 2nd stage or sub-period of Virapurushadatta. The chhāyā-stambhas or the ‘military cemetery’ (Site 113) had also been provided with a rubble enclosure wall then. This would suggest that the events of the brave death of warriors who gave their life making common cause with Chāntamūla, at the very spot of the cemetery where the fights took place and which was seemingly before even the mud rampart was raised by Chāntamūla, had been formally honoured with appropriate pillar memorials and rubble enclosure, as a spot for inspiration then but enclosed only by Virapurushadatta when he came to power, as a ‘State memorial’ and was a period of comparative peace.

The usage of bricks and dressed stones exclusively for construction as an index of prosperity and established power during the third sub-period of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, both in the defences, by doing away with the moat to enlarge the harbour facility impressively and in the build-up of the Ghat, would all signal the zenith of the renown of the rulers and the city itself on the political map and the optimum growth of the valley capital from the third stage.

(b) The constant use of rubble raw materials, in a good number of the other structures and secular facilities of the valley would show that Virapurushadatta’s period was indeed the period of consolidation and development of the capital. While the Mahā-stūpa was a pre-Ikshvāku nodal centre for Buddhist religion (though impressively raised with āyaka pillars in the early Ikshvāku phase) and royal patronage, therefore, in a systematic way, the earliest among the other religious edifices (Stūpa No. 9) was very close to the citadel and also used rubble stones for the stūpa. Street front buildings of the bazar including a notable goldsmiths’ workshop, replete with all equipment and products, were using rubble stone material, seemingly bonded in lime mortar and quite a few of the road side pavilions for rest and amusement for the city dweller and the visitors were also of rubble. This would indicate that there was a rubble stone phase as a viable phase, of Virapurushadatta’s times and thus while Period I (a) of Chāntamūla was formative, I (b) of Virapurushadatta was growing and expanding consolidation with easily available raw material while I (c) of Ehuvala Chāntamūla was marking the acme of opulence and artistic surge, fully using only brick and well dressed stone slabs and blocks.
(c) We find from the note on roads and clusters of religious institutions in the valley in its different stages (p. 57) that there had gradually developed an exclusiveness in the preferred use of parts of the valley by Buddhists, Brāhmaṇical religion and the secular citizens' activities, each of them getting conveniently isolated from the other and the roads of communication used less by Buddhists than by Brāhmaṇism and the common men. However, towards the later phase of Ehuvala, in the closing part of third century A.D. Buddhist, in the Brāhmaṇical clusters develop a camaraderie; and exclusive pristine clusters, still secluded, had seemingly been superseded, hierarchically and on the basis of doctrinal diversities, by a progressive late Mahāyāna development in these composite clusters of the two religions, showing thus that some of the older clusters had virtually ceased to be in the closing stages of Ehuvala's reign. The Ābhara intrusion (and interregnum), as shown in Vasushenasa's record in Site 29, put the seal on the activities of Buddhism effectively in the valley (which we choose to designate Period II) and the shift outside the valley for Buddhism was signalled.

(d) The toponymy of the river front life is one of the most interesting and outstanding features of the valley capital. We have noted elsewhere how there was a systematic and organised development of the harbour-Ghāt complex and its maintenance and how this has mostly been necessitated by the consistent rise of the water level of the river, as seen between the first stage of Chāntamūla and second stage of Virapurushadatta. During Ehuvala's time, it reached further rise necessitating the pucca construction of ghāt, harbour, drain etc., and putting religious structures of the time at a reasonably elevated level especially on the western river front side. Despite this, a little later, the floods of the river had reached a dangerous peak after the close of the third century A.D. in Period II and by their encroaching through the harbour zone, with silt and sand, fully submerged and buried much of the river front constructions like the ghāt, harbour etc., making life virtually all along the river front and perhaps in the citadel as well, come to a stand still (pl. III). This was virtually the end of the glorious career of this Ikshvāku capital and dynasty alongside; and the fury of the river was such that the rise of the river was seemingly nearly 10 ft over the then existing level and thus one might conclude that it was cataclysmal. It must be noted here that the river Krishna leaves the Nallamalai gorge, through which it runs serpentinously all the way from near Atmakur in Kurnool district upto the Pulivendula forest of the Eddammamotu range which forms the southern ridge of the Nāgarjunakonda valley and enters the wider plateau only at Nāgarjunakonda, from the Yellesvaram ghāt crossing. Hence the rigours of the flood waters of the river in exceptionally heavy monsoon floods would have been highly destructive, especially since from the ghāt of Vijayapuri the river tends to swing east behind the projecting Nāgarjuna hill and hence an eddy is naturally created at this point. The elaborate structural works made here during the time of Ehuvala were quite legitimate, apart from their being a unique example of riparian development of a port and flood management, and should be looked at from that point of view. The view expressed sometime without any supportive basis whatsoever that the harbour tank was an 'arena', totally under-estimated the importance and character of these structures for trade and flood control. Even in these river bank structures, there are three clear structural stages of construction and even here, the earlier ones at lower levels of the river bank were of rubble stone and

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1It is poetic justice that the Nāgarjunasagar Hydel Project, just downstream of Nāgarjunakonda valley took note of this for the catchment, although the original investigation for this Dam suggested its being built in the mouth of the Pulivendula gorges and was indeed then called the Pulivendula project, and if done on that basis, could have saved the Ikshvāku capital from submergence, if implemented.
CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

mortar construction only. The integrated picture arising out of a combined effect of the evidentiary data would be that there were three clear and distinctive sub-periods of constructional and developmental programmes in the valley capital which are logically reflected not only in the defences of the citadel, but in every part of the valley, dividing the sub-period chronologically and culturally, as of the Chāṁtamūla phase, Virapurushadatta phase and Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla phase, and Period II was a phase of sudden decline by invasion of flood disaster. Wherever available, this was fully supported by the inscribed records themselves. They are also reinforced by the pottery and antiquity evidence and by the Buddhist/ Brāhmaṇical religious dichotomy in art which was the significant aspect of the creative art heritage of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The chrono-cultural sequence of the combined data from excavations in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa may also be stated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period/Phase</th>
<th>Name of Ruler</th>
<th>Important Structures</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening of the third century A.D.—pre-Ikshvāku—close of Śatavahana</td>
<td>Vijaya Śatakarni</td>
<td>Mud ramparts of citadel and moat; chhāya-stambhas of contemporary chiefmen who fought with him (Site 113); Āsvamedha Site (93)</td>
<td>c. A.D. 210-250</td>
<td>Established Ikshvāku dynasty at Vijayapuri mostly Buddhist monuments existed in the valley then, outside the citadel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. (EARLY PHASE)</td>
<td>Vāśishthi (Putra Śri) Chāṁtamūla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I a. MIDDLE PHASE</td>
<td>Śrī Virapurushadatta (son of Chāṁtamūla)</td>
<td>Heavy boulder revetments for ramparts; royal cemetery (Nādagālavaravatī record; rubble enclosure for pristine chhāya-stambha; all rubble structures in the valley Kārttikeya Temple (Site: 82-NI)</td>
<td>c. A.D. 250-275</td>
<td>Consolidated development of city growth. Both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical structures built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. LATE PHASE (Advanced Growth)</td>
<td>Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla (son of Virapurushadatta)</td>
<td>Levelling moat; brick ramparts; northern postern gate; ghāṭ; harbour dock; all brick structures of city; Hārīti Temple (Site 17-SVII); Stadium and University.</td>
<td>c. A.D. 275-297/300</td>
<td>Zenith of Ikshvāku city in structures art and social graces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIA. CLOSING PHASE</td>
<td>Rudrapurushadatta (son of Ehuvala) – Younger</td>
<td>Memorial for mother Śrīvāmanabhātā Asṭābujavānmi Temple by Vasuśeṇa</td>
<td>c. A.D. 300-310 (or c. 325)</td>
<td>Ābhira Vasuśeṇa Invasion, end of ghāṭ structures by floods; end of city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III

III. (a) HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VALLEY

The entire peninsular India excepting the outlying states of extreme south formed part of the Mauryan empire under Asoka the Great in c. 276 B.C. The exact nature of allegiance that the rulers of these provinces in the distant south had with their Imperial Mauryan overlords is difficult to ascertain. However, it is possible to infer that many of these outlying districts assumed relative independence under their local lords during last days of Mauryan rule. The inscriptions discovered at Bhattiprolu in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh and assignable in date to c. 200 B.C. refer to Rājā named Kuberaka who appears to have ruled independently of the Mauryas. The Mauryan suzerainty over upper Deccan and modern Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh regions continued, as is evidenced by the references to viceroy of the Mauryan king Brihadratha.

This area accepted the overlordship of the Śunga kings, particularly Pushyamitra (187-151 B.C.). In the 1st century B.C. due to the confusion caused by the court revolutions at Pataliputra and the consequent loosening of control over the outlying districts, two powers became dominant in the trans-Vindhyan India and coastal Andhra. These were the Sātavāhanas and the Chedis of Kalinga. Purāṇas assert that the Andhras succeeded the Kaṇvas as imperial overlords of India and the occurrence of Andhra inscription in distant Sanchi in ancient Malwa, seems to lend credence to this Purānic assertion. A list of kings supposed to belong to Sātavāhana kula or family styled as Dakshināpathapatis occur both in the inscriptions as well as in literature.

Indian literary traditions, corroborated by Ptolemy locate the capital of the Sātavāhanas at the city Pratishṭhānapura which is identified with modern Paithan in Aurangabad district, and records of the early kings have been discovered at Nasik, Nanaghat, and in the vicinity of Vidisha, etc. In this

\[1\] Contributed by Dr. R. Subrahmanyan.
\[3\] Mālavikāgnikīttra; See also, The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 96 ff.
\[4\] Ibid.
\[5\] Pargiter, The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.
\[7\] Ptolemy, Geography, Me. Criddles' translations, Ind. Arch. Vol. XIII.
\[8\] Luder's Lists of Brahmī Inscriptions, Nos. 346, 987, 994, 1001, 1002, 1024, 1105, 1106 e. g. Epigraphia Indica Vol. VIII, p. 93.
connection, the occurrence of phrases like Sātavāhanihāra or the Sātavāhanīya province in the inscriptions found in Bellary district and Āndhra-patha i.e., modern Guntur region in the lower Krishna are significant and perhaps indicate the original home of the Sātavāhanas.

The people represented in the epigraphical records as belonging to the Sātavāhanakula are mentioned in the Purānas as Āndhas or Āndhra bhriyās, which expression is interpreted sometimes as "the Āndhas" who were originally servants of some other kings — Mauryas or Śuṅgas, while others find in this expression an indication of the servants of the Āndhas. The expression Āndhrabhriyā found in the Purānas — perhaps was meant to indicate the Sātavāhanas since most of them were Āndhas, and the dynasties like the Ābhīras were subservient to the Sātavāhanas. Sātavāhana was the name of a kula or family, apparently so-called after the king of that name, while Āndhradenoted the jāti or tribe. The purānic testimony can be reconciled with the epigraphical evidence by interpreting that the members of Sātavāhana family i.e., the descendants of the Prince Sātavāhana, were Āndhas by nationality. The present Telugu-speaking area, particularly Krishna and Guntur districts, formed a part of ancient Āndhra-patha, the territory of Āndhas. However, there is a recent belief that an Āndha tribe which had great numerical strength lived in the Vindhyān region and pushed gradually to the south in later times. In the Aiśāreya Brāhmaṇa which is assigned to a date not later than 500 B.C., reference is made to the Āndhas along with Munḍas, Śābaras, Pulindas and Motibas which were groups of non-Aryan tribes living on the borders of the lands occupied by the Aryans. The thirteen Rock Edict of Aśoka seems to place the land of Āndha not far away from the country of the Bhojas i.e., Vidarbha. Āndhas were mentioned along with other people in the above record as forming part of Rājavishaya or 'Kings' dominions'. Pliny, in the first century A.D., on the information supposed to have been supplied by Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.), speaks of a powerful king of Āndha country possessing 30 walled towns as well as an army of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. This enables us to infer that by first century A.D. Āndhas were politically formidable and a power to reckon with.

Buddhist mythology and legends also supply us interesting data about the early Āndhas and their descendants. The Sere Vamija Jātaka refers to a city called Andhapura or Andhrapura — the supposed capital of the Āndhas on the river Telivaha, a tributary of the Mahanadi. It is disputable whether Āndha power extended to regions round about Srikakulam district in the early period of its growth because that area then comprised part of the kingdom of Chedis under Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravela.

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1. The Myakadoni Inscriptions of Pulunāvi and Hira Hadagalli plates; See also Sukthankar, ABORI, II, p. 21 ff.
2. V. A. Smith and Dr. Bhandarkar believe in the eastern origin of the Sātavāhana power; while the former located their capital at Srikakulam, the latter identified it with Dhanyakataka, Z D.M.G. 1902, 657. But Dr. Gopalachari subscribed to the theory of eastern origin of the Sātavāhanas, The Early History of the Andhra Country, pp. 6 ff.
5. Gopalachari, op cit.
6. See, Age of Imperial Unity
7. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II.
8. Pliny, in McCrindle's Translations, Ind. Arch Vol VIII.
9. The Jātakas — see also The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 194-195.
10. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, p. 79.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VALLEY

There is no doubt whatsoever. The Purānas, however, give four and a half centuries as the duration of the reign of the Andhra kings and since the end of Andhra power was somewhere about A.D. 225 some writers have placed Simuka’s accession 450 years before A.D. 225, i.e., 225 B.C. (?) It is difficult to give this date for Simuka’s accession, for the palaeography of the inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas belongs to a fairly developed variety and is datable later than that of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, which itself cannot be dated earlier than the end of the second century B.C. The chronology of the later Sātavāhana rule has been more satisfactorily computed on the basis of their contemporaneity with the early Saka Kshatrapas of western India.

RISE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA POWER

As has been mentioned, it was Simuka Sātavāhana that succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom of his own, though it is difficult to fix precisely the exact geographical limits of his kingdom. Since he had vanquished the power of Kausā, we may not be far from truth if we assume that his authority extended up to Vidisha (the later capital of the Śungas), besides Dakshināpatha which was already under their sway. In some Purānic versions, Simuka, like Chandragupta Maurya of the Mauryan dynasty, is styled as viśala and bhṛitya of the Kanva. Very little is known about his birth and parentage, but since he was styled as Rāja Simuka Sātavāhana in the Nanaghat inscription, it is possible to presume that he was a Kshatriya of sufficient repute and wielded considerable power. The high-sounding titles attributed to later Sātavāhanas, particularly Ekabrāhmaṇa and Kshatriyadarpa- mānamardana etc. that we find in the inscriptions of Gautampiputra Sātakarni, makes one suspect that the Sātavāhanas even claimed social status equal to that of a Brāhmaṇa. Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa who ruled for 18 years, and he was succeeded by Sātakarni who also appears to have reigned for 18 years. One of the inscriptions of the cave at Nasik, which was excavated during the reign of king Kṛishṇa (of the Sātavāhanakula) and the relief figures of Nanaghat pass, with their label-inscriptions, supply the names of queen Nayanikā and king Sātakarni etc. One of the votive inscriptions from Sanchi in central India records the gift by Vāsishṭhiputra Ānanda, a foreman of the artisans of Sātakarni. This Sātakarni is usually identified with Sātakarni of Nanaghat inscription, and its occurrence at Malwa seems to support the surmise that Sātavāhanas held sway in that part of India and that particular area was under occupation under the Sātavāhana emperors. Sātakarni I exercised sway over large parts of upper Deccan including central and western India, northern Konkan and Saurashtra, part of Gujar and Kathiawad. The Nanaghat inscription referred to above speaks of Kumāra Vediśri and Śaktiśri and of their mother, who claimed to have performed numerous Vedic sacrifices. Kumāra Śaktiśri has been identified with Śaktikumāra who finds mention in the early

1 The Purānic statement regarding the contemporaneity of Simuka with the latest of the Kanvayana family, is unanimous. The number of kings given in some versions is 19 and in others it is 30, while the duration of the rule is variously given as 300, 411, 142, 456, years, and Vāyu Purāṇa gives two dates for the duration of the Andhra rule as 311 and 300 years. See G.R. Bhandarkar, Early Records of the Deccan (ERD), Section VI; D.R. Bhandarkar, Indian Antiquary, 1918, pp. 69 ff.
2 Select Inscriptions—Dr. D.C. Sircar.
3 Bühler, ASWJ, V, p. 60—see also J.B.B.R.A.S. XII, p. 311.
5 Bühler, ASWJ, V, p. 60; J.B.B.R.A.S., XII, p. 311
literature, and is supposed to be the off-spring of Satakarni I, through Queen Nayanikā. Satakarni I was an illustrious emperor who performed \textit{Asvamedha} and \textit{Rajasuya} sacrifices and thereby proclaimed his overlordship.

Immediately after Satakarni I, the Sātavāhana power appears to have suffered an eclipse, though temporarily. The Purānic lists of the Āndra kings supply many rulers placed between Sātavāhana I and the Gautamiputra Satakarni, and the numbers of them vary in different lists as 10, 13, 14, 19 and numerous interpretations have been hazarded by different scholars about these lists of the kings. Some of them seem to think that these lists include the names of those belonging to the collateral families of the same dynasty. A few of them such as Apilaka, Kuntala-Satakarni and Hala are known to us from other sources. Apilaka seems to have ruled in Madhya Pradesh, while Kuntala-Satakarni and Hala’s position and place of rule are difficult to determine. Of these, Hala is more popular as king attracting men of letters from all over the country. He himself is credited with the authorship of \textit{Sattasai} or \textit{Gāthā sapta sāati} an anthology of 700 erotic verses in Prakrit. He is also said to have invaded Ceylon, married the Simhala princesses at Bhimesāvaram near the confluence of the Sapta Godavaram, an incident which forms the subject matter of the Prakrit work called \textit{Lilāvatikāthā}. The same book makes him a contemporary and patron of Nāgārjuna, the founder and systematiser of the Madhyamika school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nāgārjuna was a younger contemporary of Kanishka, and is associated with Sātavāhana kings. His letter, \textit{Suhrillekha}, to his Sātavāhana king (a friend) has been preserved in the Tibetan version. Tārānātha, Tibetan historian says that Nāgārjuna was the head of Buddhists for over 60 years and also mentions that the rail around the Amarāvatī Stūpa was erected by Nāgārjuna. But \textit{Lilāvatikāthā}, already alluded, seems to make him the minister of Sātavāhana king, Hala, while Tārānātha, as we saw above, credits him with the erection of the railing for the gate of Amarāvatī. This, when read with the inscription of Vāsishṭipuṣṭhra Pulumāvī engraved on the railing slabs at Amarāvatī Stūpa makes it possible to infer that Nāgārjuna might have been contemporary of Pulumāvī as well. Nāgārjuna is said to have migrated to Śrī Parvata in the last years of his reign, set up a monastery and taught Buddhism. He is said to have spent large part of his life in the Śrī Parvata where he subsequently passed away. Śrī Parvata has been identified with a small hill containing Chula-Dhamma-giri Vihāra in the Nāgārjunakonda valley.

This was a period when the Śakas who came from East Iran and settled in the Sind Valley extended their authority into the neighbouring regions. The Scythian king Nāhapana whose accepted date ranges between A.D. 119 and 125 ruled the northern parts of Maharashtra and Konkan as well as Malwa, Saurashtra and southern Rajasthan and it is not improbable that the immediate successors of Satakarni I suffered defeats at the hands of these Śakas and maintained a precarious existence. The next illustrious ruler of the Āndra dynasty is Gautamiputra Satakarni. The inscriptions are not tired of praising his strength. He has been described as a destroyer of the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians (\textit{Sakayavana-pahlava-nilisūdana}) and an establisher of Sātavāhana prestige and power (\textit{Sātavāhana-kula-yasahpratīshṭhāpana-kara}). His outstanding contribution to the glory of the Sātavāhana power was the extermination of the Kshatrapa dynasty. This must have taken place sometime between A.D. 124 and 128 the last known date of Nāhapana. A Nasik inscription belonging to the 18th year of Gautamiputra Satakarni registers the grant of some land which has been in possession of Vrishabhadatta the son-in-

\textsuperscript{1}Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, written sometime between A.D. 70 and 80.

\textsuperscript{2}Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 64.
law of Nāhapan, and the order of its grant was issued from a victorious camp. The presence of Gautamiputra Sātakarni at the head of the army, as alluded to in the inscription at Nasik, is positive proof to show that the Sātavāhana Emperor was busy in freeing the country from Yavana Kshatrapa domination. The territories which were added to the Āndhra country by Gautamiputra Sātakarni, according to the Nasik praśasti included Aparānta, Anupa, Saurashtra, Kukura, Akara and Avanti which were conquered earlier from Nāhapan. The same praśasti supplies us some information that Gautamiputra Sātakarni’s sway extended into Rishika, Aśmaka, Mulaka including Pratishṭhānapura, its capital, and Vidarbha. Thus, the direct rule of the king extended from Krishna in the south to Malwa in the north, Saurashtra and Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. Sākas defeated by Gautamiputra seem to have accepted serving under the Sātavāhanas and migrated to other regions, and this was perhaps the reason why we find Saka or Scythian influence on Āndhra Art.

The 18th year of Gautamiputra Sātakarni thus coincides roughly with A.D. 124 and his last record is dated in his 24th year, which was issued along with his mother Gautami Baiśri. He seems to have died soon after and was succeeded by Vāishīṣhputra Pulumāvi. It looks as though Gautamiputra’s victories were not quite lasting, since we find that the territories claimed by him were being ruled by another dynasty of Scythian rulers who styled themselves as the Kardamakas. According to the Geography of Ptolemy, Pratishṭhānapura was the capital of Pulumāvi, while Ujjain was the chief city of Chastana. This occupation of Ujjain which was within the dominion of Gautamiputra Sātakarni by Chastana, must have taken place during the last years of Gautamiputra when, perhaps, he was an invalid, and Pulumāvi could not succeed in maintaining the authority over Malwa. It is also not improbable that Gautamiputra when, perhaps, he was an invalid, and Pulumāvi could not succeed in maintaining the authority over Malwa. It is also not improbable that Gautamiputra when he found that his power was failing against the invading armies of the Kardamakas under Chastana and Rudradaman, to maintain the integrity of his own empire, entered into matrimonial alliance with this new power by accepting the daughter of Rudradaman as his daughter-in-law. This was alluded to in his Kanheri inscriptions. Amongst the successors of Gautamiputra, Pulumāvi who was referred to earlier and given 29 years of rule in the Purānas, can be tentatively assigned to the period A.D. 130 to 159. Inscriptions of this monarch have been found at Nasik and Karla in the west and around Amrāvati on the Krishna in the south. Pulumāvi was not only successful in re-establishing his authority over the regions conquered from his father by Rudradaman and others, but also extended his dominion in the east and in the southeast particularly in the Bellary region where his coins have been found in large numbers. Pulumāvi’s immediate successor was Śivaśri Sātakarni (A.D. 159-166) whose coins have been found in Guntur and Godavari districts. But very little is known to us about his achievements. During this period, the empire was once again a prey to the invasion of Śakas from west. The next rulers in succession were Śivaskanda Sātakarni (A.D. 157-160) and Yajñāśri Sātakarni (A.D. 160-189). Śivaskanda and Yajñāśri tried to retrieve their family by fighting with the Śakas of the western India, and they were fairly successful in their endeavour. It was during this period of Pulumāvi and Yajñāśri that the power of the Āndhra reached once again its zenith. They had successfully re-established their hegemony and also built up a strong navy which helped in establishing both commercial and cultural contacts outside India particularly with eastern countries like Java, Borneo, Burma, Siam, etc. In token of his power of the

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1Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 60ff. Bhandarkar, ERD, 17, Ch.
2Buhler, A.S.W.I., V. p. 78.
seas, Pulumāvi had issued coins with ship symbol bearing one or two masts. This was also a period of flourishing maritime activity, and the Andhras enjoyed the maximum benefit from such commercial contacts. Yañiṇāśrī Satakarnī was the last important ruler of the Sātavāhanas and was succeeded by Chandraśrī and Pulumāvi II (A.D. 219–227). It was during the last years of Pulumāvi or his immediate predecessor Chandraśrī that the Ikshvākus who were the erstwhile subordinates, appear to have made a bold attempt to establish an independent kingdom of their own.

The death of Yañiṇāśrī Satakarnī, the last strong and important ruler of the Sātavāhanas, virtually led to the decline and fall of the Sātavāhana empire though several collateral branches of the imperial Sātavāhana family were also found ruling in different parts of the kingdom. The Sātavāhana power was gradually overthrown or usurped by rising dynasties, particularly Vākātakas,Ābhiras, Ikshvākus etc. The heart of Andhra deśa comprising of Guntur and Krishna districts continued under the rule of Sātavāhanas with their capital of Dhanyakataka, the modern Amaravati. This was shaken by the Ikshvākus who appear to have risen and occupied this region, early in the first half of the third century A.D. Numerous inscriptions both in Prakrit and Sanskrit discovered at Nāgarjunakonda in Guntur district, Jaggayapeta in the Nadiqama taluk of Krishna district as well as at Uppugundur near Ongole, refer to the family of the Ikshvākus and their glorious achievements. The founder of this dynasty was Chāṁmatūla, who has been described as the performer of numerous Vedic sacrifices including Aśvamedha. He claims descent from the ancient Ikshvāku family of Ayodhya, as well as from lord Buddha.3

THE IKSHVĀKUS

Ikshvāku, as the name would suggest, is the name of a prince and occurs in Rīg-veda and Jaiminītya Brāhmaṇa. He is considered as a great hero in Atharva-veda, and MecDonald and Keith consider the Ikshvākus as a branch of Puru family. Later, the Ikshvākus are, however, mentioned as connected chiefly with Ayodhya, the capital of Kosala janapada. Both Rāmāyaṇa and other Purāṇas give a long list of the kings of Ayodhya, but how far the Ikshvākus of Nāgarjunakonda and Jaggayapeta are connected with the Kosala janapada is a matter which is difficult to determine at this stage. One of the inscriptions of Nāgarjunakonda supply us the epithet Ikkāku-Rājā-Pravara-Risī-Satapabhavarsa-Saribhava applied to Lord Buddha, and since the record is dated in the reign of Virapurushadatta, the second of the Ikshvākus kings at Nāgarjunakonda, we have to infer that Virapurushadatta was also claiming descent from Buddha whom tradition affirms to be an Ikshvāku.4

3Buhler, A.S.W.I., V. pp. 79 ff.
4One inscription of Chandraśrī of Chandasata was discovered at Kodavali in Godavari district which is dated in the second year. That has been tentatively assigned to A.D. 210. Pulumāvi II must have succeeded Chandraśrī or Chandasata.
5Madhyamānikīśa, 122–124.
6The Sanskrit word 'Ikshvāku' means a gourd. There is a belief among Austro-Asiatic people who styled themselves as sharers of gourd and melon. This tradition slowly got infiltrated into Indian tradition since we find Suniti, of Ayodhya, to whom 60,000 children were promised, gave birth to a gourd and from that came 60,000 children. Whatever may be the influence of these Austro-Asiatic myths on Aryans and their immigrations, it looks quite probable that the Ikshvākus were originally an Aryan tribe who got into marital connections with aboriginal tribes of the country and in their march towards power, migrated to south and settled as vassals of Sātavāhana emperors.

Bauḍahkanā, who lived long before Christ, in his Dharmasūtras speaks of Mātula-pitravas-dhūriti-gamana as the established custom in the south, and curiously Virapurushadatta, the Ikshvāku prince of Nāgarjunakonda, married practically all his father's sisters' daughters.

In this task of establishment of their power, the first of the Ikshvaku, Chāṁtamūla, who appears to have been wielding some influence in the western and southern regions of Sātavāhana dominion, formed a confederacy of powerful Senāpatis, entered into matrimonial alliances with at least two of them and with their assistance and co-operation overthrew the power of the last Sātavāhana king of Dhanyakaṭaka. Chāṁtamūla’s uterine sister Chāṁtisiri had been given in marriage to a Mahāśenāpatai Kamdavisakamnaka of the Pūkika family, and another sister Adavi Chāṁtisiri married a member of the Dhanaka family while the Hiranyakas, another group of powerful people hailing from Hiranjarāśtra, i.e., modern Cuddapah and Nellore regions, added their bit in establishing the Ikshvaku hegemony in Śrīparvata area.

Purāṇas call the Ikshvaku as Śrīparvatiya Āṇdhras, and Śrīparvata, if the epigraphical evidences supplied by Nagarjunakonda are to be taken into account, is a small hillock, an offshoot of Nallamalai range located in Nagarjunakonda valley itself. The entire valley with its numerous monasteries and Ikshvaku rulers, including a fort, has been described in the inscriptions as Vijayapuri the capital of the Ikshvaku.

The founder of the Ikshvaku dynasty was Chāṁtamūla I who has been described in the records of his son and grandsons as a very great and powerful monarch. His full title was Vāśishthiputra Ikshvaku Chāṁtamūla and is credited in the epigraphs with the performance of Aṇgīṣṭoma, Vājapeła and Aśvamedha sacrifices and bestowal of crores of gold and hundreds and thousands of cows and ploughs (Aneka-hiranya-koti-go-satasahasabala-satasahasa-padāyi). He is said to be very resolute and a man who would achieve his object at any cost (Aptihata-samkapsa). Curiously no inscriptions of this monarch have so far been found and references to Chāṁtamūla’s achievements are to be found only in the records of his son and his successors.

Since he had performed Aśvamedha, he must have been a Sārvabhauma. The Āpastamba Śrautasūtra described that only a Sārvabhauma king could perform this horse-sacrifice. He has been described as a great devotee of Mahāśena or Kārttikeya, (Virupākhapati-Mahāśena-parigahitas). A staunch Brāhamanical adherent that he was, Chāṁtamūla must have emulated Gautamiputra Sātakarni in the performance of these Vedic sacrifices not only to proclaim his powers to the rest of contemporary India but also to establish for himself a higher social status. It is difficult to ascertain at this distance of time in the absence of epigraphical and literary evidence in this direction, the exact region conquered or people brought under his sway by Chāṁtamūla. However, it is certain that he was helped by a number of Senāpatis or Governors under the Sātavāhanas including Mahāśenāpatai Kulahaka. Chāṁtamūla who has been described in one of the chhāyā-stambha inscriptions

1 Curiously the inscriptions discovered (chhāyā-stambha inscription) at Nagarjunakonda in Site 13 supplied us titles like Śvāmī Chāṁtamūla and Svāmī Virarapurushadatta which bear close resemblances with the titles of the Kshatraps of Ujjain. Do they indicate that the Ikshvaku Chāṁtamūla I had any relationship-matrimonial or otherwise—with the Kshatraps of western and central India? The Kshetraps must have also helped Chāṁtamūla in his task since we find that one of his daughters-in-law was a Kshetrapa princess.

discovered, as a great warrior and a Hastigrähaka (Site 36; see also no. 6A inscriptions of memorial pillar of Nāgarjuna inscription. He entered into matrimonial alliance with chieftains under him by giving his daughters in marriage and strengthened his position.

We may presume that Chāṁtamūla was thus not only a conqueror but also a good administrator. By bestowal of thousands of cows and ploughs, he must have brought under cultivation vast areas of waste lands, thereby increasing the wealth of the country. The occurrence of coins bearing the usual symbol of elephant with uplifted trunk not only in Nāgarjunakonda, but in distant places like Nalgonda and Ongole lend credence to the Sārvabhūmatā. Since his son Māṭhariputra Śrī Vīrapurushadatta is not credited with any victories and as the Uppugunduru inscription of Vīrapurushadatta suggests his sway over Dhanyakaṭaka, it has to be inferred that Chāṁtamūla had already conquered Dhanyakaṭaka, the seat of the Sātvāhana, though he did not locate his capital there. Chāṁtamūla appears to have had two children. His son Māṭhariputra Śrī Vīrapurushadatta succeeded to the throne, while his daughter Mahātalavāri Adavi Chāṁtisiri was given in marriage to Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaaka Khamdavisakamnaka of the Dhanaka family.

We have seen earlier that Pulumāvī II, the last Sātvāhana emperor to succeed to the Sātvāhana throne ruled at least up to A.D. 227. If this date is accepted, then Iksvākula Chāṁtamūla’s accession to power will have to be dated subsequent to A.D. 227. Though in the absence of any of his records, the commencement date of his reign can only be guessed on the basis of achievements enumerated in the inscriptions of his son and successor Māṭhariputra Vīrapurushadatta, we may assign him a reign of at least a quarter of a century and, thus, we may tentatively assign a date between 227-250 as the period of his reign especially since he had consolidated the empire.

One of the inscriptions found at Nāgarjunakonda, dated in the 20th regnal year of Mahārāja Māṭhariputra Śrī Vīrapurushadatta refers to the death of Chāṁtamūla (Sagagatasa) and the erection of a chhāyā-stambha (memorial pillar) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of late Vāsishṭhiputra Svāmi Śrī Chāṁtamūla. The inscription supplies us a string of names—(I (kha) (kula) (sami-) Śrī-Chāṁtamūlasa sahadar (ā) hi m (a) tahimah (ā) devihi Aunatasiriya Kamadasiriya (ya) Vīja Bodhisiriya Mi (ta) siriya Samusiriya (na) gasiriya (ka) masiriya Golastiya, Khalisiriya, Bodhisiriya, Kha (m) dasiriya Settilisiriya Perajaisiriya, Panditasiyā, Ayasiriya, Kaninhasiriya Si (vanaga) siriya, abhatari kavicha Sarasikaya, Bhi (ku) sumaltaya) – and in this welter of female members, it is difficult to identify the mother of Chāṁtamūla or his queen to whom his son Māṭhariputra Vīrapurushadatta was born. It may be difficult also to agree with Sircar that Vīrapurushadatta was born to Māṭhari since the matrinomics attached to the names of the kings here appear to be the names not of the real mothers but of the gotra mothers. For instance, we know very clearly that Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, son of Śrī Vīrapurushadatta was born to Mahādevi Bhāṭṭideva. But he is described with the matrilinial attribute ‘Vāsīṣṭhiputra’ in the inscription dated in the second year of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla.

The reference to the death of Chāṁtamūla I in the record dated in the 20th regnal year of Śrī Vīrapurushadatta and the association of so many royal ladies who were all the wives, sisters, mothers and consorts of Chāṁtamūla and their erection of a chhāyā-stambha (memorial pillar) is very interesting. The pillar itself contains five panels starting from the bottom and ends in the hemispherical

1 Pillar inscription 'L' near Stupa No. 9.
top. The first panel appears to portray Chāntamulā in the typical yajamāna's dress donating the gold coins (Hiranyakoti) and the next panel shows an elephant and a rider on the top advancing, followed by an army and the rider has a parasol helped by an attendant sitting next to him, perhaps signifying his mark as an emperor. In the next panel above it, he is shown sitting very comfortably on a paryanka, while damsels are surrounding and attending on him. In a last panel, the same person is shown sitting between two ladies in ardhaparyankasana, and this scene perhaps signifies the king's attainment of Virasvarga, where he enjoys eternal bliss in the company of celestial nymphs. This sculptured panel, with all its representations read with the contents of the inscription, seems to suggest the glory that was enjoyed by Chāntamulā as a monarch and the punya or merits acquired by him through the performance of various Vedic sacrifices (Agniśṭoma-Vājapeya-Aśvamedha-Bahusuvraṁkāya-Yājinah-Anēka-Haranyako (ti) pradātuh-Gosatasahasra Halasatasahasrasa pradātuh svavīryārjita Vijayakirti) meriting Virasvarga.

The mention of Chāntamulā's death in the 20th year of his son, as has been suggested already, is also intriguing. Does it mean that Chāntamulā I lived unto the 20th year of Virapurushadatta, while Virapurushadatta himself was crowned as an independent king during the life of Chāntamulā, his father, or was it only a comemmoration of the death anniversary of this illustrious father and founder of the dynasty? We have no positive evidence to verify this point.

Chāntamulā I was succeeded by his son Māthariputra Virapurushadatta. We have a number of inscriptions dated in the regnal year of this king, found not only at Nāgarjunakonda but also at Jaggayapeta and Uppugundur. He was a great devotee of the Buddha and invariably inscriptions of his time start with salutations to Lord Buddha. But curiously no inscription refers to his victories. We may infer that he succeeded to the vast empire built up already by his father and maintained it without adding further territory to it. This is more than compensated by his association in the benefactions to Buddhist institutions and erection of numerous Buddhist edifices which brought name and fame to Vijayapurī, his capital town, as a centre of Buddhism and attracted Buddhists from all over the civilized Asian world.

The inscriptions enumerated his benefaction as follows:

In the sixth regnal year, Mahā-chaitya was renovated and at the foot of the Mahā-chaitya, a Mahā-vihāra with a Śaila mandapa added in his 15th regnal year, a vihāra with a cloister of cells was constructed and dedicated by Chāntasiri, the king's mother-in-law, to the Āchāryas of Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. In the 14th regnal year, the chaitya-griha or apsidal temple with a chaitya and well-paved flooring slabs was constructed and dedicated by a lay Upāsikā Bodhisiri by name, at the Chuladharmagiri vihāra. This inscription dated in the 14th regnal year registers the benefactions of this lay Upāsikā and supplies us interesting information about the administration of Buddhist viharas and the officers in charge of them. In the 18th year, another chaitya-griha was built by Chāntasiri herself and dedicated for the use of Āchāryas of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect and the Mahā Bhikku Samīgha. In the 19th regnal year of Virapurushadatta, we find a merchant hailing from Dhanyakaṭaka doing some benefactions to the Buddhist institutions at Uppugundur, while in the 20th year the same king was active in erecting Āyaka pillars for the Mahā-chaitya on the hill 'Velagiri' near modern

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Jaggayapatara. Thus, Vīrāpurushadatta’s reign was a period of great activity particularly for Buddhists and Buddhist institutions.

One of the queens of Vīrāpurushadatta was referred to in the "Mahā-chaitya inscriptions at Nāgārjunakonda, as hailing from Ujjain. She has been described as "Mahā Ujjaini Mahārāja Bālikā". This passage has been corrected by Prof. Vogel as "Ujjaini Mahārāja Bālikā". He identified 'Ujainikā' of this passage with Ujjain, the capital of Śaka Chastana. Her name is given as Maḥādevī Rudraharā Bhattārikā. She must have belonged to the Mahākshatrapa family of Ujjain though her patronage is not specifically mentioned. It is possible to infer that she should be the daughter or sister of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena who ruled in A.D. 250-274. It was in this period of Vīrāpurushadatta, as has been suggested already, that contact with the neighbouring kingdom increased. Śakas freely came and settled in Nāgārjunakonda (i.e., Vijayapuri) and left inscriptions of their benefactions to the Buddhist monasteries. They have been enlisted into the services of the Ikshvāku also, as is evidenced by the sculptures of that period representing Scythian soldiers with typical drapery etc.

Since Vīrāpurushadatta’s last known regnal year is 20th year here, he must have ruled at least 20 years, i.e., from A.D. 250-270.

Like his father, he also followed the policy of strengthening his position by contacts with the neighbouring rulers by entering into matrimonial alliance with them. His own daughter Koṭabalisiri was given in marriage to Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, i.e., Banavasi in the modern Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka. Vanavāsa is known as the capital of the Chuṭu Sātakarni’s and later on of the Kadambas. Kadamba rule started sometime in the middle of the 4th century A.D. as is evidenced by Chandravalli Prakrit inscription of Mayuraśarman which is palaeographically not very much later than the inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda. Since Kadambas were Brāhmīns, we will have to infer from this that ruler of Vanavāsa, who was the contemporary of Ikshvākus, was Chuṭu Sātakarni and not a Kadamba. This is also corroborated by an inscription found at Nāgārjunakonda, which refers to the king of Vanavāsa named Vishnurudrasivalaṇaṇa Sātakarni. The name of the son-in-law of Vīrāpurushadatta is nowhere mentioned. Can it be that Vishnurudrasivalaṇaṇa Sātakarni, the Chuṭu Sātakarni ruler of Vanavāsa mentioned in the inscriptions at Nāgārjunakonda was himself the son-in-law of Vīrāpurushadatta?

Vīrāpurushadatta was succeeded by his able son Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla who is generally designated as Chāṃtamūla II, born to Maḥādevi Bhagatideva. We have nine inscriptions of this king found at Nāgārjunakonda, ranging in date from 2nd to 24th regnal years of the king. Like his father Vīrāpurushadatta, he also did some benefactions to the Buddhist vihāras. In the second year, his mother erected the Āyaka Kambhas of the chaitya and constructed a vihāra called Devivihāra and dedicated it for the use of the Āchāryas of Bahuśrutya sect. In the 11th regnal year of the king, his sister Koṭabalisiri, queen of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, caused the construction of a monastery or vihāra and dedicated it for the use of the Āchāryas of the Mahiśāsaka sect.

Some interesting information about Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla is available from a record of his son Rudrapurushadatta dated in the latter’s 11th regnal year. This inscription which supplies the pedigree

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1See *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—A Review*.
of the Ikshvākus up to Rudrapurushadatta makes him a son of Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla through a Kshatrapa princess. His mother Mahādevi has been described as a daughter (Duhiti) of a Mahākṣharaṭrapa (Mahākṣharaṭrapaduttā) belonging to Bahaphalasagotra (Bṛihatapalayanagotra). Her name is given as Sirivarimabhatā (Sirivarimabhatā). This reference to matrimonial relationship with Mahākṣhṛapa is interesting.

It is clear from all available evidence that contemporary Mahākṣhṛapas of western India with whom Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla had matrimonial relations should be either Viśvasimha or his son Bhartridāman (A.D. 278-293) probably the latter and during this period the Kshatrapa power was considerably weak because it was subjected to attacks by Ābhiraś and Mālavaś.

Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla himself appears to be a great devotee of Śiva. In his 16th year, he caused construction of a temple to Śiva named Pushpabhadrasvāmī and erected a dhvaja-stambha besides endowing it with lands for its perpetual maintenance. In this dhvaja-stambha inscription, Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla has been described as a Dharma Vijayin emulating the illustrious members of the Ikshvāku family like Sāgara, Dīlīpa, Ambarisha, Yudhisthira and that like Rāma of Ayodhya (the hero of Rāmāyana) he endeavoured to endear himself to all by his fine qualities. This inscription supplies an additional interesting information about Ehuvala’s marital relations with Mahātulavārā Skandagopa of Pushyakamdiya family and the off-springs through that queen Kupanśī as Mahārājakumāra Mahāsenāpati Hāritiputra Śrī Viraipurushadatta.

In one of the records dated in the 11th year of Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla coming from Saravedavādhivāsa Temple at Nāgārjunakonda, Eliśrī the Commander-in-chief of Chāṃtamūla II of that inscription described himself as a great devotee of Kārttikeya and by virtue of his patron deity’s grace, he had achieved fame through a grand victory in some battle (Samara Vijayināh khyātakīrte). This Samara or battle referred to in the inscription must have been fought by the Ikshvākus forces under this

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1 Ibid.
2 Recently, a hoard of coins was discovered at a village called Pellarivipalem near Narasaraopet, headquarters of the Revenue Division, Guntur district. This was found by a farmer while ploughing the field. It consisted of silver coins carefully preserved in a small pot. This hoard which was secured by Shri N. Bhagavandas, then collector of the district, was passed on to the author of this chapter for examination. Eight of the well preserved coins belonged to the Kshatrapas of Ujjayin. The details are as follows:

1. Obv. : Raḫo Mahākṣhṛapasa Rudrasena
   rev. : The portrait of king with Greek legend above
2. obv. : Raḫo Kshatrapasa Vṛatānaputrasa raḫo mahākṣhṛapasa Rudrasena
   rev. : Behind the head there appears to be the date in Greek numerals
3. obv. : Legend incomplete
   Kshatrapasa Bhārtridama (putas) raḫo Kshatrapasa
4. Raḫo Mahākṣhṛapasa Dahasena putararaha Mahākṣhṛapasa Vijayasena
5. Raḫo Kshatrapasa Vṛataṇa putas , Kshatrapasa Rudrasena
6. Broken coin. Raḫo Mahākṣhṛapasa ... putra raḫo Mahākṣhṛapasa Vijaya
7. Raḫo Kshatrapasa Vṛatānaputrasa raḫo Mahākṣhṛapasa Rudrasena
8. Raḫo Mahākṣhṛapasa (rest illegible)

These coins seemingly from A.D. 288 (Vṛataṇa’s death) to 305 (Vṛataṇa) found Kshatrapas in good relation with Ikshvākus.

3 The Ābhirā kings are mentioned in the Purānic list ruling for 67 years. This means by their era, approximately up to A.D. 315 and perhaps Vasubheda was one of the last kings and his Nāgārjunakonda record may be around c. A.D. 315.
commander sometime before the 11th year of this king. We do not know the power against whom the Ikshvāku forces were sent under Eliśri.

Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla's dominions must have comprised of modern Guntur, Krishna and part of Nellore districts besides the interior regions of modern Nalgonda on the north bank of the river Krishna. During this period of Sātavāhana decline, other dynasties that rose into prominence along with the Ikshvākus of Vijayapuri are the Pallavas in the south, the Śālankāyanas of Veṅgi in the Godavari region, Vishnuṅkudins, Brihapatālayanās, Āṇandagotra kings of Kandarapura etc. Of these powers, the Śālankāyanas never came into conflict with the Ikshvākus since we find no reference to their conquests to the south of river Krishna during early period of their conquest and consolidation. The power of Vishnuṅkudins with their place round about Vinakonḍa was still in its nascent state, while the Brihapatālayanās as could be inferred from the evidence of the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman were busy around Masulipattam. Moreover, the Brihapatālayanās were related to Ikshvākus and there could not have been any danger from their direction.

Two records, one found at Gorantla in modern Guntur district, i.e., in the heart of Ikshvāku dominions refer to the donation of one Attivarman, a devotee of Śamba, i.e., Śiva and a performer of many Hiranyagarbhas etc., to one Brāhmin named Kottisarma belonging to the Āpastamba-sūtra and well versed in all Vedas, of 800 pattis of land in Tadikonda village along with Ankurup on the south bank of Krishna. The villages granted are all located in the modern Guntur district. Prof. J.J. Fleet who edited the Gorantla record took Attivarman of that grant as a Pallava king which was evidently a mistake.

The other record refers to one Dāmodararvarman and was issued on the 13th day of Kārttika in the 2nd year of the king. It registers the grant of the village Kangura to a number of Brāhmins and was issued from the victorious city Kandarapura, perhaps the capital of the Āṇandagotra kings. An examination of the praśasti of these kings, particularly that of Dāmodarvarman, shows marked similarities to that of Ikshvākus. Attivarman, like Chāṁtamūla I of the Ikshvākus, was a great devotee of Śiva while his successor Dāmodarvarman was a devout worshipper of Samyaksambuddha like Vīrapurushadatta. As such we may not be far from truth if we presume that the Āṇandagotra kings with their capital of Kandarapura were either subordinates of the Ikshvākus or their junior contemporaries. No serious attempt has been made so far to fix the date of these Āṇandagotra kings in their correct chronological setting and to identify the victorious Kandarapura, the seat of their power. Perhaps when Vīrapurushadatta died, these Āṇandagotra, finding it an opportune time invaded the

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2 Ind. Art. IX, p. 102 ff.
3 Tadikonda has also become now important through the copper plate charters issued by king Prithvimūla of this region (probably local feudatory of the Vishnuṅkudins) and considerable grants to Buddhist vihāras etc. Under these charters at Tadikonda and other places including Varhamana vihāras (probably Jaina) in this area, see Journal of the Epigraphical Society, 1989.
4 Epi. Ind. XVIII, p. 327 ff.
5 Hastivarman of the Gorantla record has been described as a devout worshipper of Śiva, the presiding deity of Vakeśvaram or Vakeśvaram. Vakeśvaram is a place of pilgrimage which is noted for its shrine of Śiva, located hardly 25 miles from Nāgārjunakonda in the Devarakonda taluk of Nalgonda district. Very near this place there is a village called Kandukuru. If the contents of Mattepadu grant as well as Gorantla grant of this dynasty are supplying us correct information, we may not be wrong if we identify 'Vakeśvaram', of Gorantla inscription with Vakeśvaram or Devarakonda taluk. Kandukuru, which is close by may be ancient capital—Kandarapura of the Āṇandagotra kings.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VALLEY

Ikshvākū dominions and might have been succeeded in penetrating into the Ikshvākū kingdom and gained mastery over parts of modern Guntur district, but were compelled to withdraw by the Ikshvākū forces under Elisirī.

Was it perhaps to help the Ikshvākū ruler of Vijayapuri that this confederacy of rulers of western India, headed by Ābhira Vasuschena followed by the ruler of Vanavāsa and the Saka prince of Avanti visited Vijayapuri? This inscription, as has been mentioned earlier, is dated in the 30th year of an unknown era. Since we have seen that the Ābhiras had started a reckoning of their own, which coincided with the 248-249 of the Christian era, can it be taken that this record is dated in their own era? Then, we may have to assign this inscription to the year A.D. 278-279 corresponding to the 9th regnal year of Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla. We are not sure.

It seems that all these people joined hands with Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla in quelling the revolts and repelling the Śālānkāyana and Anandagotrin invasion and in the course of their stay at Vijayapuri, the Ābhira, who was a devout worshipper of Nārāyana, built a temple and installed a wooden image of Vishnu called Ashtabhujavāmi. It is more a friendly visit rather than an invasion.

This help afforded by the confederacy of the Western rulers to Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla brought him only a temporary victory over his immediate neighbour and he maintained the integrity of his kingdom perhaps till the 25th year of reign, when he was succeeded by his son Rudrapurushadatta sometime about the year A.D. 297.

The last known year of Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla from his records is dated in the 24th year of his reign when certain improvements were made to a monastery by Isvaranandi who is described as the chief or Śresthi of Chandakaparvata, who visited this monastery with his wife, son and other near relatives, and caused the consecration of a stone image (Samyakasambuddhāya Śailamayi pratimā pratishṭhāpita) of Buddha and dedicated it for the use of Achāryas living in that monastery. Thus, we can see in the last days of Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla’s rule, Buddhism was quite favoured, particularly by the Śaka-Śresthins and other high officer of the state, though the king was not personally associated with any of the benefactions to Buddhist institutions after his 2nd regnal year.

Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla should have died sometime about A.D. 297 when his son Rudrapurushadatta through his Kshatrapa wife Sirivaramabhaṭṭa succeeded him to the throne of the Ikshvākus. We have only two inscriptions of the latter, one dated in his 11th year from Nāgarjunakoḍa valley itself, while the other is away from the findspot of the earlier inscription. Numerous coins of this monarch have been picked up during the erection of a chhāyā-stambha in memory of the mother of Rudrapurushadatta, while the second records some donations by the king himself. Ehuvala Chaṁtamūla had another son through his queen Kupanaśri, named Mahāsenapati Hāritiputra Śrī Viraipurushadatta or Kumāra Virapurushadatta, perhaps younger to Rudrapurushadatta who was responsible for the construction of the temple of Pushpahadrasvāmi and the donation of a village as a perpetual gift for its maintenance. This younger brother of Rudrapurushadatta is connected on his mother’s side with Pushyakandhi Mahātalavara Skandagopa and his son Mahātalavara Skandabala. The selection of Rudrapurushadatta to the throne as his successor by Ehuvala might be due to the pressure of his Kshatrapa allies.2

See also pp. 90-91 regarding the unlikely nature of such a happening in Ehuvala’s time or in the third century A.D. itself (Ed.)

It may even be possible that the Ābhira and other personages including the prince of Ujjain, might have gathered there, on this occasion of the coming to the throne of Rudrapurushadatta.

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With the accession of Rudrapurushadatta to the throne of the Ikshvākus at Vijaypuri, their power had considerably weakened. The Mahākṣatrapas of the western India, who were matrimonially connected with them and who were helping them in time of need, also lost their power, as they themselves were troubled by the invasions of Mālavas and Abhiras. Confusion prevailed and the Ikshvāku territories became a prey and happy hunting ground for adventurous neighbouring rulers. Finding that Rudrapurushadatta was left alone, the Pallavas from the south who were waiting for an opportunity to conquer these regions appear to have invaded Ikshvāku territories and occupied part of their dominion.

The exact date of the rise of Pallavas to power like their origins are shrouded in mystery. Since the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta mentions Pallava Vishnugopa as ruler of Kanchi must have taken place earlier to Samudragupta’s invasion, i.e., A.D. 330-375.

Some Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions of the early Pallavas have been discovered in Bellary and Nellore-Guntur area which formed part originally of Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku kingdoms. They supply us the genealogy of the early Pallavas and their exploits. These are the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Pallava ruler Śivakandavarman and the British Museum grant dated in the reign of Pallava king Vijayakandavarman. These records are in Prakrit.

There is an inscription written in Prakrit engraved on a pillar found at Manchikallu, a village very near to Nāgarjunakonda. The record which is in a very poor state of preservation refers to Pallava Simhavarman belonging to Bharadvaja gotra. This Simhavarman was identified by M. Rama Rao as the father of Śivakandavarman of the Mayidavolu grant and he was endowed with the credit of destruction of the Ikshvāku power. The Government Epigraphist for India, however, felt that this Manchikallu record should be dated in the closing year of the third century A.D. and the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates of Śivakandavarman to the first part of the fourth century A.D. Simhavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Śivakandavarman. Simhavarman does not bear the title ‘Rāja or Mahārāja’ signifying his independent status as a ruler, he might very well have been a subordinate of the Ikshvākus. In this connection, the name ‘Sihavamma’ occurring on one of the pillars found at the Yaksha Temple complex at Nāgarjunakonda (Site 64 in Sector S III), is significant. If this Simhavarman is the earliest known Pallava, then he must have started his career as a subordinate of the Ikshvākus and during the last days of the latter tried to assert his independence. Recently a new copper plate inscription belonging to Pallava Simhavarman was discovered in the village of Jalalapuram of Sattanapalli taluk of Guntur district which supplies interesting data about the early Pallava of the village Vesentagrama in Nadattapadu as a Brahmadeya to one Jyesthā Sarma, along with the usual eighteen different parihas (immunities) by the king for the progress of the king’s Ayuh, Dharma and Vijaya. The king also made an injunction that in that kingdom all the Mahāmātra, Adhyakshas, Rājapurushas and Sancharantanas should not only themselves ensure, but also cause to be ensured that the orders of the king regarding the immunities were obeyed. The grant is dated in the 19th year of the victorious

\[1\] J.F. Fleet, *ŚGupta Inscriptions*, See also *Select Inscriptions* by D.C. Sircar, pp. 262-67
\[2\] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 84.
\[5\] *E.I.*, Vol VI, p. 84.
regnal era of the king in the Māgha Māsa-Śukla Daśamī day and issued from the capital Śrī Vijaya Kānṭhīpurā, presumably the capital of the Pallavas. This record has been assigned to A.D. 290.

Pallava incursions into the Ikṣvāku territories started during the reign of Ehuvala and continued in the subsequent reign of Rudrapurushadatta, and Pallavas appear to have been successful in extending their territories right up to the banks of the River Krishna, as is indicated in the Mayidavolu record. Rudrapurushadatta maintained semblance of power for sometime till his 11th regnal year, i.e., about A.D. 311 after which date no evidence of Ikṣvāku authority is forthcoming. Whether Rudrapurushadatta died immediately after A.D. 311 or his son or brother Vīrapurushadatta II succeeded to the throne is difficult to guess, since we do not have any information about them in the Epigraphical record of the Ikṣvākus. As the Mayidavolu grant of Śivakandavarman is dated about A.D. 310, we may have to infer that the Pallavas of Kanchi had effectively occupied the territories of the Ikṣvākus by then, along the coast including the modern Guntur, Nellore districts. Whether they had occupied the capital Śrīparvata Viṣayapuri also and ousted the last of Ikṣvākus out of it is not clear. The final moments of extinction of the Ikṣvāku power from Śrīparvata Viṣayapuri is, again, shrouded in obscurity.

Though inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakonda refer to one Kumāra Vīrapurushadatta, son of Ehuvala, there is no mention of his succession to the throne. It is quite likely that he predeceased his father, since an echo of this is seen in one of the inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakonda itself.

During the latter part of Eastern Chalukyan rule, 2 a number of minor dynasties rose to prominence styling themselves as vassals of Chalukyas ruling almost independently. Of these Kondapadumati chiefs ruling Konḍavidu and Konedena, the Kota chiefs of Amaravati, the Velamti Cholas of Chandavolu and the Renati Cholas of Cuddapah-Nellore region are prominent. They had ruled their tracts almost up to the middle of 13th century when they transferred their allegiance to the Kākatiya invaders from Warangal who brought the whole of Andhra under one sceptre.

During the reign of Pratāparudra I (A.D. 1163-1195) the reign round about Palnad, i.e., modern Nāgārjunakonda was ruled by a dynasty who styled themselves as Haihayas with headquarters at Gurjala. By about the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. or early years of the 12th century A.D. perhaps by the time of Chola II, the Velanadu chief, the Haihayas of Palnad attained such power and glory that their overlord Chola II was compelled to give in marriage his own daughter Malima to Anuguraja of Gurjala. This Gurjala chief had a son Nalagaama who was advised on administrative matters by Brahmānyudu, the famous hero of Palnad. Unfortunately, Anuguraja fell a prey to the advances of Nayakaralu who created a rift in the family and lead to the ruinous battle of Palnad. This battle of Palnad (waged between A.D. 1176-1182) in which all local potentates took part, considerably weakened the power of the Velanti chief Chola II and Pratāparudra took advantage of this situation and invaded coastal tracts and occupied the entire region.

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1. The inscription on the pūrṇaṅgaṇa icon mentions that Mahādevi of Ehuvala was causing the erection of that image so that her children may not predecease her (Jitvā puttaṇa); See also Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 30; Malavalli of Luders Lists, Ind. Arch. 1957-58 - A Review.

2. See also the recently discovered copper plate charters of one Prithivisimha replying to Tadikonda and a Maha-Vihara (Parabhilekha, Vol. 1989)

3. Srinath's 'Palnadi Virachharitra'.
Kakatiyas were annihilated and their capital Warangal annexed and since Warangal and Kampili were no more there as buffers, the other south Indian Hindu States were easily conquered. Numismatic evidence obtained from Nagarkunakonda excavations corroborates the conquest of this tract. Nagarkunakonda served later as a frontier citadel under Srinarharajan, Singarayya Mahapatra, son of Krishnapaya of the same family, who was ruling Nagarkunakonda Durga as an agent under Purushottama Gajapati of Orissa. He and his successors defended this fort as well as Tangeda when Krishnadevaraya marched against Kondavidu in A.D. 1514.

Soon danger from an unexpected corner loomed large. Sultan Quli claiming nominal allegiance to the Bahmani Sultan Mohammad Shah started building up his power and he carried on depredatory raids against the coastal tracts.\(^2\)

Sultan Quli occupied these tracts, established his own governors and ruled them as part of his kingdom. Nagarkunakonda thus passed into the hands of Qutb Shahis of Golconda and it was given away as an Agrahara to Pushpagiri Mut (of Cuddapah district of Andhradesa) by one of the later rulers of Qutb Shahi family.

### III. (b) SOURCES FOR CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

#### PRELIMINARY REMARKS\(^1\)

The material evidences from Nagarkunakonda excavations that can help us to reconstruct the chronology of the site and its occupation range from Palaeolithic times to the recent rule of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda. But the bulk of evidence structural, epigraphical, numismatic, sculptural and ceramic, however, pertains to the period of the Ikshvakus and their immediate predecessors and successors. The Ikshvakus started their career as vassals of imperial Sattavahanas (2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.) in coastal Andhra and rose to prominence as their successors in control of Lower Krishna valley.

Nearly 127 sites, scattered over the vast area of the valley have been excavated. While the nature and thickness of the deposits varied among the sites, generally speaking, the entire structural remains may be taken as belonging essentially to one period - the Ikshvakus. The incidence of occupation, in the course of centuries, seemingly shifted from one part of the valley to another, depending upon the circumstances. Datable evidences are, however, rich and can help us considerably in determining the chronology of the site.

During the period of the Sattavahanas, who were the overlords of the Ikshvakus, there was apparently some activity round the main stupa or Mahachaitya which was in the centre of the valley and which was admittedly pre-Ikshvaku in origin. During the period of the Ikshvakus the metropolitan occupation was mostly along the river and in the western half of the valley, while in the medieval - the Muslim phase, the activity appears to have been confined to the slopes of the Phirangimotu where the site still retains such an association in past with the Muslims, in its name "Turaka sela".

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\(^1\) Stone Inscriptions on Nagarkunakonda hill.
\(^2\) Tapanisamvaranopakhyanam.
\(^3\) This section has been contributed by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VALLEY

Being a single culture site with regular renewals, unfortunately, the stratigraphic evidence obtained in the excavation is of only partial help to us in determining the chronology of the site. However, the pottery associated with these, variously of the pre- and post-occupational deposits at some sites, indicate some range and variations and supplements our information on life style and changes.

This corpus of pottery is represented in three different wares viz., red-ware, black-and-red ware and black-slipped ware, besides a few examples of medieval glazed ware and stone ware. The decorations on the sherds are profuse and include variously incised, stamped, applique and moulded techniques. The commonest of them is the incised variety. Religious symbols like tri ratna and svastika have been noticed on some of the pots. Most of the pottery reveal utilitarian character. Black-and-red ware is represented mainly in shallow dishes having incurved and vertical rims. Black-slipped ware has a few more types like double flanged lids etc., while it is the plain ware which gives the variety of types such as dishes, lid-cum-dishes, bowls, carinated vessels, cups, pots, water-jars, storage-jars, troughs, finials, lamps and sprinklers. In the last mentioned three varieties viz., receptacle type of neck, knobbed type and funnel-neck type are available. Sprinklers of kaoline paste also occur. Handles, with or without decorations, are in large number. A handle of 'glazed' ware resembling an amphora is noteworthy.

Some of the pottery such as red-slipped ware of Nāgārjunakonda can be compared with those recovered at Brahmagiri, Kunnathur, Maski, Yellesvaram and Sisupalgarh.

Interestingly also about 20 sherds bear inscriptions on their exterior, datable to A.D. 3rd-4th century. Some of them read Nakatāravahāra, Maka, Goma, Śankara, Budha and others.

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The pottery of this period essentially of grey ware with coarse to medium fabric and is entirely wheel-made. The analogies for this pottery can also be seen from those recovered at Yellesvaram, Hampi and far off Hastinapur. The representative types are lid-cum-dishes, lamps, incense-burners, lids, jars, pans, basins and troughs.

The decorations on the medieval pottery reveal oblique slashes, zigzag lines, etc.

One solitary specimen of Chinese Celadon ware vase with featureless rim and decorated with lotus designs was also discovered and may belong to the early medieval times.

The following evidences furnished by the excavations as narrated in the following pages help to reconstruct the basic chronological sequence of occupation at Nāgārjunakonda in the early historical period.

A EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCES

(i) Stone inscriptions
   (a) Inscribed memorial pillar from the Site NK XI;
   (b) Chhāyā-stambha at Site NK IV;
   (c) Inscription at Saravadeva Temple;
   (d) Inscription on dhvaja-stambha in Pushpabhahrasvāmī Temple;

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(e) Pilgrim's records in shell characters (Śankha lipi) on some of the pillars in the Kārttikeya Temple;
(f) Inscriptions on the friezes slab found in Kumāranandī Vihāra;
(g) Label inscription from the Yaksha Temple;
(h) Memorial pillar inscription near Stūpa No. 9;
(i) Inscription on the Buddha-pāda;
(j) Inscriptions on the Senāpati memorial pillars;
(k) Label inscriptions on the veneer-slabs of the Bathing Ghāt;
(l) (i) Ābhīra inscriptions from the temple of Asḥabhujasvāmi (besides those discovered by the earlier excavations);
   (ii) Inscribed pottery;
   (iii) Inscription on conches;
   (iv) Inscribed seals and sealings;

Besides these, are the stone and copper plate records of the contemporary Pallava, Kandara, Kshatrapa and Ābhīra families.

B. NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

(i) Roman gold coins; Tiberius c. A.D. 37, Faustina c. A.D. 47;
(iii) Śrī Vitrapurushadatta c. A.D. 251-271; Ehuvala Chāntamūla c. A.D. 272-296; Rudrapurushadatta c. A.D. 297-310;
(iv) Copper coins of Pallava or Vishṇukundin kings;
(v) Gold issues of Chālukyas;
(vi) Bilingual coin of Alaaddin Khilji;
(vii) Tughluq's coin represented by those of Ghiyasud-Din and his son Muhammad Bin Tughluq;
(viii) Gold coins of the Vijayanagara king, Vitraratapa Harihara (A.D. 1377-1404) and coins of Vitraratapa Kṛishṇarāya (A.D. 1509-1529);
(ix) Copper issues of Bahmani Sultans, Alaaddin Hassan Gangelo the founder of the dynasty, his son Mohammad Shah I, Firuz Shah, Mohammad Shah III and Sultan Kaleemullah Shah, the last of the Bahmani; and finally,
(x) Qutb Shahis of Golconda.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VALLEY

C. DATALBE CERAMIC TYPES

(i) Amphora;
(ii) Celadon ware.

D. LITERATURE

(i) Accounts left by Chinese travellers, Buddhist literature—Mahāvaṃśa and Viśuddhimārga etc; and History of Buddhism by Taranatha; Sanskrit and Telugu Kāvyas and Prabandhas which contain some historical information etc.

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE IKSHVĀKU KINGS

Vāsishṭhiputra Ikshvāku Śrī Chāmūlamāla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(c. A.D. 227-250)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māthariputra Śrī Vīrapurushadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 250-270)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehuvala Chāmūlamāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. A.D. 270-297)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rudrapurushadatta
(son of Khatrappa princess queen Śrī Varimabhaṭṭa) (c. A.D. 297-310).

Hāritiputra
Śrī Vīrapurushadatta II
(son of queen Kupanaśrī)

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1 Refer to Introductory Chapter, regarding the stratigraphic evidence from the Defences of Vijayapuri and allied adjacent monastic, temple and secular sites which reveal the phases of growth of the city. Other aspects of the data revealed by excavation also help in confirming the developmental stages of Vijayapuri (Ed.)

2 Ābhīra Vasuṣheṇa’s record is during or after Rudrapurushadatta and could not be placed earlier than A.D. 315-325.
PART B
CHAPTER IV
THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURĪ : ITS STRUCTURES

A. Civic

(i) CITADEL LAY-OUT AND ENVIRONS

The Ikshvāku city of Vijayapurī follows the traditional lay out of early historic walled or unwalled cities and towns of India. The need, however, for a city wall has been obviated by the occurrence of the swift flowing Krishna river on its entire western periphery and effective hill-and-valley enclave formation comprised of the Eddannamotu hill on the south and south-east (600 ft. above mean sea level), the Phirangimotu on the east (900 ft above mean sea level) and the Nāgarjuna hillock, standing unattached towards the best part of the north (666 ft above mean sea level), leaving the Siddhuladhari gap alone at its east end separating it from Phirangimotu. This naturally well-fortified set-up left only the river side (345 ft above M.S.L) to be selected for the citadel defences which, again, had used two small hillocks, known as the Pedda and Chinna Kundelugutta to the north and south of each other, rising respectively 565 ft and 385 ft above mean sea level, by the linking of which respectively along the river flank and the land side flank, a defensive area of three furlongs east-west and four furlongs north-south within the citadel had been obtained. The space of river bank between the citadel and the Nāgarjuna hill slope forming the point for the turn of the northward flowing river towards the east, had been compactly occupied by a series of structural works, of which a reservoir dock-complex, out of a pre-existing river creek of the initial stages, and a massive ghāṭ are the two prominent ones. The characteristics of these sites will be dealt with under their individual heads as separate site numbers and as excavated. Suffice it to say here that this part had thus been intended for strengthening the river bank by embankments in order that the twin function of civic use as ghāṭ and commercial use as river port could be facilitated and river action could also be contained. The rest of the river stretch, further south of the citadel, was an open bank, all along which also several structures had been built for civic use, right up to Putlagudem where the ferry crossing for Yellesvaram is located.

With the defensive location thus ensured, the spread of the city had been conditioned by (1) the consistent use of the river traditionally for bath, rituals and trade; and (2) the establishment of the Buddhist monastic institutions in the interior, along the slopes and foot of the hills on the three sides. As temples to the Brāhmanical religion were best located on river bank, the western river stretches and the Siddhuladari gap, not to mention the narrow bank on the distal side of Nāgarjuna hill had been used appropriately. The central part of the valley is mostly utilised for the road stretches which from east (entry point into the valley from Macherla side) to west (towards the citadel and the river bank) and north towards Siddhuladari from one of main east-west roads, had been laid out. The most

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1 These pages upto p. 107 of this chapter were contributed by the Editor.
southerly slopes of the Eddannamotu hill had been unsuitable for habitational parts of the city and were perhaps used by indigenous tribal folk; being densely forested with scrub jungle.

The area immediately to the east and south of the citadel had been the preferred zones for both additional religious structures (Buddhist as well as Brāhmanical) and the east-west stretch, to the south of the Peddakundelugutta hilllock had been the chief commercial and residential parts of the valley.

A number of small spurs or outcrops like the Chula Dhammagiri or Nallarallabodu hilllock, the Tellsallabodu overcrop, the Mahiśāsaka spur on the inner slopes of the Nāgārjuna hill, had been occupied as vantage points for the early Buddhist monastic establishments where the Mahā-stūpa (as was prescribed particularly for the corporeal remains of the Buddha which it enshrined) was at the cross roads of the main north-south and east-west roads, not very far to the west of the Chula Dhammagiri hill. It should also be noted here that the nucleating fortified medieval village of Pullareddigundem was not in existence in the Ikshvāku times, though it was a physical landmark on the southern east-west road from the valley entry to the southern stretch of the river bank on the western periphery.

The structural complexes which were punctuating the residential, commercial and defensive areas detailed above, were thus mostly confined to the western half of the valley, while Buddhist establishments together with a few civic public structures had been confined to the eastern half of the valley.

These structures, where, by their internal evidence, records were found engraved and by their very location enable us to group them as belonging to the three main phases of the three kings of the dynasty. The overall distribution of all these structural sites, therefore, reveal the progressive occupation of the valley in the Ikshvāku century. The best way, thus of understanding and dealing with their features is by dividing these respectively into (1) citadel, (2) the residential zone and its range of sites, phase-wise, (3) the river bank sites (on the western and northeastern flanks of the river and (4) the outstanding interior-most structures.

As we are going to deal with the Buddhist establishments and Brāhmanical temples in two separate sections later, these will not feature in the civic lay out of the structures in the valley. The secular civic remains excavated, apart from the citadel and its structures comprised the residences of the common folk, workshops, rest houses, public and private baths, places of public gathering, etc.

Excepting for certain most important structures like the reservoir-dock (Site 122), the amphitheatre (Site 17) and the defence system of the citadel itself, most of the other structures have left only their ground plans. Hence, we are not in a position to distinguish the difference between the dwellings of the affluent and those of the common folk, except by the yardstick of the quality and efficiency of construction, use of durable materials, floors, sizes of rooms etc. It should, however, be noted that owing to the use of plaster work, wooden framework of pillars and roofs (except where being a public building, stone pillars are used), roofing of tiles etc., there was in any event not much chance of the structural elevation having survived even marginally across the long stretch of time over which decay had set in. Sculptural representations and antiquity range from individual residential sites could form additional evidence; the latter more relevant and reliable than the former. The use of a variety of pottery for diverse uses of working, storing, sanitation and the like could eventually be also one of the most dependable basis for evaluation of the living style, while the range
of craft equipments like querns, pestles, mortars, tongs, hammers of assorted sizes, chisels of the smithy, agricultural tools like sickle etc., reveal the technological standards of the period.

Further, owing to the vastness of the area of the valley itself, horizontal excavations were, of necessity, confined to only sizeable zones in the valley, in stretches approximately of 1300' x 1300', as around the eastern entrance of the citadel stretching into the central part of the valley. It is, therefore, feasible to deal with the individual zones mainly through the range of structural remains, *per se*, and not as well identified sectors of the town, though here and there compact evidence of the specific character of a locality had been afforded in a few cases. The size of the enclosure walls often prove a reasonable parameter for the standards of a township having been acquired by many sectors of the valley, the largest of them measuring as much as 250' x 150' in the western part of the valley. This zone was provided with well marked streets flanked by houses and bye-lanes measuring 24 ft and 8 ft variously, and leading to enclosures or clusters of houses in the interior, away from the main street. The foundation of the walls were mostly of two to three layers of random rubble in clay or mud over which stone in rough dressing or brick walls, as the case may be, were constructed. We have already noted that the very nature of the materials give us a rough and ready index of the phase or period of a particular king, by their consistent use, relatively earlier or later stage in a combination and locational features. Thus, Chāntamulā's phase saw mostly simple mud and rubble structures. Virapurushadatta showed consistently profuse use of rubble stone for all phases and parts of construction, and Ehuvala displayed the use of fine dressed slab and brick, in well laid out and bonded courses. It was common, however, to see the lay out of individual houses following simple or utilitarian norms traditional in India. Within a compound wall, there were front cluster of a few rooms with inter-communication, provision of a front and rear verandah, and an open inner courtyard beyond which was kitchen as well storage and floorage for human and animal use. Storage vessels for grains, oil, etc., were usually sunk into the floor level. We have further seen that a good volume of pottery of all classes had a lime coat on the interior (and sometimes on the exterior also) for preservative function and against seepage of watery or the liquid contents. From roof drains, circular earthen pipes and flat stone channels, it is possible to surmise that the buildings, at least of the affluent, had flat roofs with drainage provision while the common folk resorted to lean-to roof arrangements in rooms mostly ranged along the compound wall and tiled roof with partition walls in mud or rubble, and with rammed mud floors. Another feature that stood revealed as a norm is that in the better built houses, there was an enclosure with a central pillared pavilion with auxiliary structures on all sides, built carefully of brick work and sometimes veneered with stone slabs. The floor was also stone slab paved and interior walls properly plastered in lime of varying thickness depending upon the functions of the room. The pillared pavilion was perhaps a special element of the life-style, and was provided with balustraded flights of steps on four sides and with a central platform thus elevated. Obviously, this raising of the plinth was a mark of the economic or social viability of the occupants but if the carvings on the pillars and associated antiquities are any guide, these could have been the special reception place for the guests and visitors. The layout of such structures, seemingly followed or echoed the ritual architecture in temples where such *mandapas* for *snāna* (bath), *dolā* (swing) or
Adhivāsa (temporary festive location) were common. They reflect, however, only the secular usages extant, but in a more standardised or ceremonial structural format.

Before we take up the description of the civic structural remains revealed by excavations, dividing them into three sections, variously, those found south of the citadel and to the north of the citadel, besides others elsewhere for convenience, we should first deal with the most outstanding city feature of the valley, namely, the defensive citadel, as within itself and through its own organisation, it gives the best picture yet of the socio-economic and religio-cultural and political status and stamina of the Ikshvāku dynasty. It also gives the immediate concerns of the royalty that lived within, their ritual preoccupations (as revealed through the structural remains of the Aśvamedha sacrificial kunda and the Avabhrīta tank). These ritual structures would, at the same time, be separately dealt with in detail, in a subsequent section of the report.

The crux of the chronological position would involve the basic substratum of Ikshvāku rule (in an integrated pattern in the several groups of sectors) and their further stratigraphic phases upwards, marking the known landmarks seen from inscribed records. This will ensure the firm time-frame, as related to undated structures, of each of the stages of growth in the period of each of the four kings, thereby providing an authentic firm decision for each important phase irrespective of whether the structures are in western, central or eastern sectors of the valley.

We will be guided in these by the changes of structural materials like rubble, brick and slab dominant phases in the growth of the city till its terminal phase.

**THE GROWTH-CURVE OF IKSHVĀKU MATERIAL ACHIEVEMENTS**

An overall characteristic of the growth of cultural products—be they structures, pottery or antiquities, in the whole period of Nāgārjunakonda’s life, is that, irrespective of the antecedent legacy of the Sātavāhanas which the Ikshvāku surely inherited and integrated, there was a steady internal and intrinsic refinement and progress in the phases of Nāgārjunakonda’s development itself, beginning from the foundation of the citadel and ending with its fading away from political horizon. It would seem indeed that while whatever the ‘pre— or early Ikshvāku’ village carried, as part of the closing life-beat of the Sātavāhana period in the valley and beyond, the Ikshvākus did not just carry forward this state of being, from where it was left by the Sātavāhanas, but began on a clean slate for their own cultural devotions and denouement consciously, as if imbued with a mission to achieve firm objectives which could be termed as an Ikshvāku legacy’ by posterity.

This is more than well revealed by the studied growth in the use of materials and techniques employed in its construction; by the quick changes brought in the designing of the lay out of the city; by the ceramic range for elite and the common people; by concerted progress in hieratic constructions knowledgeably and certainly also in its art flavour which became a viable chapter in the growth of aesthetics in south Indian or lower Deccan art efflorescence in the opening centuries of the christian era. This is particularly highlighted by the life of Nāgārjunakonda ebbing away to a sudden and rather abrupt end, than through the seeds of decay from within. One should, of course, not expect decay within a century, in that formative period, but considering their quondam Sātavāhana inheritance, the Ikshvākus added a luminous further chapter to it, had not done it when they inexplicably ceased to be. This would underscore, all the more, the let-up for Buddhism and the rise of Brāhmanical religion.
with a renewed clan. In the overall reckoning of the regional culture of south India, thus, Nāgarjunakonda did not end, but just only disappeared politically; and its impetus is well seen, particularly in the progressive strength of Brāhmanical religion and its art, beyond Nāgarjunakonda's time-frame, which brought forth the blossoming products of Chālukya-Pallava cultural spectrum. It is strange that the Vishnukundins who were such close successors to the Ikshvākus—politically and culturally, being themselves Brāhmanism-affiliated rulers—could not carry on the torch of the material culture as outstandingly as Ikshvākus did in their time; and it was given to the Vengi-Chālukyas only to re-activate it from the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. The intervening period between the end of Nāgarjunakonda and the rise of the Vengi-Chālukyas is as much as two hundred years or slightly less, but no further orientations of the legacy of Ikshvāku-Nāgarjunakonda was seen in this interval. This would speak highly of the inherent stamina and potentialities of the Ikshvāku period which had been abruptly brought to a close, by a variety of causes partly (and essentially) political and partly temporal (by the flooding of the main west end river bank construction in the valley, by the close of the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.).

We thus find that cultural growth was in ascending degrees in the valley throughout and there is no element of decline in the cultural products. Building materials expand from mud, through rubble stone to fine dressed slab and baked brick and lime-plaster technology; lay out of structures from summary mud ramparts to conspicuously comprehensive technical design as in the Aṣvamedha edifices, the dock and the amphitheatre, simple channels to brick drains of massive shape with spayed ends and sluice gates not to mention veneered and closed ones from rubble embankments to grand ghāṭ structures; from rubble stūpas to the finest monastic-complexes; not to mention the scintillating art idiom; in orderly patterns, the like of which are rarely seen in this period and in this frequency in any other site in India and all these, despite Sātavāhana legacy itself having been known but sitting lightly over the rulers and architects and artisans and craftsmen of the Ikshvāku realm. Ikshvākus, thus, seemingly deserved a political continuance at this apogee of achievement. But this was not to be. No single early historic site has such unique and varied structural achievements like the massive ghāṭ, the multitude of Buddhist monasteries and Brāhmanical temples for several gods, dock-reservoir, technically abstract Aṣvamedha edifices, all packed within a century in ambivalent patronage to Buddhist and Brāhmanical clergy, to the elite and the common-folk and in unself-conscious absence of the trappings of monarchy (as we find in medieval times). Nāgarjunakonda city phase is a time-capsule of the robustness of Indian culture with near-ideal rural and urban graces.

(II) THE CITADEL (pls. XII B, XIII and XV A, fig. 20)

The citadel of Vijayapurī XIII had the defensive as well as the traditional function of explicating the personality of the royal founder. The fact that it was on the river bank would also indicate that the main source of attack could have been from across the river and the adversary was perhaps the chieftain affiliated to the late Sātavāhana kings from whom Śrī Chāntamūla wrested the rulership of the area of Guntur district essentially but including some attached tracts as well. The fact that we have an inscribed record of Chāntamūla in this tract at Rentala as well as from across the River Krishna, about 10 miles away north of Amarāvati at Jaggayyapeta, would show that the Ikshvāku founder king was keeping a problematic control over either side of the river bank areas across the river, all along from Nāgarjunakonda to Amarāvati, including the sizeable parts of present day Guntur district lying south
NAGARJUNAKONDA WESTERN GATEWAY OF THE CITADEL
(SITE 96 N-I)

RAMPART WALL

GUARD ROOMS

FIG. 21
of the river along the same stretch. We do not, however, have any clear data on the exact boundaries of the Ikshvāku kingdom at this stage. It was likely that Chāṁtamūla’s reign, after he became independent, was itself not easy or peaceful and perhaps only after he had effectively liquidated all such enemies across the river that he was able to perform an Āsvamedha yajña – as a stamp of authority and achievement, perhaps in the second or third decade of the third century A.D. Since the last year of Chāṁtamūla is eked out by his memorial pillar in the 1st year of Vīrapurushadatta, we may think that by that time he had performed all the yajñas mentioned in the Ikshvāku records, which might have taken a decade or more, and was surely independent by the second decade of the third century A.D. Since he was fighting in a familiar territory, it would be appropriate to consider Chāṁtamūla as ‘domiciled’ in this region. He was also a feudatory before that. Hence, we may place all the Sātavāhana kings within the second century A.D., except Yajña-and Vījaya Sātakarni whose reigns could have split into the opening years of the third century A.D.

The entire stretch of Krishna river upstream from Nāgārjunakonda upto Sangameswaram where Bhavanasi river meets the Krishna, was heavily wooded country of the Nallamalais (Śrī Parvata) through which the river cuts a deep serpentine gorge and was a perilous tract which could harbour enemies. It was likely that he might have expected attack mainly from that direction. The enemies could have been mostly of the Chūṭu tribe of Sātakarnis perhaps—we find indeed eventually, when Nāgārjunakonda’s Ikshvāku rule lapsed probably in the opening decades of the fourth century A.D., that a Vishnu Śivālananda Sātakarni is in the company of the Ābhira king Vasušeṇa as seen in his inscription of the Ashtabhujaśvāmi Vishnu Temple on the Siddhudaleri river bank, not to mention a Śaka prince of Avantī as well. It is anybody’s surprise if all these royal personages, who were clearly wedded to Brāhmaṇical religion had been desiring control over the area in order to establish Brāhmaṇical religious usages and suppression of Buddhist. This, taken with the ambivalent patronage of Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism by Ikshvākus, especially Śrī Chāṁtamūla and Vīrapurushadatta will show that it was a political expediency that had kept their power well supported by Buddhist clergy.

The conterminous occurrences of Brāhmaṇical rituals under Chāṁtamūla, along with patronage of Buddhism, could be deemed thus, as a deliberate exercise, therefore, to reinforce the throne and its dynastic succession; and it worked well till the end of the time of Vīrapurushadatta. It is during Ehuvala’s time that we see signs of various Kshatrapa percolations through matrimony, mercenary soliery and art devices; and thus Ehuvala’s times should have reduced the defensive potential of the citadel to a more show-piece of a royal enclave with Āsvamedha memorial and what not, and the decline of Buddhism and quick strides in temples for Brāhmaṇical religion had both been signalled and steadily enlarged in his reign, not to mention the advent of sizeable Sanskrit inscriptions. As far as Chhāyākhambas are concerned, we do find that the Ikshvākus should have been pioneers in their erection, irrespective of wherever they drew the inspiration for it. The fact that while still calling themselves Ikshvākus, they had not shown any symbols of solar lineage specifically, and were matrilineal in clan structure, in the other hand, would show that an upper Indian descent, if any, was notional and their domiciliary in the Guntur region of Andhra Pradesh was a certainty. Perhaps, the entire coastal tract of Andhra right upto Orissa should have been of several such clans, drawn from putative

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1 It would be untenable to think that because the pillar is found close to Stūpa No. 9 of the Aparamahāvāsin, the rulers kept Buddhism under pressure. It might well have been the other way round as well.
Ganga valley rulership. If we just consider the names of the kings themselves, their tribal nature was apparent. Like the Yaudheyas and Trigartas, these had been early historic tribal kings given to Brāhmaṇical religious persuasions and were apparently already settled in the Krishna valley. Their affiliations to Vedic and Sanskrit scriptal usages were seemingly kept under curb consciously, and it is only from the fourth year to Ehuvala’s time first, then in the sixteenth again and further in the twenty-fourth year, Sanskrit gradually becomes conspicuous. If we take the analogy of the architecture of the Ikṣvākus, the occurrence of terms like Śrī Viasalāma, Satalatalavāra, with corresponding records in Tamil region of the ‘Sangam’ Pandyas Ilavaludi and Peruvaludi using terms like Chitra-māda and Kūtāgāra, around the mid-late third century A.D., we find that the times were propitious for the rise of temple architecture and of Sanskrit in the south.

That the citadel should have been the scene of the Aṣvamedha ritual (pl. XIV B) in the late years of Chāṃtāmūla should itself have been a phenomenal event which makes Chāṃtāmūla stand out as an unusual personality, as it was perhaps the oldest material evidence to the performance of this yajña by any king in south India. Their monumental relic to it, within the citadel appears to have been restored and renovated by Ehuvala Chāṃtāmūla with firm bricks and mortar, while the original should have been perhaps of mud bricks (pls. XV A-XVI A). A discussion on the stratigraphy of the Aṣvamedha site (93) would be made further down. Suffice it to say here that the Ehuvala occupational layers in the citadel are comparatively meagre, in comparison with Chāṃtāmūla and Virapurushadhatta (see defence cutting, fig. 3); and the citadel itself, by that time, had become essentially a show-piece for the Aṣvamedha structure which were renovated by Ehuvala and became memorial sources of inspiration. The political pressure also was least during Ehuvala’s time and his reign was thus the most peaceful and was the apogee of Ikṣvāku clan in art and craft and life style, which was seen all over the valley. Well made and well bonded brick structures, along with veneering by dressed and carved Cuddapah slabs and stone pillars for brick structures often became a feature of this phase. For instance, the dock-reservoir is a magnificent brick structure, the Pushpabhadravāṁi Temple, on the other hand, is a brick-cum-stone veneer usage, seen also in greater glory in the ghāṭ structure, and later, in the amphitheatre structure. These last two were perhaps the characteristic examples of the zenith of Ikṣvāku period, towards the close of Ehuvala Chāṃtāmūla’s time.

When we deal with the structures in the citadel besides, we find a great contrast. We have, on the one hand, the rubble structures seemingly of the time of the first two kings and the good brick and slab use in the period of the third king by which time, however, as mentioned above, the citadel had outlived its strategic defensive function essentially and has only civic and royal contexts; and nothing explains this better than the disposal of the moat by filling it up. The fact, on the other hand, that the amphitheatre is located so far east in the interior of the valley on the east-turning slopes of Phirangimotu hill could be construed as an index of the shift of population then to the eastern part of the valley. This structure could perhaps have been of the time of Rudrapurushadhatta even, with Hāritī Temple also showing the trends overtaking Buddhism. The citadel in this period had become otiose and at the same time sacred, with restorations perhaps done to the Aṣvamedha site-complex.

The citadel gates were on the west (No. 96; fig. 21) and east (No. 90) and there was postern gate (No. 104) of the late phase on the northern side (pls. XVII A-XIX B). This postern gate would additionally indicate that at that last stage, the moat having been filled, the need for the royalty as well as the soldiery to reach the different river bank structures and shrines here might have arisen. It is also
seen that no attempt to build any major temple inside the citadel to serve as a royal chapel had been made. Thus, the royalty would have been visiting the temples around and outside the citadel by using these three gates. The eastern and western gateways were, both approximately 33.8 ft in width, probably for permitting elephants as part of the retinue. There was also a 10 ft pathway which ran at the inner foot of the ramparts. Perhaps, this was provided after the postern gate has also come into existence, so that one can move out from any part of the citadel through this pathway, without having to go through other areas which were probably 'reserved' and well protected.

Another feature of interest within the citadel is the provision of several water tanks, cisterns, etc. for most of the structural clusters. Obviously these were intended for ensuring continuous provision for water within the citadel for defensive as well as secular purposes, besides ritual needs as well. Although the river is close by, the round-the-clock requirement of water for the structures and personnel within the citadel had to be met, especially for the royal apartments.¹

The otherwise generally austere and unostentatious nature of most of the structures inside the citadel would be in tune with the essentially defensive use of this area, with even the royalty not given to the pageantry and pomp characteristic of medieval ruling families and their palaces in India. The Ikshvākus were the index of their times where homespun valour, rugged life and humanism were the hall-marks of kings in India, with power held for discharge of their self-imposed adherence to Smṛiti codes.

There had been the question of the location of the royal residence in the citadel. The nature and location of the structural complexes inside the citadel, dilapidated and fragmentary though they are, seem in this connection to divide themselves into six major clusters, respectively comprised of Sites 102, 100, 101, 104, 91, 93, and 95 (pls XXA-XXIV A). These are so situated that, except for 102, all others are ranged along the periphery of the inner space of the citadel. Of these again, Site 95 by its very separation from the other five and situation at the base of the Peddakundelugutta, should be deemed as unrelated in its function from the other five and more related to defensive arrangement on south side of the hillock. Of the five again, Sites 91 and 104, seem to be directly accessible to the army and its barracks, and 100 and 101 also similarly have a like function. This leaves 102-102A and 93 which are clearly the most significant remains within the citadel. The former is so overwhelmingly security-oriented and provided for multiple amenities, and was occupying advantage location on the top of Chinnakundelugutta hillock, that the conclusion seems to be inescapable that here, if anywhere, was the ruler and his immediate royal family (quarters) likely to have been located. The other (93) has

¹Some of the possible ritual needs apart from the elaborate arrangements seen made for the Aśvamedha Site 93) also seem to be well suggested by the occurrence of two small chapel-like chambers with moon stone entrance in Site 91 C (which is sometimes called the Barracks area). In one of these, traces of a square platform 18 ft x 15 ft line with vertical Cuddapah slab veneering was also seen. The fact that the huge enclosure wall for this complex was provided with any drainage outlets, on the northern and southeastern sides; in all five in number as excavated, with the larger ones about 2 ft wide and the smaller ones above 7 inches wide, in order to prevent stagnation of storm water inside the enclosure. This would clearly under-score the special use to which this location had been put to. The antiquities found at this site which include terracotta animal figures/figurines of elephant, horse, ram, etc., besides female figurines could be ascribed to the ritual worship perhaps involved here. Even a dice made of shell also found here, would perhaps conform to the ritual need of king to play dice (as prescribed in the texts on certain occasions prior to his assuming overlord status, on the Mahābhārata analogy).
THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURĪ: ITS STRUCTURES

again a significant and highly symbolic and ceremonial religious function, directly under-scoring the legitimacy of the overlordship of the ruler by becoming Āśvamedhayāti (which in the inscriptions Chāntamūla-I consistently proclaimed himself to be). Here, therefore, in the parlance of the traditional lay out of citadels, were the nucleus of the ‘power-centre’ and the ‘ritual centre’ which, in the king, were here inter-related. The three clusters around (101, 104 and 91) reflected the defensive potential of the king and, together with Site 93, focus their attention on the central purpose and location of 102 itself.

In this, the integration of the Acropolis idea of the West and the Samrāj idea of the Indians were mingled and integrated. In the city itself, again, the Brāhmaṇical monuments like temples etc., at least in the whole early period, were closely related to the citadel, and hence the secondary ‘spiritual centre’ of the city of Vijayapuri (especially on the river-bank, immediately to the west and north-west of the citadel) was itself bound by the royal location and proximity. It is only in the later phase that either Siddhuladari or the ‘Burning Ghāṭ’ site behind Nāgarjuna hill also become the Brāhmaṇical venues and, correspondingly, the earlier isolation of the Buddhist sites separately in the interior was also given up and Buddhist monuments are also found side-by-side with Brāhmaṇical monuments and mostly around the citadel, in its southern and eastern neighbourhood. Thus, the character of the citadel (in its interior) and the presence of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical monuments, in the entire Ikshvāku period divides itself into two patterns, the first, where royalty and Brāhmaṇical buildings are closely related and Buddhist monuments are in secluded interior clusters and the second, when all the three gain a closeness of outlook and location. The final phase saw the shedding of any pattern and rise of several public buildings of note, like amphitheatre, public tank, etc., on the eastern side gradually leading one outward, as seen in the Hāritī Temple which was the outermost on the east, beyond the entry point into the valley (Site 17) there is a view sometime held that life continued in Nāgarjunakonda even in the later fourth and fifth century A.D. But there is no direct stratigraphic evidence for it, although the desultory frequenting of the erstwhile temples in the valley could not have been avoided. But the valley was deserted, socially and economically.

(III) PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BUILDINGS

Apart from the private residential buildings for the common people and the nobles, we find certain edifices in various parts of the valley, which by their nature and vastness may have to be identified as public buildings, meant for social gathering on important ceremonial occasions like debates, religious discourses, games and recreation. Ancient Vijayapuri, as a renowned centre of Buddhism, attracted both Mahāyānists and Hinayānists from far off places. It was also a centre of Buddhist learning, with notable Achāryas like Nāgarjuna, Āryadeva, Dharmanandi, etc. Buddhist vihāras, dedicated to the use of Achāryas from different regions and of different sects like the Apara Mahāvinaseliya, Mahiśāsaka, Rājaigarika, flourished at Vijayapuri. There were also many exotic people like Scythians, Kushans and other frequenting or residing there. As a congregational place for gathering of all such for special functions, councils and debates, this open air amphitheatre appears to have been erected.

Site 17 (Sector S VII): Site 17 is a pre-eminent example of a vast amphitheatre or stadium

1The concept of the legendary rabbit chasing a hawk at a spot where the king comes along to build his capital citadel, might even be inherent in the name of Konda hill, on the very top of which the royal apartment is poised.

2The following pages of this section were contributed by Dr. R. Subrahmanyan.
NĀGĀJUNAKONDA HĀRITI TEMPLE
(SITE 17)

NĀGĀJUNAKONDA — VOL II

FIG. 22

0 10 20 30 40 METRES

0 10 20 30 40 FEET

108
(pl. VI A) and the only one of its kind in India of this period. On the contours of the Phirangimotu hill was juxtaposed the temple of Háriti (fig. 22) with an amphitheatre to its west and at a lower level (pl. VI B). The Phirangimotu hill which runs north-south, about 957 feet above the sea level. At the lower reaches of this hill slope, there is a westerly terrace projection of about 150 feet, at the 400 feet contour. Taking advantage of this ledge, the builders have chosen this eminence. It is in keeping with Roman amphitheatres in the west which again were generally laid against the slopes of an elevated hillock or plateau.

Taking advantage of this maximum 13 feet brick wall, which served as a screen on the south, a large open air amphitheatre was added to its north with a central passage or main entrance into the quadrangle and a flight of steps with galleries on all sides to a height of about 18 feet. This central open space measures 55'9" x 48'9" and exposed to sun and rain. During excavation it was noticed that the whole area was badly disturbed. Since an elaborate stone-paved drain was found built at in the south-western corner, to drain out rain water collected inside, it may have to be presumed that the central court was also paved with Cuddapah slab or brick (pl. VII A).

Around this open court, there are galleries or benches built in brick and encased in slabs both vertically and horizontally, except on the south-western side. The gallery consists of eleven tiers of seats. On the south-west side, the flight of steps leading to the top of the hill divides the gallery with two halves with an addition of 12th, 13th and 14th steps, perhaps to provide additional space for distinguished visitors. These latter top galleries have been found converted into special enclosures, perhaps to afford privacy and privilege to the people occupying these seats. It is interesting to note that some of the seating slabs bear the names of those that sat—Dhanakasa Ásana—etc., or for whom these seats were reserved.

Detailed measurements of gallery of this amphitheatre are as follows:

All round the open space in the centre, there are brick built galleries enclosed in Cuddapah slabs. The southern and northern side benches upto 11th tier are common in all. The southeastern side where the main stair-case divides the two halls, additional space has been provided on either sides of the staircase and covering the tier 12th, 13th and 14th for accommodating important visitors to the function. The tread of the step vary in dimension—First 3'0", Second 1'9", Third 1'6", Fourth 2'0", Fifth 1'6", Sixth 5'3", Seventh 1'9", Eighth 1'10", Ninth 2'0", Tenth 2'0", Eleventh 2'3", Twelfth 2'9", Thirteenth 2'9", Fourteenth 2'9" and Fifteenth 7'10".

The height of the steps are first 3'0", second 0.69, third 0.50, fourth 0.50, fifth 0.50 and the remaining are 0.90.

Besides the central flight of steps, galleries seem to have been provided also on the northwestern and southeastern sides, but only faint traces of that arrangement have survived today. The more spectacular and well-preserved one is the central stair-case. It is also 8 feet in width and is flanked on either side with ornamented balustrades. The height of the steps vanished with the gradient of the hill, the lower-most one being 4" in height. There are landings at regular intervals, to reduce the strain, while climbing on and the steps end in a narrow corridor or room immediately above the 14th tier. In the south-east corner of this room (measuring 29'0" x 6'6") with niches in the walls, there is a winding or spiral stair-case leading to the temple on the top. A circular abacus—part of a column was situated right at the centre of the quadrangle. One of the stone benches bore the triratqa and a bow-and-arrow
marks. Another has an inscription reading 'Kåmeśvara'. A rare feature connected with this building is its fine acoustics, which the architect had succeeded in achieving by utilising the slopes of the hill.

Site 48 (Sector VII; pl. VII B; fig. 23): About 100 yards to the south-east of the Hāriti Temple, remnants of a habitation area (Site 48), consisting of well-built residential houses in three rows, on northern and western sides, have been found. The extant remnants indicate a wall of 42' 5" in length, with a partition wall at the northern end, enclosing the three sides of a room which measures 14' 5" x 10' 10". The northern wing consisted of small rooms 6' 8" x 7' 2" and 9' 4" x 7' 5" separated by the partition walls 1' 6". A narrow passage of 4' 10" broad was left, to serve as a passage or entrance into the rear verandah. The northern side wall of the rooms extends further towards east joining with the eastern side wall. No trace of any regular rooms was seen. Particularly at the eastern side, only a wall of 1' 6" width has survived to a length of 30' 0". The huge amount of plastered brick debris and perforated tiles indicated the use of thickly plastered wall surfaces and the beautifully tiled roofing over them. Many post-holes at regular intervals of three feet on the walls (particularly in the two rooms at the northern wing) of the roof suggest that the roof was supported by wooden pillars.

The rooms contained coarse gravel-filling of 2" x 4" thickness, the top of which is plastered with lime and finished smooth. Outside the rooms, only mud floor is seen. The local farmers had dug the earth close to the structure. This factor contributed much to the destruction of the structure, so a full picture of the structure could not be obtained.

Pottery found here is of the usual red-slipped ware of the Ikshvāku period. A lead coin bearing the Ujjain symbol on the reverse and a corroded legend on the obverse of the Ikshvāku kings, was found here to help us in dating the structure.

The use of perforated tiles particularly and with plastered brick walls suggest that the Sātavāhana mode of construction was current. Hence it would not be far wrong to consider the structure as having belonged late Virapurushadatta’s time, rather than Ehuvala’s. It would also seem that it was not exactly a private residence but perhaps for wider use, based on its substantial dimensions. This goes well also with this whole elevated part of the valley containing Hāriti Temple, stadium (amphitheatre), etc.

Site 117 (Sector N-IX): To the south-east of the Mahiśāsaka hill on the slopes, there are a series of rectangular rubble enclosures of about twenty in number, of various sizes (Site-117). There is no uniformity in the size of rooms or any regular alignment. The biggest enclosure is about 205' 0" x 165' 0" and the smallest 31' 0" x 55' 0". Some other sites are on the southern slope of the Mahiśāsaka hill.

Site 119 (pl. VIII A): Adjoining the road and to its south-west is this complex of residential buildings with a rectangular brick enclosure wall containing a row of five rooms of more or less equal proportions, i.e., 9' 0" x 6' 6" with a verandah in front. Remnant of a drain and a tub are also found. There are a number of disturbed and fragmentary walls of brick and rubble of earlier period. But no regular plan is discernible. Towards the west, two spacious rubble enclosures are also found with a tub-like structure of brick in a corner. Thickness of brick wall is 2' 6".

Site 120: On the north of the same road (i.e., road no. 1) behind Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple are found rubble and brick houses represented by Site 120.
NAGARJUNAKONDA, RANGA MANCHA

(SITE 80, S-XXI A)

Fig. 25
Within a big rubble enclosure wall are seen three rectangular structures, two of brick and one of rubble separated from one another. The smallest room measures 20'0" x 12'0", the next bigger is 33'0" x 11'8", while the rubble structure measures 25'0" x 17'0". Besides these three rooms, there are two smaller rooms on the northwestern corner of the enclosure probably used as bath rooms.

Site 124 (Sector S-VII) Hārīti Temple (pl. VIII B; fig. 22): Site 124 is only an extension of Site 120. Huge rubble enclosures are found on either side of the road. This must have for locating the temple of Hārīti. This rugged projection was secured by building a retaining wall 13 feet in brick on the southern slope and the top rendered almost flat by filling the depression with mud and loose stones. Indications of toe-walls built into the core of the hills to strengthen the retaining wall and avoid possible bulging due to thrust are available. On the summit of this elevated ground 500 feet above sea level, a small temple for Hārīti, the mother of Buddhist pantheon, with a pillared mandapa in front was constructed. That this temple was attracting large number of Buddhist nuns and lay women is indicated by the discovery of large quantities of bangles in shell, perhaps votive offering at the shrine and a fragmentary inscription on a pillar, which records a perpetual endowment—Akshayanīva—for its maintenance.

Site 122 (Sector N-VIII) Tank-dock (pls. IX-X A; fig. 24): At the northwestern corner of the valley, in-between the citadel wall and the foot of the fortified hill and in the vicinity of the temple of Pushpabhadrasvāmi, on the bank of the river, taking advantage of the natural low-lying area, a magnificent tank reservoir with galleries on three sides and a pillared pavilion on the fourth, were built by the Ikshvākus. This is just a different example of grandeur complementary to the other auditoria or stadia in the eastern part of the valley.

The entire construction is in brick in lime lined with Cuddapah slab. The central open space 309' x 259' is found divided into a number of sectors, by vertical slabs fixed into the ground. The southern gallery consists of four wide receding steps or benches, the topmost one being widest. For easy access into the central court, there are three more flight of steps, while the northern wing contains longer benches of equal dimensions—two of them are on the south—divided into the halves by a circular bastion-like structure with a narrow central passage (pl. IX A). This passage was perhaps connected with some other building, but no traces of the buildings are available now. At the mouth of this passage, near the semi-circular opening, there are grooves in the wall for a wooden shutter1 to be operated from above. The eastern wing is perhaps the shortest gallery in height. It has only three or four steps and a wide bench on top. The western side is the most spectacular of all. It consists of a central projecting gallery with two long side benches. Pillar sockets and base exposed at this site indicate the existence of a pillared pavilion, where it was thought perhaps the king along with other nobility and important members sat and witnessed some functions. The vertical height of the pavilion from the side of the structure is higher here, which prevented all direct approach to the king from the centre. Two smaller flight of steps or stair-cases, on either end of the pavilion, perhaps served this purpose of approaches to the pavilion from

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1See Introductory chapter, the direction of this channel passage (coeval with the main construction level) from north-to-south debouching into the ‘arena’ enclosure, together with the shutters and spillway should especially suggest the ‘arena’ to be a water reservoir — Ed.
NAGARJUNAKONDA: 30-PILLARED HALL

SITE 70, S-II

Fig. 26
where people could reach the king, unobserved from front, at the same time maintaining the dignity and decorum of the royal personages.

Excavations in the pavilion site have revealed clearly three phases of structural activity. In the first phase, there seems to have been only a huge pillared pavilion with a high platform, while in the second phase, this platform was divided into halls or rooms. In the third phase on the ruins of the second phase structures, an apsidal shrine was built and a compound wall on the west added. It was perhaps during this period, that the square raised platform with rubble-filled floor was also added at the southeastern corner of the enclosure.

Antiquities discovered in the area are very interesting. Skeletal remains of animals, particularly those of elephants (pl. X B), coins, terracotta bullae and pendants, inscribed vertical slabs fixed into the ground, stone sculpture of Devasanä—the consort of Kärtikeya, the patron deity of the Ikshvākus—all seems to have been taken to suggest that it was a place of public gathering for functions like King’s ‘ābhisheka’ or amusements and sport connected and conducted in the immediate presence of the king. The occurrence of the elephant bones were taken to point to the elephant fight, while the clay bullae with double trident and perforations at the top might have been tokens issued by the king for the winners in the sports.

The sections of the trenches in the area, however, showed in the lowest layers, large quantities of pottery of the Ikshvāku period, mixed with fine sand, while the thick deposits immediately overlying them are all alluvial clay except for the surface humus and the layer immediately below. This thick deposits of clay, may lead one to think that the entire structure might have been a huge Pond or Tank (Teppakulam), generally found in south India as part of a temple complex. Its proximity to the temple of Śiva–Pushpabhadra can normally influence this inference but for the fact that the temple is stratigraphically later to the reservoir.

If the construction of a tank of this dimension immediately on the bank of the river were inexplicable then these are examples of such use. 1 Secondly, if the embankment and the vertical height of the structure of the eastern side is hardly three feet and inadequate for the float-festival (Teppotsavam) connected with the temple, it should be noted that the gradient within the tank itself is from east-to-west. The occurrence of elephant bones and skeletons in the occupational level of the building also need a more satisfactory explanation, in case it is to be identified as arena. 2

Site 80 (Sector S-XXI-A) Rāga Mandapa or Dance Hall (pl. XII A, fig. 25): This is a pillared mandapa within an enclosure overlooking the river Krishna on the road leading to Yelesvaram ferry. This brick enclosure, roughly rectangular, measures 91’9” x 78’3” and contains a square pillared hall (55’ x 55’) with an adjunct 31’9” x 24’3” on the western side. This square pillared-hall has thirty-six pillars, the bases of which are embedded in brick pedestal. The walls which enclose the hall are built with bricks in mud and plastered with lime on the exterior. Entrance to the structure is by means of a narrow passage on the east, built in typical Ikshvāku style. The entire structure has got a compound measuring 91’9” long and 78’3” wide. Arrangements have been made to drain off rain water collected inside the compound into the river by means of drains provided in the compound wall of the structure.

1 We have several notable examples. The latest had been at Sringaverapura site, the magnificent tank, very close to Ganga river.
2 It is the water-filled character of this enclosure that precludes its assumed use as an ‘arena’.
NĀGĀRJUNAKONḍA

BATHS  (SITE 70 A, S-II)

SECTION A-B  (ENLARGED)

DRAIN

Fig. 27
itself. There is a courtyard built of rubble stones adjoining the adjunct referred to above and it is also approachable by means of passage from the compound.

The structure with its central adjunct on the west and pillared hall in the centre, arrangement for controlling entry by means of one main gate was identified by T.N. Ramachandran as a Prekshāgrīha or Rangasthala, a place of public resort for recreation purposes, like dances, music, etc. He identified structures of this complex as follows:

The central brick room which must have served as a vedikā (stage) and the adjunct in random rubble as nepathyā or a green room, the central pillared hall as a place for prekshakas or spectators.

The inscribed clay sealings found here bearing the name 'sarasikā' has been taken by him as the token which had to be presented for admission into the hall.

We may compare the stipulations mentioned in Mānasara (which of course is much later to the Ikshvāku period) with the plan of this building. Mānasara mentions that places of public resort like bank which is applicable here and the stage of the Rangasthala should be elevated and only dwarf walls should be built which will not obstruct the view of the vision of the spectator. We do not know if from the structure under description particularly the front mandapa wherein the spectators are expected to sit and enjoy the performance they may have a complete and clear picture of the stage, by the arrangement of the pillars of the central pavilion but this is a matter of detail and such obstructions were part of pillared constructions.

Though the plan of the building compares well with similar structures identified as temples excavated at Nāgarjunakonda, on the basis of icons discovered therein, this particular building can be treated either as a private residence or as a dance hall.

The antiquities discovered seem to throw some light in the matter of interpretation of the structure. The most important of these are a terracotta circular sealing or token with an inscription in four letters reading sarasikā, a copper door latch and an antimony rod with clubbed ends. The first mentioned, i.e., the sealing has been actually picked up from the foundation filling and therefore will have to be ascribed to an earlier structure which was later renovated. The palaeography of the inscription of this sealing helps us in dating it to early third century A.D. which is contemporary to the Ikshvākus and naturally one has to date this structure to the period of the early Ikshvākus renovated subsequently. The name 'sarasikā' occurs in one of the inscriptions, discovered earlier by Longhurst, dated in the 20th regnal year of Rājā Māthariputra Śrī Virapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku lineage, wherein she was described as 'subbaratikā' or pleasure-giver. If the sarasikā of sealing under review is identical with the 'sarasikā' of the inscription of Virapurushadatta, the discovery of antimony rod which forms part of the make-up paraphernalia or toilet of women are significant and help us in dating the structure in the reign of Virapurushadatta (A.D. 250-270) and perhaps also in identifying this structure which can be taken as the residence of this entertainer and also serving as a Rangasālā where she entertained the public.

Site 70 (Sector S-II; pl. XI B; figs. 26 and 27): The Site 70, situated near the Kārttikeya Temple on the river bank, also appears to have been a public hall. The hall is enclosed with a brick wall on all sides (pl. XLIX A) This measures 48'10" x 42'6". The pillars are arranged in five rows of six each. Traces of a room with the mandapa are seen on the eastern side. A brick structure, segment
shaped, probably represents the entrance, is visible on the west. To the south-east corner of the hall, a brick enclosure wall about 55 ft long is seen with traces of a fine brick flooring. A small rectangular tub is also found (pl. XXVII B).

**Public Bath** All over the residential or habitational sites at Nāgarjunakonda, numerous masonry cisterns, big and small, with ornamented steps and benches with smooth floors were exposed to view. Their sizes and mode of construction and location in the houses are indicative of their use for storing water brought from outside. One is tempted to identify some of them as baths, public and private. Some of these are elaborately worked out, while others are simple and utilitarian.

Such water cisterns and reservoirs are distributed all over the valley in the citadel area, barracks, residential quarters (pl. XXI A), public mandapas or rest-houses and on the crossing of the roads. A huge rectangular or square tank with a depth of 3 to 4 feet is found usually in such places where the people were residing in groups, such as, the barracks area, vihāra etc. Though how exactly they were using it is not clear, the presence of stepped approach, sometimes fitted with doors indicates that the people were getting into them either to bathe in the tank or to fetch water from outside and use it. In most cases, these tanks seem to have been filled up by human labour alone and some of the small square tub-like structures, which are without flooring might have been wells. One interesting fact is the presence of broad paved platforms in sites like 102 (pl. XXIII A). This strengthens the belief that they were used for bathing by many persons at a time.

The presence of these in large numbers in the citadel area might also show that the people or the officials residing within the citadel were not normally using the riverside for a bath and that they were supplied water in their own dwellings as they had to perform security duty and constant vigil.

These water-cisterns and tanks can be grouped as follows:

1. Big rectangular or square tanks with three or four steps all round, used mostly for public bath.
2. Big rectangular or square tanks without steps which might have been used as water-reservoir for storage of water, evidently for animals.
3. Smaller square structures used as wells and in some cases as merely dust-bins.

The last item need not concern us here. But as regards others, there is no differential distribution in these types. They occur in all the places, even side by side. But generally speaking, the big rectangular tanks with steps are found more in public places, where there was concentration of population. Simple rectangular tubs are found in private residences. We can now study the distribution of these site-wise.

**Site 100 (Sector N-VIII; pl. XXIV B-XXV B; fig. 28):** One well-preserved example of this bath is illustrated in Site 100. This should have formed part of a huge palace complex but only the ruins of this bath disconnected from the main building have survived to-day. It comprises an oblong masonry cistern with flight of steps (pl. XXV B) and a slab-paved channel through which the tub was fed, an elevated platform to its north for the men to sit and bathe and a closed drain leading to a soak-pit beyond. This peculiar channel system, with gradient towards the interior and its proximity to the river, suggests the possibility of the builders providing something like our syphon method for feeding these bath tubs,
NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA INDUSTRIAL UNIT NEAR CHINNAKUNDELUUGUTTA

(SITE 102-A, N-VIII)

(EARLIER PHASE BATHING TANK & SUBSEQUENT PILLARED HALL WITH BRICK FLOORING)

Fig. 29
while those who could not afford such elaborate arrangements used small tubs filled by manual labour for bathing purposes. Some of these tubs had coverings. Benches around were also provided for people to sit comfortably and wash.

This site contained four tubs in close proximity, the biggest of them being a long rectangular one 16' long and 5'8" wide. It was provided with steps on all sides. The flooring is done with napa slabs. Adjoining is a well-paved platform where the actual bath was taken. This tub is connected to the soakage pit by a drain. Four feet away to the south, there are two more tubs side by side. One of them is 8'1" x 2'0", while another is 8'6" x 3'0", both with napa-slab flooring. In the south-western corner 8 feet away, is a tub 6'6" x 3'0" and 10" deep, built in brick. But no evidence of inter-connection between these tanks are visible. This betrays a fine hygienic method of bath, the water running from the water-reservoirs to the main tank where the bath was taken and later the water falling into a covered soakage pit.

Site 94 (Sector N-II; pls. XXVI A and B): Within the citadel, opposite to the western gateway and south of the Asvamedha site, are traces of brick flooring at two places by the side of the brick-built wall at 7 feet thick. On both the sides of the wall at different places are seen square tub-like structures made of brick (pl. XXVI A). There are eight such square and two rectangular tanks or tubs. The latter two are about rectangular tanks or tubs, which are about 130 feet apart and measured respectively 33'6" x 5'6" and depth 4'2", fed evidently by the adjoining well and 24'3" x 5'9" and depth 4'0" and are well plastered. In the centre of the tub, there is a hole of 11" diameter (pl. XXVI B). Both have smaller and squarish structures by their side, probably wells. The other tubs are all smaller about 3'6" square and squarish and they are distributed all over the area, some of them close to the wall and the flooring. Some of the smaller squares are without flooring and might have been used as wells. Some of the square tubs contained dumps of pottery, brick-bats, etc., and perhaps they were used as dust-bins.

Site 102 (Sector N-VIII; pl. XXVII A, fig. 29): A fine example of a public bath is afforded by Site 102, which was situated at the foot of the Chinnakundelagutta on its north. There is a huge rectangular tub 35' long and 4'6" broad. The natural bedrock was used as the bottom of the tub and hence, it is irregular. The whole tub is surrounded by a drain of 10MM wide and it runs round the adjacent platform on all sides and ultimately it falls through the north-west corner. It goes out as two drain side-by-side.

On the eastern side of this tank, there is another lime-plastered tub provided with steps around to get in. It is about 27' long and 4'6" wide (pl. XXVII B).

These two tubs and the huge platform described above seems to be part of the building complex around the Chinnakundelagutta, where probably there was concentration of population.

Within the rubble enclosure (Site 95), containing many residential buildings on the north-western slope of the Peddakundelagutta hill, there is a rectangular tub with well-plastered walls and flooring. It is provided with steps on one side. It is about 2'6" deep, 13'9" long and 8'5" in width. This tub was evidently serving as water-reservoir for washing purposes, etc., for this area.

Another rectangular stepped tub of a smaller size is found in Site 70-A (fig. 17; pl. XXVIII and XXIX A). It measures 7'6" x 5'0" x 2'6". It has lime-plastered walls and flooring. In a corner of this rectangular tub, there is a small tub three feet square.
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA GAMES BOARD
ENGRAVED ON STONE FLOORS

ON A BATHING GHĀṬ STEP
SITE-34

ON MANḌAPA BASEMENT
SITE-127

ON MANḌAPA BASEMENT
SITE-127

ON A FLOOR SLAB
SITE-108

ON A FLOOR SLAB
SITE-127

Fig. 31
THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURĪ: ITS STRUCTURES

Another important place, where numerous baths, big and small, are concentrated, is the Site 91, which is identified as the Barracks Area. There are about seven rectangular and ten smaller squarish tubs. One of them (Tub 8) is found in the corner of a room, evidently used for private bath. It measures 5'9" x 4'6". Many of the rectangular tubs had a number of steps ranging from one to six. One of them had post-holes at the entrance evidently for the doorway. The measurements of the big rectangular tubs are:

- Tub No. 11: 22'3" x 4'6"
- Tub No. 4: 18'0" x 10'9", depth 4'. This has steps around with an entrance
- Tub No. 3: 16'6" x 5'0", with one step around plastered flooring
- Tub No. 6: 15'6" x 5'0" lime-plastered flooring
- Tub No. 5: 13'0" x 4'9" with four steps around plastered flooring
- Tub No. 2: 10'0" x 4'6" with two steps around and well-plastered flooring
- Tub No. 14: 7'0" x 5'3"

Site 124 Bathing Ghāṭ (Sector N-VIII): The most spectacular construction associated with public bath is the huge Bathing Ghāṭ found to the west of the Pushpabhadrasvāmī Temple. This massive structure measures 380'0" x 100'0". Major portion of this ghāṭ is in good state of preservation. The ghāṭ consists of nine terraces and flight of steps leading to the River Krishna with four stair-cases from the river side. These stair-cases consists of about five to seven steps each and are all balustraded and the ornamentation over the balustrades is uniformly makara. An equal distance of 50' is maintained between all the main stair-cases and this ghāṭ as a whole is designed geometrically and its symmetry is maintained throughout. The core of the ghāṭ is built of brick in lime and is lined with Cuddapah slabs, perhaps for preserving it from on-rush of waters.

The flight of steps with ornate balustrade are constructed systematically and vary in measurements from 4'3" to 4'8" in length, 1.2" to 1.11" in width and 3" to 4" in thickness.

As the excavation would reveal, there appears to be two stages of construction in this Bathing ghāṭ. The portion which is found intact perhaps belongs to the first stage of construction. The latter part was perhaps constructed for dealing with dry season when water level becomes lower. In this case, the construction was simple and no decoration could be seen on the balustrades of these steps provided here. Perhaps it was prior to the main ghāṭ in date.

Since the construction of this Bathing ghāṭ is made on the river bank, it has been subjected to the constant inundations and as such, stratigraphy could not help us much in dating the Bathing ghāṭ. But interestingly, some of the Cuddapah slabs of this ghāṭ bear inscriptions in early Brahmi characters, which help us in dating the structure. They read ‘Asala’ ‘Parana’, ‘Venisiri’, all perhaps names of the guilds operated in the construction of this magnificent structure. The script is Brahmi and typical of the Ikshvāku period characters datable to second-third century A.D. The evidence of this epigraphical data with the occurrence of polished red ware sprinklers has made it possible to assign the structure to that of the Ikshvāku period. The mason’s marks as, bow and arrow, svastika, elephant on the Cuddapah slabs of the terraces of this ghāṭ, also corroborate the above surmise. Its location in the immediate proximity of the temple of Pushpabhadrasvāmī indicates its constant use by pilgrims who visited the shrine.
The slabs used in the construction vary in measurements from 3'0" to 7'0" in length and 2'10" to 3'10" in breadth, while the thickness varies from 3" to 4". The difference in level between the successive terraces is approximately 1.6".

*Measurements of the flight of steps and of the Cuddapah slabs used in the different terraces of the Bathing Ghāt as one gets upon from river-side towards Pushpabhadraśvāmi Temple*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slab measurement</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
<th>Thickness</th>
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<tr>
<td>1st terrace</td>
<td>6'6&quot;</td>
<td>2'10&quot;</td>
<td>3'4&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd terrace</td>
<td>2'11&quot;</td>
<td>3'5&quot;</td>
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<td>3rd terrace</td>
<td>4'11&quot;</td>
<td>2'8&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>4th terrace</td>
<td>6'4&quot;</td>
<td>2'11&quot;</td>
<td>3'5&quot;</td>
</tr>
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<td>9'1&quot;</td>
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<td>3'0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th terrace</td>
<td>3'7&quot;</td>
<td>2'10&quot;</td>
<td>3'0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th terrace</td>
<td>13'10&quot;</td>
<td>2'11&quot;</td>
<td>3'5&quot;</td>
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*Breadth of the terraces*

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<td>10' &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>4th terrace</td>
<td>10' &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>7th terrace</td>
<td>10' 4&quot;</td>
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*Levels of the terraces*

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<td>1'-0'5&quot;</td>
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<td>1'-0'5&quot;</td>
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<td>six and seven</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Site 19 Common bath* (pls. XXXI-XXXIV A; fig. 32): Another fine example of a public bath is provided by Site 19 behind the Hāriti Temple and on the banks of the canal. It comprises a big rectangular cistern measuring 20'0" x 8'0" and 3'0" deep with two steps going all round (pl. XXXI). It has a compound wall around and perhaps had a cover. Only sockets, indicating the position of the pillars over which the roofing was done, are exact to-day (pls. XXXII B-XXXIII A). Though it was built of brick laid in mud, it was heavily plastered with lime and lined with Cuddapah slab (pl. XXXII A). There is a square brick platform attached to this structure where people sat before taking their bath.
There is a drain on the eastern wall to take out the used water. This bath was perhaps considered here to serve the needs of the people, coming to stay in the rest-house nearby.

This structure has been subjected to wholesale renovation in the subsequent period. The bath, completely covered and its raised platform was remodelled into a temple with a flight of steps and a moon-stone on the south. Another enclosure wall added with the main entrance on the south and a secondary passage on the south (pls. XXXIII B-XXXIV A).

The circumstances that necessitated the closure of this bath and its remodelling into a temple are difficult to conjecture. Presumably, after the construction of the canal, which passed by the rest-house, and was used by the inmates of the rest-house as well as the exotic inhabitants of the locality, they might have continued a public bath at this spot and in the last phase of the valley it has been converted into a temple.

Sources of water: The city of Vijayapuri being vast, had to be exploited to provide this necessity of life to all the inmates of the capital. River Krishna, which is a perennial source of water has been utilised to the maximum extent for this purpose. Beside this, canals were dug, tanks with earthen embankment wherever the natural features of the area permitted were constructed. In this task, the noblemen as well as commoner took active part. Excavation of wells and construction of tanks for public utility were considered as acts of great merit. Numerous inscriptions of the period refer to Mahāmadras or Śreshṭhins and kings with their consorts associating themselves with the construction of wells or tanks—tāṭāka or vāṭā. The Baluru inscription registered along with other numerous gifts a tāṭāka also while Ābhīra Vasuṣena who was responsible for consecration of an image of Aṣṭabhuja in Nāgājunaṇḍa, area is credited with the excavation of a huge well on fortified hill.

As already pointed out, the people of Nāgājunaṇḍa had tapped many sources for providing water supply to the town, both for domestic and for irrigation purposes. We have found evidence of an ancient canal which was dug on the eastern side of the valley between Sites 49 and 19. Earthen embankments, probably indicative of the ancient tanks or lakes were found, one to the west of the University area and the two of them in Sectors S-XIII and XIV at the foot of Eddanamotu, besides another in Site 42. Wells are found in Sites 57 and 73 and tanks in Sites 64, 66 and 67.

Site 49-A Canal (pl. XXXIV B.): Vestiges of a canal of the Ikshvāku period have been exposed to a considerable extent in the southeastern portion of the valley. It must have served as a substantial source of water for the people living in this portion, which was far off from the River Krishna. In this portion, there were many establishments like the Stadium (Site 17), the Bath, Hariti Temple, residential houses (Site 48) etc., all on the slopes and the foot of the Phirangimotu hill and the people living here well-served by this canal. This canal was found running between Sectors S VIII and S VII in east-west direction. The water trickling down from the surrounding hill through the ravines or gullies was tapped and diverted into this channel by construction of rubble cross walls. The channel was about 30 feet wide and the water level in this channel must have been at least about five feet deep. The channel should have been used for irrigation purposes, as well as to feed the great ‘Bath’ (Site 19). With a view to get a full picture of this canal, the area between the Bath (Site 19) and pillared Verandah (Site 49) was excavated. This area showed depression and it was filled with
sand which formed into a sort of long sand-strip along the length of the Phirangimotu. Trenches laid across this strip of depression at several places far removed from each other have brought to light thick random rubble embankment on a good foundation of hard gravel on either side (pl. XXXIV B). The pit cut into the natural soil, i.e., the bed of the channel and the raised embankments were all clearly traced. The bund seems to have been raised to a height of about two feet covering of hard soil and gravel first over this, the random rubble embankment was constructed. This channel after taking a number of turns and bands following the natural contour of slope facilitating quick and easy flow and proceeded along the slope, probably conforming to the then surface levels, finally took a northerly course following along the foot of the hill for some distance, finally emptied itself in the River Krishna.

At many places, the layers sealing the embankment as well as the filling in the channel yielded typical Ikshvāku antiquities. Pottery of dull to medium red ware and red-slipped bowls and dish types, conical bowls and carinated vessels, typical of the Ikshvāku period, were found. In the close vicinity of this canal, an earthen pot full of lead coins of the Ikshvāku period were found, two hundred and eighty coins bore in the obverse the Elephant with raised trunk and a legend on the obverse and Ujjain symbol in the reverse. Majority of them belong to the two kings of Ikshvāku dynasty, Sīry Vīrapurushadatta and Ehuvala Chāntamūla.

*Tanks and earthen embankments:* People of Nāgārjunakonda did not allow the water coming from the nearby hills to go waste. They have built a number of small lakes or tanks with earthen embankments in different parts of the city. Remnants of two such earthen embankments in a semi-circular fashion were found in Sector S-XIII (Site 66) and S-XV on the southern fringe of the valley and the other found opposite to the University area. Portions of them have disappeared due to ravages of nature and agricultural operations of the farmers in the course of centuries. The embankment found to be made of murrum or red earth mixed with rubbles, gravels, etc. Though no datable evidence was found in these tanks, they probably belonged to the Ikshvāku period.

The tank found near the University area, i.e., on its western side is slightly bigger, its embankment walls were also made of murrum. Its location on the side of the canal indicates the possibility of its being fed by the channel already described. Long embankments in a curved fashion made of hard earth or murrum is also found.

*Site 42:* At the foot of Phirangimotu hill on the eastern side of Site 28 (pillared hall) some vestiges of another embankment of rubbles with a sluice and drain are noticeable. A rubble wall of 17 feet long in north-south direction is alone visible. A sluice or an outlet is provided in the form of a drain that runs in east-west direction. The width of the drain is 1'3". This sluice in brick masonry is interesting and shows arrangement for regulating the outflow of water.

These tanks appear to have been mainly used for irrigation purposes. It is well-known that tanks used for irrigation were already popular in south India during the megalithic period, since the megalithic tradition was also noticed at Nāgārjunakonda. This practice of construction of irrigational tanks might have been a relic of megalithic culture.

Apart from the kutcha earthen lake or tank, there were brick-built tanks as seen in Sites 64 and 67. The former is situated within the enclosure of the Yaksha Temple (pl. XXXV A). It is to the north of the temple. It is a perfect square structure of 97 feet with an 18 feet wide entrance on its south. This
huge tank is an excavation into solid rock till it reached the water column. On all the sides, the walls were built taking advantage of the solid rock, giving the needed offset to ensure stability to this structure. Five such offsettings were noticed. Since it is a 'stepped' tank, the main flight of steps was built on the temple side and is about 18 feet in width.

Site 67: In Sector S-XIII towards the west of the earthen embankment (Site 66 already described) and on the bed of natural stream or rivulet is a tank of about 30 feet square with an entrance on the eastern side similar to the one in the Yaksha Temple was exposed to view. This is also a brick masonry, but built with thick Cuddapah slabs. The approach to the water is by means of a flight of steps, five in number and about three feet in width. Since this is connected with a residential building nearby, it should have been a private well.

Wells

Construction of wells (vāpi) as has been mentioned already, was considered as an act of great merit. Numerous wells have been dug by the citizens of Vijayapuri; but the excavation which is naturally in a restricted nature, have revealed a few wells, big and small, in various parts of the city. We find circular and square or rectangular wells built of either coursed rubble or brick, generally associated with residential areas, temples and the citadel.

On the northern side of the Kārttikeya Temple (Site 82), near about the rows of cells, a brick built well of 20 feet square is found. It was dug to a depth of about 5 to 6 feet when water column was touched and further excavation abandoned.

Another well in good state of preservation was found in the Brick Pavilion near the river bank (Site 73). It is situated in the northwestern corner of the pavilion, abutting the outer enclosure wall. It is an irregular circle or elliptical-shaped one with its major axis 15'9" and the minor axis is about 6'0". It is a rubble-built well, perhaps commonly used by the people in the pavilion and the adjacent residential buildings.

Another elliptical well or tank is found in the Ashtabhujaśvāmi Temple (Site 29, pl. XXXV B). It is a temple complex located at the foot of Siddhuladari hill on the right bank of the River Krishna. These were the residential buildings for the priests on the south-west corner of the temple. This elliptical shaped brick-built well has a major axis of 50 feet. The thickness of the well is three feet. This was excavated by the confederacy of Yavana rulers, who were responsible for the consecration of the image of Ashtabhuja in the temple.

An irregular circular coursed rubble wall of 92 feet diameter is found in Site 18-A, close to the Hārīti Temple and the Stadium, lined with Cuddapah slabs. A similar one is found in Site 23.

There is a beautiful well of irregular square shape with 10 feet sides, found to the west of the Kārttikeya Temple (Site 57, pl. XXXVI). The walls of this well are about 1'6" in thickness. On the eastern side of the wall, a flight of steps comprising 16 steps leading into the water was noticed. Some stone pillars and sculptures from the Kārttikeya Temple and other Buddhist structures were found used in the construction, indicating its renovation at a later date when the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins and Buddhism was no longer the favoured religion.
Apart from these bigger walls, we find smaller squarish walls found particularly in the citadel area in Sites 91 and 94. They are about four feet square and probably used for filling the water tanks and cisterns constructed nearby and to supply the needed water for the kitchen.

A well of huge proportions is found on the Nāgarjuna hill. About 160 feet in diameter, this well served as the only source of water supply to the garrison stationed in the fort on the hill top. It is about 80 feet deep and stands as a monumental example of the labour spent in digging such huge excavation in sheer rock. All round it had a retaining wall in brick masonry which seems to have slipped and fallen into the well. The Ābhāra inscription dated in the 30th regnal year of Vasusheṇa refers to this excavation of a huge well (vāpi or mahātaḍa).

(iv) WORKSHOPS, ROADS, REST-HOUSES AND PUBLIC SANITATION

Antiquities discovered at Nāgarjunakonda supplemented by structural evidence furnish us interesting data about trade and merchant guilds that flourished at Vijayapuri during the Ikshvāku and post-Ikshvāku periods. Mention can be made here about Svarṇakāras or gold-smiths, Lohakāra or black-smiths, Sāṅkha-valayakāras or shell-workers besides Āveṣants – architects and Vidhika or stone-cutters. Inscriptions also referred to the Superintendents of works – Bhadanta Ananda and Nāganandi, under whose guidance and direction, structural activity at Nāgarjunakonda – Vajayapuri was carried on. Restricted digs in the city sites have brought to light vestiges of what appears to be the workshops of gold-smiths, sculptor’s ivory and shell objects, bricks, tiles and lime, pots of Ikshvāku period and an iron-smelting area of post-Ikshvāku period.

(i) Gold-smith’s shop: Near the eastern wing of Site 89, evidences of a gold-smith’s workshop (fig. 33) have been found. Interesting data by way of crucibles (pl. XXXIX A), moulds, for gold jewellery, touch-stone, weights, iron hammers and terracotta bangles were discovered at the site indicating its identification without much difficulty. A hoard of coins which was also found within the house well-preserved in a pot (pls. XXXVIII B-XL A) seems to lend support to the theory of Kautilya that the goldsmiths in the city were authorised to mint coins on behalf of the king.

This site is situated on the northern side of an ancient road running between east and west amidst a number of residential buildings.

It is a small rubble-built structure without an outlet enclosure. Within it there are two roughly rectangular rooms with a central partition wall. The bigger measures 20'6" x 17'0". In a corner of this room, there is a rectangular platform 8'6" x 6'6" with napa-slabbed flooring and vertical napa-slabs are fixed on three sides (pl. XXXIX B). Just by the side of the platform, is also seen traces of pebble flooring. This might have been the actual workshop while the adjoining smaller room might well have been the goldsmith’s house.

(ii) Sculptor’s workshop (pl. XL B-XLI-B): Equally important was the profession of the sculptor (Āveṣant and Vaddhaki). Richer nobles and businessmen (Sreshṭhīn’s) vied with one another in adding new edifices to the monasteries and decorating them with stone images etc., (Śailamayi pratimā) of Buddha and they generally entrusted these tasks to competent sculptors or Āveṣants. This is called

\[\text{Arthaśāstra}\] refers to goldsmith’s shop being located on the important highway in a city – which is apt here at Vijayapuri.
Navakamma "a religious building dedicated by some lay member to the Sarīghas." A Superintendent of works is appointed by the Bhikkus to supervise the constructions. These Vaddhakīs or Śāila Vardhakīs mentioned in the inscriptions formed themselves into guilds and they undertook construction works. Similar guilds of Utthaka-Vaddhakī, a brick-mason should have also flourished at Nāgārjunakonda—Mulabhuta, whose memorial pillar was found in Site 69 is not the only surviving evidence of the personal names of these ancient workmen.

Site 15 has yielded a large number of stone images of Buddha in different stages of execution, stocked in a rectangular room. This was perhaps the place where stone-sculptors were working and supplying these images to the different monasteries of Nāgārjunakonda (pl. XL B-XLI B).

This rectangular room is situated on the southern wing of a vihāra on the hillock by the side of the road to Vijayapuri. It is within a monastic unit which consists of a rubble stūpa and three-winged vihāra. This particular room measures about 18'0" x 8'9" while the northern and eastern wings of the vihāra have only four rooms. The western wing along has this additional chamber, probably set apart for the sculptors. Entrance to this chamber is provided with a moon-stone slab. It is interesting to note that in the centre of the wall of this chamber, there are niches, evidently meant for keeping these sculptures during the process of carving (pl. XLI A). To the south-east corner of this room, another rectangular pedestal made of bricks is also found. From this room were recovered three torsos of Buddha (pl. XLI B) and one from immediately outside. Besides these lime-stone carvings of Buddhāpāda, a stone with line drawings of Dhyāni-Buddhas was found outside this room. Similarly, pillars carved or otherwise, needed for the mandapas or Pillared halls were done by these Vaddhakīs. A name 'Vadhika' with the symbol of a bow and arrow was found occurring invariably on the niches or pillars of the halls excavated here. The pillars discovered in the site of Ashtabhusvāmī form a class by themselves in this category.

(iii) Ivory and Shell-Workshops (pls. XLII A and B): Ivory and shell workers also received similar patronage at the hands of citizens of Vijayapuri. There residences were immediately outside the guild of śankha-valayakāras, who worked on conches making them into bangles. These shell bangles were in great demand as they formed a major part of the offerings at the temples of Hārīti and Ashtabhujasvāmī. These shell workers (Śankha-Valayakāras) are very often referred to in Mahāvastu, and they must have played a leading role in the internal trade and commerce of Nāgārjunakonda also.

Site 36 is a twelve-pillared mandapa within a brick enclosure. The mandapa measures 52'8" x32'0". On all sides except on the east, traces of rubble platforms are seen. There are traces of partition walls dividing the mandapas into three rooms.

This site produced a maximum number of shell-bangles, about four hundred and sixty-eight in number, in various sizes and stages of execution. This high frequency might indicate that there must have been located some centre of manufacture of shell-bangles. There might have been one or two more centres of manufacture or shops where these bangles were sold, particularly in front of Hārīti Shrine from where a large number of Ivory objects (pls. XLII B and C) were found. There might have been a shop to sell these objects to the worshippers who came to offer the Ivory and shell bangles to the mother-Goddess Hārīti for propitiating her.

(iv) Bricks, Tiles and Lime (pls. XLIII A and B): Building materials like bricks and tiles were
manufactured in the city itself. Evidence of the kiln specially built for this purpose and used in the construction were noticed at some sites like the University area and NK II. Practically at every site, flat and corrugated tiles, sometimes with holes and bridged or platforms, were found indicating their use in the construction. The bricks, which are well-built, are of larger size and some of them bear the mark of the brick-mason—bow and arrow—the guild responsible for many a construction in this city.

(v) Lime-slaking centres: Lime was also burnt and slaked in a number of sites as indicated by the numerous lime-tubs and pots found at sites. Sand, both coarse and finer variety was used in preparing the lime-mortar used for construction purposes. It can be mentioned that lime was used in construction at places where they were in contact with the water while other structures were built in mud and plastered with lime.

In Site 96 near western gateway of the citadel, a rectangular tub of 6'6" x 2'6" was found. Probably this was used for mixing the lime while work was going on in connection with the construction of the gateway and the rampart walls.

In Site 18-A, we have a huge circular lime-kiln with four small passages or outlets on four sides. Evidences of hard earth mixed with lime were available. The circular kiln is also 15 feet in diameter (pl. XLIII B).

In Site 91 near the barracks within the Citadel, also a few rectangular shallow tubs are found, which could have been used as lime-tubs. Tub Nos. 7, 16, 12 afford such examples. They are roughly about 4'0" x 2'6".

(vi) Potter's Shop (Kumbha-kāras): Significant was the role played by the potter, who not only made utilitarian pots, sprinklers, dishes, lamps of numerous shapes and designs and toys to serve the demands from people but also engaged himself to the manufacture of all images of cult Gods and Goddesses, Votive tanks, etc., used in their workshops. In this art, the potter betrays in delineation, ornamentation, etc., his skill which is of no mean order. Of these cult Gods worshipped by the people of Nāgarjunakonda, the mother Goddess, Kārttikeya and Pūrṇa ghatā or fertility symbols, are popular. The technique adopted by the potters who manufactured these terracottas is also available. The most important and dominating is the double-moulded one, while evidences for the manufacture of applique and plaque varieties are also not wanting. Particular mention may be made of Site 69, where terracotta figures have been found in plenty. The Site 69 is a rubble enclosure on top of the hill mound with a brick wall inside.

(vii) Black-Smith's Workshop: Evidences of an iron-smelting area belonging to the post-Ikhsvāku period are available in the valley. A large number of iron implements found in various parts of the valley definitely shows that iron was used profusely for the day-to-day needs of the people in agriculture and other purposes. One such centre was apparently located in Site 17-A, on the slopes of the hill near Stadium. The surface exploration in this area itself yielded a large number of molten iron lumps suggesting the location of an iron-smelting industry and the excavations have only corroborated this surmise. All the necessary equipment of a black-smith (Lohakāra) like, furnace for smelting iron, slag, pipeline in terracotta to pass the molten metal to the moulds to get the desired shapes of implements manufactured, besides arrangement for storing water were all discovered at this site.

This structure consisted of a single row of four rooms and a front verandah of 3'9" in width. Room Nos. I and II were 7'9" square, while Room No. III measures 17'0" x 7'9" and Room No. IV measures 9'2" x 7'9". On stratigraphical grounds, the present structure can be ascribed to a period immediately
following the Ikshvaku time, as it overlay the earlier Ikshvaku phase. The associated ceramic industry like the coarse-grained grey ware with no slip or wash, pale red-slipped ware of coarse section point to the same conclusion. Besides, a number of iron lumps, a furnace or kiln of oval shape supported by bricks built around was also found. Similar kilns in broken condition were also recovered in this area. A number of earthen pipes with circular groove of \( \frac{1}{2} \)" to 1" diameter were also found. These were used perhaps to connect the blowers to the furnace as conduits of air.

(IV) (b) PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BUILDINGS—OUTSTANDING STRUCTURES
(pls. XX-XXIII)

I. THE SPECTACULAR CIVIC-STRUCTURAL LEGACY OF Nāgārjunakoḍa AS REVEALED BY EXCAVATIONS

(i) Dock Reservoir (fig. 24)

While the art of Nāgārjunakoḍa, through its Buddhist and Brāhmanical sculptures, had been known even before the large-scale salvage excavations, mainly arising out of the earlier limited archaeological activities under Longhurst and Ramachandran and a good number of the vital inscribed records has also been then unravelled, edited and published by Buhler, Sircar and others, it will be the undisputed claim of the salvage excavations, on a scale unknown in India till then and in Andhra Pradesh in particular, that several outstanding structural complexes of secular character related to the urbanised context of Ikshvaku rule from Nāgārjunakoḍa, as their capital, quite apart from the foundational temple architectural models, were also unearthed for the first time, making this area as the nucleus of one of the earliest temple formulations in India, which was mainstream cultural bequeathal of the Ikshvākus for the art history of Andhra Pradesh and south India.

These secular structures comprised (1) the massive dock-reservoir, north of the citadel (Site 122), (2) the amphitheatre (Site 17), (3) public tanks (Site 18) and (4) the grand ghāṭ (Site 23). While (2-4) have been duly described elsewhere, special remarks only on No. 1 is called for.

The first was so integrated with its environmental lay out of other structures and its functional needs that it might be considered as the most advanced planning that was feasible in that period comparatively. To its north immediately lay the Pushpabhadravāmi Temple-complex and, further beyond, the ghāṭ at the foot-slopes of the Nāgārjuna hill (pl. IX A); to its south, almost in immediate propinquity and overlooking it from the brick defences, the citadel (pl. IX B); to its west was poised the Sarvadeva Temple-complex which had a secular and ritual context; and to the east and south-east lay the most well peopled and build-up part of the city.

The amphitheatre located on the southern slopes, at an elevation of the Phirangimotu hill, was even more unique, being the only one of its kind in India, and holding thus a special place in the life-style of the people of Ikshvāku capital, apart from its origins.

The public baths, again, are unusual in India; especially where there are perennial rivers and often imply the presence of foreigners, for whom bath is a periodic luxury not enjoyed everyday, especially when it is located at an elevation at rocky bench, well above the ground water level, which is not common in India where the natural springs would have been found mostly at ground level.

Taking the dock-reservoir (Site 122), first we find here a prototype of a harbour-like tank where boats can be berthed. While this is well enclosed continuously in squarish plan on all the four sides, namely, the east, south, west and north, we find on the northwestern corner a gap (pl. XI A) which was deliberately
left as the entry point linking the river in its then normal dry season water level (pl. X A), which was at the 345 ft contour, so that boats can directly move into the harbour tank in monsoon season where there must be a rise of the level and the river itself would be swift-flowing in its main bed. There should have been a regular gate opening which could be shuttered to keep the tank water level steady, but this has been so damaged that this feature might have been obliterated. But a sluice gate provided to a long well built drain which curved out into half-bastion plan at its southern end into the tank, with multiple stepping in-between the half-bastion sides intended to prevent scouring, is almost exactly comparable to the inlet-sluice for a reservoir excavated at Kaveripattinam and belonging almost to the same early historic stage and massively built of large bricks in the same manner. Here, therefore, is an entrance which is not only archaeologically corroborated by its synchronism with Kaveripattinam, but also clearly suggesting that the storm water of the Nāgarjuna hill slopes immediately to the east of and behind the Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple-complex was duly diverted to drain into this tank, thereby channelising the storm water to debouch into the harbour-tank. The tank is 309' x 259' in dimensions and while on the eastern flank it has only three broad stepped descent from its top promenade surface, involving a depth of about 4' or so, on the other sides, it provides for at least 6'-8' depth by additional steps. This difference is, however, mainly due to the fact that the eastern side itself is at an elevation, as compared to the other sides, and thus more steps would have been necessary from the natural bottom level of the tank on these westerly sides to make the entire top level of the tank embankment of an even level. It is like a promenade deck with widely laid steps. The deposits inside this tank began with fluviatile sand, followed by alluvial clay of massive and striated character, almost up to the top humus.

Two interpretations were given when it was excavated about the nature of this massive structure. It was first suggested that it was in fact an arena where Royalty held parades and distributed largess. Secondly, it was said that it would have been a float-festival tank for the temples nearby, especially the Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple. The first is prima facie untenable, not only by the very stratigraphic deposits of sands and alluvial clay that filled it but also by the fact that a major drain is emptying itself into this structure and thus it was clearly a water body and not a dry land surface. There is also no flooring for it. The second suggestion which, in effect, nullifies the first, is itself untenable; firstly, because neither the Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple, nor the other apsidal temple on the top of the western complex of structures is earlier or even coeval with this tank, but stratigraphically succeeding it. Hence, it could not have foreseen the temples. Further, the float-festival ritual is a comparatively much later and perhaps of an early medieval origin, in comparison with the earlier usage of Tirthavari or the divine idol taking a dip in the river or sea on certain festive days and the eclipses. We already noticed that there is a separate temple for this purpose, namely, the Sarvadevādhivāsa (Site 99) built by Eli Śrī and recorded in his inscription under chapter on 'Inscription'). This Adhivāsa or temporary special sojourn for all the gods who had temples at Nāgarjunakonda in the Ikshvāku period, was clearly related to the river front.

Thus, we are left with a massive tank formation (1) which had separate sectors graduated by pier-like sides provided for flights of wide steps, (2) which had an inlet sluice drain with shutter gate, debouching into it from the north and integrated in a construction with the tank embankment walls and steps, and filled with sandy and alluvial deposits, and (3) which, in its depth, was of the same level as the river water level, low in dry season but rising at least about 8' in the monsoon season when the gates, provided apparently on the north-east corner, could have been so operated as to prevent excess of water and regulate the level within and in coordination also with the inlet sluice gate on the north which will also be operated to take in storm water into the tank.
THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURĪ : ITS STRUCTURES

This harbour or dockyard system provided here, is, therefore, of a unique character. We know that at Amarāvatī, the Dharanikota habitational site had a harbour arrangement but of a dissimilar kind, like a quay for boat entries. Unfortunately the mouth of the harbour structure had been irretrievably damaged by the very floods which in the period perhaps of Rudrapurshadatta, spelt disaster for the river bank area of the city of Vijayapuri itself, as we have shown elsewhere. It is also interesting that, firstly, the western side was the most impressively built with a central projecting gallery and two long side benches. Pillar sockets and bases exposed here suggest the existence of massive pillars rising to provide for a pavilion here at some commanding height. There were even perhaps access to the other parts of this complex from the flanks of this pavilion. There could even have been direct sluice channels for the river through the base of this complex, linking the river and this tank. Further, on the southern side, there was the most carefully and attractively built ghāṭā-like divisions, perhaps used by the royalty when they arrived or departed by boat in the river, especially since the citadel was immediately behind this side to the south. The massive structuring of the west side itself is proof-positive to the need to shore up this side to prevent the river scouring the natural inlet it had formed over the centuries, prior to the construction of the citadel or the ghāṭās, which was particularly caused by the protrusion of the Nāgarjuna hill like a dolphin’s nose athwart the bend of the river here eastwards, further, resulting in the intrusion of the river inwards. This structural-complex of the west could have housed the customs and excise establishment also. It was provided with a shrine on the top, in tune with the invocation of divine grace at places where a harbour or dam is constructed for safe passage and prevention of accidents. This structural-complex was in three clear structural phases, the first phase providing for spacious pillared pavilion deck; where in the second phase, the platform deck itself was compartmentalised into chambers; and in the third or late phase, on the debris of the second phase—implying an interval of time—an apsidal structure was built as also an enclosure wall. There were some other additions also in the form of rubble floored and plastered platforms as at the south-east corner of the enclosure.

It is the antiquities here, in the final analysis, that add further evidentiary value to this large tank-dock structure. They comprised skeletal remains of animals, especially elephants (pl. X B), cows, besides terracotta bullae and pendants, stone sculpture of Devasenā—the consort of Kārttikeya—not to mention sword-hilts. They all point to secular transactions of indigenous and exotic people arriving by boats form further downstream of the river from centres like Amarāvatī or Jagayayapeta. As to the possible argument also that when the river was nearby, there was no need for this tank, the answer is provided by the excavated remains of one of the finest tanks built in the early historic period, as Sringaverapura (U.P.), just on the immediate rear part of the city mound which was located right on the banks of the river Ganga—and fed through, in fact, a secondary channel from the river taking the water at floor level into this unique double tank, one within the other, complete with sedimentation chambers, flanking broad promenade steps on its inner flanks, and eventually linked at the far end of the tank, to the river again by another dry channel. This construction was of the Kushan phase there in the first century A.D., as evidenced by coins and pottery in the tank. In the sequel, this Nāgarjunakonda harbour-tank and the Sringaverapura tank have also one factor in common, namely, both were preventing the natural erosion of the river, swollen at flood time in the monsoon season, when a diversionary water body was necessitated.

If we compare this, with a regular arena or amphitheatre which is the next most spectacular and unique creation in Vijayapuri and which was found on the terraced bend of the Phirangimotu hill slope (half way up), at the east end of the valley, the exclusive and distinctive factors necessary for an arena stand out. That amphitheatre was, in fact, closely similar to the several Roman amphitheatres in Italy
and West Asia (except in shape) where they were invariably built against the natural slope of a hillock or a plateau edge, so that they may partly have an environmental aspect of overlooking the lower ground level of the city.

(ii) Civic or public structures discovered south of the citadel

The area immediately lying to the south of the citadel is comprised of sectors S-II, S-IV, N-I, N-II and N-III. Of these, the last two are to the south-east of the citadel. The structures which were found in excavations in these, were Sites 72, 73, 74, 58, 57, 89, 87 (pls. XLIV A and B) and 37. These were both of rubble-built and brick-built structures. Normally, residential structures comprised a row of rooms with a common verandah and a compound wall enclosing them. Some of the outstanding constructions are detailed first before the rest of them could be briefly dealt with.

Site 74 (Sector II) : This yielded remnants of the buildings — one partially superimposed over the other, the former built of brick and the latter of rubble stones. The former consisted of a row of four rooms measuring 8'6" and 8'9" with a front verandah (pl. XXXVII A). It seems to have been provided with a roof made of tiles fastened to ceiling rafter through cross reapers. This could be presumed by the larger quantity of flat tiles, some of them carrying perforation, unravelled by the excavation. Similarly perforated tiles were found used in Brahmagiri mound at Kolhapur, of the Sātavāhana period.

The perforations were for receiving nails (which could be of wood or iron) which will be clamped to the reepers and rafters. This structure had an east-west orientation and perhaps had been built with its southern wall abutting on the enclosure wall. It was seemingly facing into the river on the river bank road. From the extant structure, it was not possible to assess the maximum height of its walls, but perhaps it was confined to one floor only and of an average height of pillars should have been about 9 ft-10 ft The brick structure was perhaps a renovation of the original rubble stone structure as at least two structural levels are noticeable in section. The average size of the bricks, which varies, was 14" x 7" x 2" which is generally comparable to the early historic bricks of the third century A.D. and after, which were used in most of the ancient sites in India.

The rubble-built structure (pl. XXXVII B), had indeed a different orientation and was at right angles to the subsequent brick structures. It had two rooms, one bigger than the other, the former measuring 15'0" x 9'0". As the construction had been done on the slope of the hillock here, it is possible that the remnants of the superstructure would have been destroyed by erosion.

Thirty-three lead coins bearing the legend of Śrī Vira, presumably Śrī Virapunushadatta, the second ruler of the Ikshvāku dynasty, were retrieved in this area, thus helping us to affirm that it might have belonged to his reign. A terracotta bead and a conch shell were also recovered. Pottery from this site was mostly utilitarian and of secular use. Its north-south orientation, unlike the brick structural subsequent phase, might also show that in the earlier phase, houses were oriented towards the citadel,

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1H.D. Sankalia and M.G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Brahmajapuri (Kolhapur)* — 1945-46, p. 30. This would further show that some of the early buildings carried tiles of the Sātavāhana tradition of larger sizes, while the later ones were of lesser size, ogee-shaped and with a right angular bent head part which could be laid in overlapping rows on reepers, allowing water to move down to the ground without percolation. By this token, the rubble built structures were continuous with the end of Sātavāhana rule here.
while, in the later brick phase, with its linkage to the river bank and enrichment of Brāhmaṇical temple activity on the river zone, it had to be related to the river bank. This syndrome of the rubble structures of the time of Vīrapurushadatta having been improved into brick structures in the time of Ehuvala Chāmamulā is seen in most of the early sites on the western part of the valley.

Site 72 (Sector S.II): This structure, while being similar to the earlier one described from Site 74, consisted of a row of three rooms, each measuring 13'6" x 9'6" with a front verandah of about 5 ft width and east-west orientation with the main entrance of the building from the north, as perhaps revealed by the traces of Cuddapah slab steps leading into the rooms. Storage-jars and pots, in good numbers were found fixed into the ground, inside the enclosure and presumably used for storing grains etc. It seems to have belonged to a prosperous occupant.

This site was also rich in antiquities. Nearly thirty-eight lead coins, fourteen terracotta human figurines, a terracotta elephant, twelve stone beads, bricks, many iron objects complete the list. Some of the coins are clearly ascribable to King Vīrapurushadatta and thus may belong to an early structural phase. Terracotta figurines which were also discovered at this site were made of the double mould technique and help us in understanding the common man's art and ritual objects of the capital city. A stone intaglio with an engraving of stylised figure of a lion holding in its mouth a beaked creature on the left corner and trirama on the right is a notable antiquity. This stone receptacle is divided into four compartments and its under-side is without any decoration. It was possibly a toilet tray.

Site 73 (Sector S.II-I Junction), (fig. 34): This was a pavilion with three balustraded steps provided on the west and enclosed by a brick wall whose main entrance, however, was on the south. This difference in the direction of entry for this structure may be due to the fact that it was located on the river bank road running north-south, on its western flank. Some highly disturbed remnants of rubble building were also found, perhaps forming the original residential part of this site. A huge kaccha drain was also seen provided on the south, parallel to the main rubble enclosure for this complex, and was having a rectangular pattern. There was also a smaller drain joining this bigger drain. This may indicate that each residential structure was provided with a house-drain and was connected to the street-drain. Further, the brick wall enclosed pavilion should have itself been an addition to the original rubble with enclosed residential structure itself, also rubble built and with a coeval rubble drain. Thus, this structural-complex was begun during Vīrapurushadatta's time as a self-contained unit along with the drain and the pavilion was added during Ehuvala's time to it, in view of the special need for the occupants.

Sites-107, 111, 115, 89, 81, 57 & 58 (Sector N.IV, N.III, and Sectors-IV): A cluster of rubble stretches with a rough east-west alignment was seen on the eastern side of the citadel. This appears to have formed part of Sites 107, 111, 115, 89, 87, 57 and 58. This should have been a viable zone of residential character or the early phase of Vīrapurushadatta added to in brick during the next phase and forming main residential sector at that time of the Vijayapurī town. The details of these are given hereunder.

Site 58 (Sector S.IV): This was located immediately to the north of the Stupa No. 9 and comprised a brick house within a rubble enclosure wall, leaving 3' all around. This main hall was measuring 46' x 30'6", with traces of original partition walls. The thickness of the brick wall was 2' and it was provided with square post-holes at an interval of 3', presumably to receive wooden pillars which would have supported the roof framework.
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This site had yielded a pot containing jewellery consisting of a pair of ear-ornaments (Kundalas), a gold necklace with a Roman gold coin in a ‘bullae-pendant form (pl. XXXVIII A).’ Besides these, a number of Ikshvāku lead coins, copper amulet, iron miniature bowls, terracotta figurines, shell bangles and glass beads were also found. It was obviously the residence of an important person.

Site 57 (Sector N-III): A very large area of 215' x 160' around the Kārītikīyā Temple was enclosed by a wall and should have been a specific locality related to the residential occupants connected with the nucleus or a Brāhmaṇical locality, not unlike that of an agrahāra related to the temple.

Of these, a huge rectangular rubble enclosure to the east of the temple with occasional rubble partition walls may be specifically mentioned, though the features of this house had totally disappeared.

Similarly to the south of the temple, traces of an ancient road were noticeable running towards the eastern direction. It was about 20 ft wide and on either side of the road, remnants of rubble enclosure walls of dissimilar sizes, were found. The area on the south measured roughly 360' x 240' and had a central rubble partition wall and should have contained several residences within.

Again to the north of the temple a row of three rectangular rubble enclosures occupied an area of 270' x 100'. Each of these three large enclosures detailed above should have contained several houses. The entrance for these houses was towards the north, where they were facing an ancient road running east-west, for a distance of nearly 1.5 furlongs with a uniform width of 30'. It was this road that led to the eastern gateway of the citadel connecting the original outer town with the citadel zone.

Site 89 (Sector N. III): On the northern side of this very road was again a number of rubble stone enclosures which included a goldsmith’s workshop which has been described separately elsewhere in section IV of this chapter under ‘Workshop, roads, rest-houses and public sanitation’.

This goldsmith’s house had yielded two rooms intact with the clues to the nature of the activities, the bigger room adjacent to the road measuring 20'6" x 17' within which there was slab-platform also. The other room measured 20' x 16'. Immediately to the western side of this workshop, another typical house was unearthed. It had a rectangular enclosure of rubble, comprising within two rooms, square and rectangular respectively, adjacent to each other and separated by a partition wall. The ‘square room was of 19' and had an entrance towards the road side on the south. To the north of the workshop site was a small street running in an east-west direction and of about 15' width. Across this street to the north of the workshop were a number of rectangular enclosures in close proximity, all along the road side, of various sizes. Further rubble enclosures in a reasonably good condition was seen in Sites 115 and 111. In the former, which was a pillared hall, a number of rubble enclosure walls had been exposed.

Site 87 (Sector N. IV): pls. XLIV A and B: To the north of the road (No.3) was found a rectangular brick platform (15' x 22'6") with a rubble enclosure wall measuring 50' x 35'. This brick platform formed part of the flooring of the rooms, but its own walls (perhaps of brick) had disappeared. A further huge rubble enclosure wall was also seen nearby.

Site 37 (Sector N. III; pls. XLV-XLVI A ) : Situated by the side of road (No.2) was what appears to be a unique residential building, probably utilised by a noble man or an important foreigner. It was a 24-pillared hall with two entrances, to the east and west respectively, with one long room on
NAGARJUNAKONDA, PUBLIC BATH

(SITE 19)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 METRES
0 5 10 15 20 FEET

DRAIN

FIG. 35
either side. The entrances were provided with well decorated moon-stone slabs. There was a central platform inside the hall with beautifully carved pillars. The walls of these buildings were of brick encased in Cuddapah slabs neatly cut into shape.¹

However, considering the limited size of this structure, it might have been the house of rich Śaka nobleman who lived in the city. From one of the inscriptions discovered in the Kumāra Nandī Vihāra (Site 106) an indication is made of special enclosure in the city of Vijayapuri with residential buildings for the use of dignitaries and foreign settlers. Īśvaradatta, the Śaka, is said to have lived in a special enclosure (parivena), named after the chief queen Mahādevī. Such names must have been current for other enclosures, though unfortunately no such label records had come to light. As the citadel was not excavated during Longhurst's time, the remains of the royal residence found inside would not have been known to him. Further, royal palace was hardly likely to be outside the citadel, for purposes of security.

Site to the north of the citadel (Sites 119, 120, 117 and 124; Sector N. VIII and N. IX): Towards the northern side of the citadel and to the east of the Pushapabhadravāmī Temple on the slopes of the Nāgārjuna hill and the Mahiśasaka Vihāra Spur, remains of habitational structures represented by Sites 119, 120, 117 and 124 had been excavated. The first two sites were situated on either side of road (No. 1) which ran in the east-west direction of the valley in a zigzag course, passing through Tellarallabodu rocky out-crop, to join the Chula Dhammagiri further east. Nothing more than the rubble lay out had survived, but their location has significance for other reasons.

Site 117 (Sector N. IX): This was located, over-looked to the south by the Mahiśasaka Vihāra Spur, on its lower slopes and comprised a series of rectangular rubble enclosures, in all about twenty in number and of various sizes. There was no uniformity as well in the size of the rooms or their alignment. The biggest enclosure, however, was about 205 x 165' and the smallest 31' x 55'. One might consider thus they should have form a fairly large locality of several dozens of houses and admittedly belonging to the early phase, of the time of Vīrāpurushadatta.

(iii) The public and private bath, cisterns

In one of the sculptures from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the depiction of a leisurely bath taken by a citizen is portrayed. It shows a man (the bather-apparently) who stands inside a masonry cistern, holding from above, for stability of stance as a support, while attendants pour water on his body, through pitchers, from the upper edge of the cistern (pl. XLVI B). This indeed is an Indian rural luxury, especially in the summer season in the sub-tropical zones of south India, where a perennial canal or river is at some distance preventing their use daily, for this routine. Daily bath, even more than once, is part of the Indian sanitary as well as ritual requirement.

¹ It was about this edifice Longhurst opined that it could have been a 'palace' as no pillars of this kind had been seen at any other site and carried relief carvings of a bearded soldier, apparently a Scythian warrior with helmet, quilted long-sleeved tunic and trousers and holding a heavy spear and another sculpture of a male, nude down to the waist, and holding a drinking horn (rhyton) in his left hand (pl. XLVI A).
The several dozens of such baths, cisterns and tanks seen, all over the valley in Nāgarjunakonda, are of a piece with this usage. They, however, differ among themselves significantly, depending upon the location of such bath devices, and who or which groups was most likely to be using them, and whether they were private or public; both these categories of baths had been noticed in the excavations.

These are seen respectively in Sites 100, 94, 102, 95, 70 (a), 91 and 19. They seem to indicate devices for individual bath, singly and privately or in a collective way and public baths which have the architectural attributes of their universal models (especially in early features of these devices like drain’s soak-pits, feeder channels etc., as necessary for the water source to be brought and disposed of. The fact that quite a few of them are found inside the citadel add to the special uses (other than ritual), as in the Asvamedha site (93) or by the military inmates of the citadel.

We are primarily dealing here with, at first, the public bath which is again an interesting feature at Vijayapur and the rest of the details of all individual cases will be dealt with under the respective sites or areas.

Site 19 – Public bath, (fig. 35) - This was located behind Hāriti Temple and close to the banks of a dry channel or canal which had been artificially dug in this arc for a purpose (pl. XXXI). It should be noted that this site is not only in the deep interior of the valley, but also half way up the slopes of the Phirangimotu hill, on flat terrace.

It comprised a big rectangular bath 20' x 8' x 3' provided with a compound wall all around, in order not only to control entry but also to be provided relative privacy, for the bathers who might have formed a significant ethnic group. It also appears to have had a partial canopy for its flanks. Sockets of pillars for this purpose are extent. The bath wall is built of brick in mud mortar and heavily plastered over and finally lined with Cuddapah slabs vertically. Square brick platforms found attached to the structure seem to have had an allied use. A drain on the eastern wall allows the exit of the bath water.

We should, at this stage, refer to the canal which impounded into it, in-between sectors S. VIII and S. VII and running in an east-to-west direction, and was seemingly the main water source for the high level sites like the amphitheatre or stadium (Site 17), the bath (No. 19), Hāriti Temple (No. 15), residential houses (No. 48) and pillared mandapa (No. 49). This channel, half way up to the slopes, was dug 30' wide to hold water to above 5' depth. It appears to have been provided with random rubble embankment raised on hard gravel foundation of nearly 2 ft thickness. The channel was following a zig-zag course according to the natural contours at this level and finally took a northerly course beyond these structures, along the same hill, before depleting itself perhaps into the River Krishna, at the Siddhuladari end. The layers sealing the embankment yielded, at many places typical antiquities of the Ikshvaku period, and red ware pottery also of comparable kind comprising bowls, dishes, conical bowls, carinated vessels and the like. In the close vicinity of this canal was found buried an earthen pot with two hundred and fifty lead coins of the Ikshvaku period, showing the typical elephants with upraised trunk motif and a legend on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. A majority of them belonged to king Virapurushadatta and Ehuvala Chāmtamūla and should thus have pertained to the latter’s time.

Now coming back to the public bath (Site 19), we find that the earlier phase of this structure, as
already described above, was subjected to wholesale and drastic renovation in a subsequent period (pl. XXXII A and B). The bath zone was filled up and the raised platform altered into a temple with a flight of steps and a moon-stone on the south. A new enclosure wall added with the main entrance provided on the south and a secondary passage, also provided, on the south side.

Before we deal with the stratigraphic details of these whole transactions, we may note, firstly, that this bath (first phase) was in nearest conformity to the public baths of the Romans, in its essential features viz., the bath proper, the cloister, the compound wall and exit facilities, besides the attached platform. The fact that this part of the valley also gave the Hāritī Temple, stadium or amphitheatre and the fact that canal source brought the water supply and the whole area is quite far away from the river, would all indicate that the people who were using them were not local gentry, but perhaps foreigners. The transformation of this tank into a temple should have been signalled by these users no more residing in this area of the valley by that stage. It is likely, therefore, that the bath (first phase) was of the same period as the stadium, and temple (second phase) was coeval with the Hāritī Temple.

(iv) Roads and highways in the city and related mandapa or pavilions located on them

We have already indicated elsewhere that there were four main highways (see fig. 1) pertaining to the Ikshvāku period. During the excavations, owing to the very nature of the terrain with outcrops, hillocks etc., distributed over the valley, not to mention the slopes in the valley from the three sides of the hill-girt nature towards the middle and to the river points on the west and north-east, there was no firm evidence of any artificially prepared public roads. However, the beaten tracks along these four highways stood out in relation to the structures, often seen on their flanks, There was no evidence also forthcoming on the nature of the wheeled traction that could have operated on these roads, if any, apart from their pedestrian use. All the same, the concentration of habitations, residential clusters, public buildings like pavilions for the traveller etc., had an integral relationship with the usage pattern of these roads, apart from the consistent width (for larger and smaller roads respectively) maintained in these.

Being a vast area with multiple usage-pattern by soldiers, civilians, Buddhists, Brāhmaṇical folk and common man, the very scheme of distribution followed their needs. Linkage from outside the valley (on Macherla end) running towards the river (south of the citadel or Peddakundelugutta), almost in an east-west strike, was perhaps the cardinal arterial highway (Road III), which passed through the busiest part of the valley. There were then, two more, one of which went towards the Siddhuladari river bank (Road I) and another to the main ghāṭ Road II), on the north of the citadel via the slopes of Mahiśāsaka monastery high location. There was also a river bank road, from the main ghāṭ at the north end, towards Putlagudem ferry point (Road IV). There were atleast two smaller branch roads, forming the ramifications of Road II, in the important area toward north and north-east of the citadel and these served to connect Road II zone with Road III zone. Another feature, as already noted in the earlier chapter is that due to the structurally well enclosed and secluded nature of the Buddhist establishments, in different parts of the valley, busy roads would not have been passing right through them. Thus, in order to understand the actual and probable layout of these roads mentioned, the better way could be to examine the pavilions and other dense residential or religious (Brāhmaṇical) clusters in the various sectors, so that affiliations to the arterial road-links would underscore the existence of
these road stretches. It is also feasible marginally that, while the royalty and soldiery might be using horses as transport, and Buddhists preferred to walk through short-cuts and unconventional interior tracks, it could have been the Brāhmanical religionists, the traders and the craftsmen, besides the busy pilgrims and travellers from outside that would be needing and using these arterial roads more.

In the following pages, the structures like pavilions of various kinds, ancillary to the road layout, as discovered in excavations in different parts of the valley are documented bringing out their locational and usage-based differences in features and plan.

It would be relevant to note one incidental feature, however, in that the roads towards the river ghāṭ, either ran along the Nāgarjuna hill slope skirting the Mahiśāsaka Vihāra, or further southward, almost towards the eastern side of the citadel, but none across the intervening stretch immediately to the north of the citadel. The reason was obvious that in the earliest stages, related to the mud rampart and most of the citadel (of the time of Śrī Chāntamūla, the first king), there was a natural creek entry of the river, immediately south of Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple location—which itself did not exist then. Subsequently, from the closing years of Vīrāpurushadatta and the very beginning of Ehuvala’s rule, brick structural reinforcements to the citadel (after levelling the moat, and to the natural creek itself—to convert it into a secure harbour reservoir—had been spectacularly added. Thus, access to the river across these complexes could not have been feasible, as these could have been ‘reserved area’ for defence and trade, and not easily ‘within bounds’ for the common citizen. This only reinforces the fact that the most elaborate ghāṭ structure which was partly coeval and partly subsequent to Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple, in the late years of Ehuvala (overlapping with Prince Vīrāpurushadatta-II of the Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple record) had been coeval with the harbour reservoir of unique nature. A number of decorated copper hilt pieces, intended for swords, daggers etc., which had been recovered from this Dock-reservoir zone in Sectors N-VIII and N-III (please see pages related to antiquity groups, under Chapter B. II (vi) for details) would seem to indicate that this harbour location should have been involved in circumstances where exotics or locals carrying weapons on their person, for security in trade, had been frequenting it by boats, and these had accidentally got dropped in the harbour reservoir. Some of these hilts were also found in Sectors S-III–Site 64 and S.1 (residential structure) and would refer to civilian security in these cases.

Though no systematic attempt was made to expose all the roads of the city of Vijayapurī, from the general disposition of the important temples, stūpas, monastic units, secular buildings like the Stadium, University area and other residential structures in the valley, a general picture of the lay out of the main arteries of traffic and other minor roads could be made out. It is interesting to note that these dharmāśālās or mandapas were situated at some of the cardinal points and road junctions.

There were at least four major roads parallel to one another, running between the River Krishna on the west and Phirangimotu on the east, passing through the important sites of localities. Two other major roads apparently ran in the north–south direction, one all along the river bank on the eastern extremity, and the other, all along the foot of the Phirangimotu hill, on the eastern extremity. Besides these, just outside the citadel on the eastern side, which was the nucleus of the habitation area, some evidences of rubble houses and a few mandapas indicate the presence of few minor roads and streets, though no accurate picture of the same could be obtained due to the restricted dig in the area and disturbed conditions of the excavated remains.
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Road I: The main first stage road of the extreme east, referred to earlier, at the outset went all along the foot of Phirangimotu hill towards the River Krishna (which turns here northwards) almost coinciding with the path used by the villagers to go to the river in the medieval to modern times. This road evidently passed through the University Area (Site 32-A), a monastic unit (Site 26) and reached the Ashathbhujasvami Temple on the river bank.

On this long road, there were three rest-houses or mandapas represented by Sites 50, 18 and 13, the last of which has already been described, as it is situated at the junction of this road and the major road that went from the university area towards the east. Site 50 is a sixteen-pillared mandapa near the ancient Ikshvaku canal bank. Site 18 is a spacious 40-pillared mandapa opposite the Stadium.

Road II: Of the four major roads in the east-west direction of the valley, alluded to earlier, the outermost one on the north connected the Pushpabhadrasvami Temple on the river bank and the University area (Sites 32 and 32-A) at the foot of Phirangimotu hill, passing through the Mahisasaka Vihara (Sites 7 and 8). At the place where the road joined University area, a sixteen pillared mandapa was situated.

Branch Road II(a): A small road branched off from the above mentioned road near about the mandapa (Site 121) and went by the side of the citadel and took a turn to the east connecting a monastic unit (Site 105) and a few residential buildings (Site 115). On both the sides of the road are situated two mandapas (Sites 114 (pl. XLIX B) and 111; pl. XLVII A). The former is a sixteen-pillared mandapa and the latter a thirty-six-pillared mandapa.

Branch Road II (b): A similar but wider road to the south of the above one apparently connected with the citadel area and the habitation area on its east. On this road, quite near the citadel, is situated one sixteen-pillared mandapa (Site 88).

Road No. III: A fifth road on the extreme south of the city was perhaps the longest and an important one. Starting from the sixteen-pillared mandapa (Site 70) near the Kārttikeya Temple on the bank of the River Krishna, this road ran towards the Phirangimotu hill on the east more or less on the present road that leads to Macherla through the village of Pularedidigudem. Near about the Site 55 on the extreme east of the valley, clear traces of this ancient road could be discerned to a distance of about 200 yards, by way of the rubbles used for flanking the roads. This mighty road must have traversed through important sites, like the Devasenapati Temple (Site 39), the stupas (Sites 59 and 52), the chaitya (Site 52) and the monastic unit (Site 54). Three mandapas are located in this long road.

(i) Site 39-A: A twelve pillared-hall to the east of the Devasenapati Temple,
(ii) Site 61: A sixteen pillared-mandapa, and
(iii) Site 55: A thirty-six pillared-mandapa on the extreme east of the valley.

Road IV: There was a river bank road on the west which started from the Sarvadeva Temple on the river bank and went all along the river bank by the side of the citadel walls and passed through Kār̄tikeya Temple (Site 82), the Navagraha Temple (Site 78) and ultimately reached the Sites 80 and 81, where some detached mandapas are situated on the slopes of Putlagudem hill and leading to the town to cross over to the other bank – Yellesvaram Temple site. This road was provided with a thirty-pillared mandapa (Site 70) very near Kār̄tikeya Temple (pl. XLIX A).
The Ikshvāku City of Vijayapuri: Its Structures

The foregoing account might well give the rather brief idea of the distribution of the major roads of the valley and the *maṇḍapas*, used evidently as Rest-Houses placed at the cardinal points therein at regular intervals, in the different phases of the Ikshvāku period.

The *maṇḍapas*, referred to above can, for convenience, also be categorised on the basis of the number of pillars in the following manner (pls. XLVII A-XLIX A):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of pillars</th>
<th>No. of <em>Mandapas</em></th>
<th>Sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12- pillared</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39-A, 107, and 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16- pillared</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13, 50, 88 &amp; 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24- pillared</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30- pillared</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36- pillared</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>81 and 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40- pillared</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is the detailed description of the different *maṇḍapas* or rest-houses:

1) **12-Pillared *Maṇḍapas***
   i) **Site 39-A**: It is located in Sector 3 east of Devasenāpati Temple. It measures 26'6" x 18'6". There is no enclosure wall for this *maṇḍapa*. No complete pillars are seen.
   ii) **Site 107**: Nearby sides are a monastic unit (Site 15) and habitation area (Sites 89 and 118). The *maṇḍapa* is enclosed by a brick wall. Measurements of the *maṇḍapa* are 18'10" x 25'3". One carved lime-stone drain is provided. It is located in Sector N-VIII.
   iii) **Site 121**: It is located in Sector N-VIII east of the reservoir-tank (Site 122). The *maṇḍapa* measures 82'0" x 46'0". It is enclosed by a brick wall on all sides. Traces of lime concrete flooring are visible. It had an entrance on the northern side. No complete pillar is found.

2) **16-Pillared *Maṇḍapas***
   i) **Site 13**: It is located in Sector N-XII the University area. Only traces of the pillar stems are available. Complete plan of the *maṇḍapa* is not available, as it is highly disturbed.
   ii) **Site 50**: It is located in Sector S-VII. The nearby sites are Hārīt Temple and the Stadium. This pillared hall is first enclosed by a brick wall on all sides and then by a rubble wall with an entrance on the northern side. The *maṇḍapa* measures 29'6" x 28'3". The sixteen pillars are arranged in four rows having four pillars each (pl. XL VIII B). This *maṇḍapa* was provided with a good Cuddapah slab flooring. A big moon-stone of 9'9" in diameter is used at the entrance of the hall. A tub made of bricks is seen on the north-west corner outside the hall.
   iii) **Site 88** (fig. 36): It is located in Sector N-II near the eastern gateway of the citadel. Nearby structure is Senāpati memorial hall. This is attached to twelve pillared- *maṇḍapa*. The sixteen pillared- *maṇḍapa* (pl. XLVIII A) is enclosed by slabs, which are fixed in-between the pillars vertically leaving an entrance on the western side, near the twelve pillared-hall. This *maṇḍapa*
measures 33'9" x 21'3"; whereas the adjoining sixteen-pillared mandapa was 12'9" x 22'11". Traces of napa-slabs flooring are also visible.

iv) Site 114 (pl. XLIX-B): This is located in Sector N-III, behind the rubble enclosure (Site 124) and a four-winged mandapa (Site 110). This pillar is within a brick enclosure wall with an entrance on the east. There is again an outer enclosure wall of rubble. This mandapa is a square of 22'0". The sixteen pillars are arranged in four rows having four pillars each.

3) 30-Pillared Mandapa

i) Site 55: It is located in Sector S-XIX near a monastic unit (Site 54) on the northern and eastern sides. The enclosure wall of bricks is visible. The mandapa is a rectangular one 40'0" x 50'0". Traces of slab flooring are visible in the hall. No carvings are found. At a distance of 118'0" to the east of the pillared hall, a chamber of 26'0" x 18'0" with an entrance on the eastern side is found. On the northern side of this structure, a rubble-packed path of 4'0" wide is passing through. This was perhaps the remnant of an ancient road, that passed through the site.

(v) Rest-Houses or Dharmasālās

Excavations have revealed to view structural complexes at vantage point at the road crossing or in the vicinity of important places of public gathering like temples, bathing tanks, etc. These comprise mostly the pillared-halls or mandapas, which for the sake of convenience can be classified as dharmasālās. These structures have been referred to as Śilā mandapas or Śaila mandapas in inscriptions associated with Buddhist monasteries or vihāras and presumably used for congregational purposes by the monks. This idea seems to have prompted philanthropic and rich gentlemen of the city to construct similar mandapas in different corners of the city for the use of pilgrims and other people who visited the temples as temporary shelter-houses or dharmasālās during their sojourn in the capital.

Generally speaking, material used in the construction of these dharmasālās are mostly lime-stone pillars with or without any delicate ornamentation enclosed or unenclosed, sometimes with slab flooring and roofing, perhaps fixed on wooden rafters and slabs of thinner section as is being done even in these days in the Macherla region. In some places, the floor is paved with Cuddapah slabs, while in others, the flooring is done with pebble concrete and plastered smooth.

A simple and unpretentious twelve pillared-mandapa appears to be the norm, while sixteen, twenty-four, thirty, thirty-six and forty-pillared mandapas also occur at places, possibly depending upon the need for less or more accommodation. No provision for kitchen or bath-rooms has been made, since they are to serve only as temporary abodes for the pathikas. Invariably, all these are located on road sides and are datable to the period of Ikshvāku as there are no immediate successors.

The following is the description of the different dharmasālās discovered at Nāgārjunakonda.

Sites 13, 18, 39-A, 50, 55, 70, 81, 107, 111, 114 and 121.

4) 36 Pillared-Mandapas

i) Site 81: It is located in Sector XIX-A on the river-bank. The mandapa is a square structure of 54'6". The pillars are arranged in six rows by six rows. Enclosure wall is seen only on the eastern and southern sides.
ii) Site 111 (pl. XLVII A): It is located in Sector N-III near the habitation and represented by Site 112. The mandapa was a square structure of 52'6". Traces of brick enclosure wall are visible. The height of the pillars available is 8'10" above the ground level. Minor carvings like lotus medallion are visible on the pillars. For each pillar in the hall, a square pedestal of 4'0" was constructed as support of the pillar.

5) 40-Pillared Mandapa

i) Site 18 (pl. XLVII B): This is located in Sector S-VII opposite to the Stadium. It is a rectangular structure of 19'31". There is no enclosure wall. The pillars are arranged in four rows of ten each. No complete pillar is available. Probably height of the pillar is 9'0". The pillars are without carvings. Traces of a slab flooring are visible. Remnants of a rubble wall on the northern side are visible, probably meant for obstructing the onrush of water from the slope of the hill on the northern side.

(vi) Public Sanitation (Drains and Soaking Pits)

Interesting details about sanitary arrangements at Nāgārjunakonda are made available by the excavations and they constitute mainly a system of drainage provided both in private residential houses excavated, the existence of drains apparently from the bath-rooms towards outside is attested. As the houses were usually built within huge enclosure walls in Nāgārjunakonda, we often find drains from private houses joining a common drain, which drained off the dirty water from outside the outer enclosure wall. Site 73 is a case in point. Here, we find a huge kachchā drain (4'6" wide) into which smaller drains come and join and the water finally let outside the enclosure wall. The actual length of the kachchā drain is 226 feet in north-south direction.

Besides residential areas of common people, we find well-provided drains in vihāras, stūpas, public places line tank-reservoirs, rangā-mandāpas, citadel-area, temples (like Kubera Temple, 'Navagāra' Temple). Care was taken to see that rain water was not allowed to stagnate around the buildings. For this, a number of small outlets or spouts were provided on the three sides of the outer enclosure wall. Similar spouts are in the monastic unit at Site 2.

While there were kachchā drains simply dug into the earth in Nāgārjunakonda as they are today in Andhra Pradesh, well-provided puuccā drains were quite common (pl. L A). We find both open and covered drains in the valley. The normal width of the puuccā drains seems to have been about 10 to 12 inches.

One outstanding example of the hygienic system of drainage and the soakage pit at Nāgārjunakonda is seen in the University area (Site 32-A). On the north-east corner of 'Śobhanā Vihāra', there is a rectangular room from where a drain starts and runs across the enclosure wall on the east to fall into a soak-pit or sceptic tank, which is situated 15 feet away from the outer enclosure. The width of the drain is six inches. This drain is covered throughout with napa-slabs. The soak-pit is roughly

1 Sites 2, 4, 23, 5, 26, 27, 43, 85, 79.
2 Site 9.
3 Site 122.
4 Site 80.
5 Sites 102 and 93.
6 Sites 64, 78 and 82.
oval-shaped and is filled with rubbles, lime and coal in successive layers to serve as filtering/filletting agents. There were two more soak-pits in the University area—one on the eastern wing of the University and the other on the southern wing. The former was roughly 4’6” square while the latter 12’0” square. Both are covered with rubble-packing. The drains in both the cases were well-plastered and covered with slabs. They connected the bath-rooms and the soak-pit.

In Site 79 is a monastery, we have an instance of a drain having slab flooring and slabs as side walls. Bricks are not used except as side support. This drain was provided to take out the water coming from the bath-room situated on the south-west corner of the monastery.

The dexterity in constructing the drains is well brought out in Site 93, i.e., the Avadhana site within the citadel. The drain starts from the north-west corner of the Avadhana tank and runs towards the west (pl. L B). After the distance of about 21 ft the drain branches off into two and they run side-by-side. Both the drains cut across the brick enclosure wall of the citadel by running underground and emptied into the River Krishna which is closeby. This drain had a uniform width of 9 inches. The drains were completely covered and plastered. Brick-flooring was provided throughout. One noteworthy feature about this drain is that in places where the drain took a turn, a small rectangular cistern (30” x 15” x 12”) was built evidently to allow the water to collect and to gain momentum for further flow as well as inspection chambers against clogging, as in modern times. Three such cisterns in the main drain were noticed.

An example of the drainage in the residential quarters is provided by the Site 89-A. Here, from one of the rooms of the houses, we find a drain going out. It is provided with brick-flooring and slabs are used for the sides. It was, however, an open drain without any cover (pl. LI A).

(IV) (c) MEDIEVAL FORT ON THE DURGAMKONDA HILL (pl. LI B)

The River Krishna and its minor tributary stream, in the course of centuries, have dissected their course through the plateau. Due to this dissection by the river and feeder streams, isolated flat-topped hill-masses have formed within this valley. One such hill-mass is the Durgamkonda where, now, we have the transplanted relics and the Nāgarjunakonda Museum. It is narrow and elongated with an east-north-east and west-south-west trend, the most westerly point ending at the river. The river which had a north-south course has taken a sharp bend here so as to flow along the northern base of the hill. Since it has taken a northerly bend, it has been considered sacred. The crematorium of Ikshvākus was also located on the northern slopes of the hill and on the river bank. Associated with the crematorium is the temple of Śiva named Nādagiśvarasvāmī (perhaps referring to the Śiva as the Creator of Nāda and speech).

The top surface of the hill has a gentle westerly slope of about 560 feet above sea-level, while on the eastern side, it raises to about 680 feet above mean sea level. The top surface is elongated with varying width, the maximum width which is on the eastern side is about 1,600 feet. On the westerly side, it is reduced to 700 feet and the total distance lengthwise being 6,000 feet in all. The slope of the hill mass is less then 80° from the horizontal. The profile, however, shows that the raise from the ground level at less than 15° from the horizontal. The slope gradually increases and for small heights near the top, the slope is nearly vertical. This vertical portion of the hill consists of bands of quartzitic sandstones with a thickness ranging from 20 to 30 ft. This natural formation of quartzitic sandstones give an impression of a fortification wall when looked at from bottom. 152
THE İKṢHVAṆU CITY OF VIJAYAPURİ : ITS STRUCTURES

The total surface area of the hill top is 185 acres, which is utilised for the construction of the fort and other buildings for defence purposes. One interesting feature about the layout of this fort is the presence of four temples on the four sides at the foot of the hill. On the eastern side, near the main gate, is the Nāgā Temple; on the northeastern side is Kodaṇḍarāma Temple with huge image of Hanumān in its front; on the northwestern side is the temple of Nādagēvara Temple and on the southwestern side, the great temple of Pushpabhadrasvāmī.

FORT WALLS

The fort walls are made of granite blocks. The thickness of the wall varies from 15 to 25 feet. At some places on the southern side, evidences of later-day repairs by way of brick reinforcement to a considerable length are found.

On the southwestern corner of the hill, a rectangular bastion built of bricks with a stone-paved path or passage through it, meant to be used by the elephants, as the local tradition would have us believe, has been noticed.

MOAT

The fort wall is surrounded by a moat about 35 to 120 feet in width going all round.

GATEWAYS

There are four main gateways at the southeastern, southwestern, northwestern and northeastern sides, and a northern gate with a flight of curving steps leading to the burning ghāt. The main entrance appears to have been on the southeastern side with a flight of steps in its front leading to the bottom of the hill. Three gateways at the top of the hill, connected by flights of steps from bottom of the hill, are in a fair state of preservation. From the outer or the lower enclosure wall to the gateway on the south-western side, there is a stone pitched track, which is also in good condition. But southwestern gate has a semicircular bastion near the periphery and the steps leading to the bottom have disappeared.

SOUTHEASTERN GATEWAY

The main passage of the gateways was about 12 feet broad. The gateway seems to have had a covered roof of granite beam or lintels, one of them still in position. Immediately outside the gate, there is a structure-complex with four rooms of more or less of equal dimensions (each room measuring 45°0" × 38°0") built in random rubble, with interconnecting doorways. This was perhaps the building set apart for the chief of guards with his garrison to protect the gateway. Between this structure and the main gateway, there is the moat. This house and the main gate are again enclosed by a ring of rubble wall 15 feet in thickness, which formed a sort of a bastion for the gate. Each of the gates is well protected by rubble enclosures with minor gates. In all these gates, the passages through them are zig-zag and cut all direct approaches, rendering entry into the fort complicated or difficult.

NORTHEASTERN GATEWAY

It is on the northeastern corner of the fort. The passage into the gate is about 20 feet, which narrows down near the door to 4 feet. This gateway was enclosed by a rubble wall with a secondary opening, which in its turn was enclosed by another smaller enclosure with a minor gate. The entire area in front of the main gate and its enclosures is surrounded by a ring of semicircular rubble wall, which runs almost to the bottom of the hill. This wall, especially the northern side is having three minor gates similar
to the eastern side. The outer minor passage down the hill is connected to the main gate at the top by a flight of steps, leading to the river. Further north of the outer rampart wall and down the hill on the right bank of the River Krishna is the medieval temple of Rāma with its huge Hanumān figure in front.

NORTHERN GATE

Similar arrangements of gate with all its outer enclosures are made at the northwestern corner of the fort. Here also, there is a flight of steps connecting the Burning ghāt (Site 127) and the Śiva Temple (Site 126) at the foot of the hill. The flight of steps starts from the river itself.

To this outer fortification wall, which runs along the foot of the hill, there are three gateways, opening on to the river bank fronts, rendering the river itself to serve as a moat.

NORTHWESTERN GATEWAY

This gateway is connected to the outer enclosure at the bottom by a flight of steps. Then at the bottom, there is another gateway which leads to the river.

STRUCTURES WITHIN THE GIRIDURGA

The top of the hill is almost flat roughly measuring 185 acres in extent, divided into three enclosures by huge partition walls made of granite blocks. The central enclosure is bigger than the other two and the partition wall has bastions and a gateway. Going from east-to-west, the first enclosure occupied roughly one-fourth of the area, while the third enclosure on the extreme west, covered roughly 1/6th of the whole area. The rest is in the middle portion. These three enclosures are inter-connected by passages or gateways in the partition walls. The gateway on the eastern side and the passage in the partition wall were connected by a road on which the modern road also runs. Within the first enclosure and by the side of the main road referred to, there is a well laid out plan of residential buildings and three temples located at the junction of the street facing east. Of these three temples, two are dedicated to Śiva and Rāma, while the third perhaps enshrined a Jaina image, the broken torso of which was found thrown outside the jungle. From the plan we can notice one major road running in the north-south direction with houses on either side. This road goes right up to the northern gateway of the fort. This road is cut by two other roads, running in the east-west direction. In one of the junctions, there is the temple dedicated to Durgā. Besides these three major roads, there were some minor streets and by-lanes roughly parallel to one another. On both sides of the road, we find a number of residential buildings, built of random rubble, some of them consisting of square rooms within enclosures. We also get a number of huge square rectangular quadrangles meant probably for the parade ground. This entire complex seems to have been the Barracks area. On the southern side of these enclosures, there is a building with a series of rooms within an enclosure and appears to be the stable.

Nearby is a huge circular well cut into the natural rock with about 160 feet in diameter. One could reach the water-level by a wide circular path which winds its way to the bottom. Even elephant can enter into this huge well through this circular path. This well is probably meant for the animals kept in the stables. But there is another big circular well on the eastern side which might have been the main water source for the residents here.

The central enclosures seem to have been the main focus of the habitation with a number of residential buildings on either side of the present road. Here also one can see houses arranged in a neat
manner on either side of the streets and lanes. Here also a number of streets in the north-south direction and cross road in east-west direction are seen. Almost in the centre of this enclosure, there is a Jaina Temple, perhaps belonging to the Vijayanagara times, as is evidenced by the surviving temple as well as the torso of the image of Mahâvîra, with the vedikâ showing the lions (simhâsana). But the most important of all the buildings here, is a huge rubble building situated almost in the centre of the entire fort. Perhaps this was the place meant to be the residence of the kings or his direct representatives. It is a big rectangular rubble structure (425'0" x 370'0") with main entrance on the east. In front, there is a long rectangular area with a smaller room, a passage leads onto a bigger enclosure. On the southern wing of the latter, there are a few rooms. Outside this building, and part of the same complex, there are smaller square enclosure perhaps meant for the servants attached to the palace.

From this central enclosure we pass on to the next enclosure on the western extremity of the fort through the smaller passage or gate of 8 feet width provided in the partition wall. Within this enclosure also, we find vestiges of what might have been a magnificent structure built of rubbles meant for some important personages like the Durgâdhyaaksha or Commander of the fort. The structure consists of one enclosure of 150 feet square with a rectangular hall in front. Both have entrances on the north. In the eastern wing of the rectangular enclosure, there are four square rooms. The whole building is enclosed by an outer rubble enclosure.

APPENDIX

Report on the test results on samples of (1) Lime concrete and (2) Mortars from different sites furnished by the Assistant Director (INF) Roorkee.

Five samples sent by the Archaeological Department, Andhra were analysed for their mix proportions. Their description and mix proportion are given below:

1. Lime: Sand: coarse aggregate: 2 : 3 : 1
2. Mortar from Ghâf in front of Pushpabhadrasvâmi Temple at Site 124:
   Big lump of mortar with some flat stone chips adhering to one side. The mortar consisted of Lime: Sand 2 : 3.
3. Mortar from Gateway to the University from Site 32-A:
   This sample is a lime-sand-mortar. There were a few pieces of aggregate larger than 1/4" but these were broken during sampling.
   Lime: Sand: 1:6
4. Mortar from Gateway of Jvarâlaya at Site 32-A;
5. Mortar from Site 24 NK XIII:
   This sample consists of lime and fine sand, the quality of lime is quite high. It showed layers of pure lime-plaster and lime-sand-plaster. The whole sample was mixed for analysis.
CHAPTER V

THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURĪ : ITS STRUCTURES
— RELIGIOUS AND RITUALISTIC

(i) Buddhist Remains

Among the buildings sacred to the Buddhists, the most important are the stūpas and the vihāras. Stūpa is a derivative from a Sanskrit root word stūpa (to heap) and is a mound or a monument held in veneration. But in the Buddhist text, it is used specifically to denote funerary edifices of distinguished persons. Buddha is said to have ordained that stūpas might be erected over the ashes of his own, Pratyeka Buddhas, Arahats and Chakravarti and such stūpa is thus an edifice of great religious importance to the Buddhists and is circular in plan. The word chaitya is also used in the same sense as the stūpa, as it is also often a monument raised over the corporeal remains. It is generally apsidal in plan.

These stūpas are generally classified under three heads — śārīrika, when raised over the relics, body remains: addeśika, when it is to commemorate some important event; and pāribhoga, when raised over the articles used by or associated with Buddha like the bowl, saṅghāti, etc. This classification also is believed to have been made by the Buddha himself in the Mahāparinibbāna sutta. The vihāra designates a monastery or the abode of monks and may include a sanctuary with images.

A List of Buddhist Remains excavated at Nāgārjunakonda is now appended for easy reference:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Nos.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>4 and 43 Old excavated sites. (pls. LII-LVI B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-32a</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>6, eight-celled vihāra (pl. LVI A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N X</td>
<td>10, four-winged vihāra (pl. LVIII A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N XI</td>
<td>12, ‘Nakatara’ Vihāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>14, four-spoked stūpa, three-winged vihāra and sixteen-pillared hall (pl. LVIII B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N IV</td>
<td>15, stūpa and vihāra of four cells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N IV</td>
<td>16, ten-spoked stūpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>Rubble stūpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This chapter has been contributed by Dr. K. Krishnamurthy.
2 Kern Manual of Indian Buddhism. p. 44; Dīghanikāya. (ii). p. 15, XVI, p. 5 etc.
3 K. Krishnamurthy, ‘Chaitya or exclusively Buddhist in Origin’, The Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. IX, Nos. 1-4 (The distinction of a stūpa and chaitya (or chaitya-grīha) as architectural monuments, is, however, well maintained—Ed.).
(a) EARLIER EXCAVATIONS

The earlier excavations conducted in the Nāgarjunakonda valley by Longhurst and Ramachandran brought to light some of the Buddhist establishments. Longhurst’s excavations resulted in the discovery of a mahā-chaitya (or mahā-stūpa), several smaller stūpas, four vihāras, six chaityas, four mandapas, a palace and a stone built wharf which later on, as a result of intensive excavation, proved to be a temple-complex. Each of these monastic establishments, was complete and contained as a unit, a vihāra for the monks to dwell, one or two apsidal shrines (chaityas) enshrining an image of Buddha and an uddesika stūpa respectively for prayer, and a main large stūpa for reverent worship and circumambulation. In the centre was generally a pillared-hall surrounded by rows of cell on three sides (sometimes on all four sides even) abutting the outer enclosure wall.

Unlike the stūpas of northern India, which were generally built of solid brick work or with mud

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2. T. N. Ramachandran, Nāgarjunakonda, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 71 (Delhi, 1953).
Nāgārjunakonda, Mahā-chaitya
(Site 1, N-XI)

Diagram showing:
- Stūpa chaitya
- Inscripted slab
- Hoard of coins
- Inscripted pillars
- Mandapa
- Cell
- Brick wall
- Verandah
- Drain

Fig. 37
filling the stūpas of Nāgarjunakonda were built emulating the form of a wheel with hub, spoke and tyre— all completely executed in brick work. In layout such a construction resembled a multi-spoked umbrella. The dome of the stūpa itself rested on a drum of 3' to 5' thick and at the four cardinal points, a rectangular platform projected outwards to serve as an altar for offerings of the worshippers. Each such platform is supposed to have a group of five pillars called Āyaka-khambhas — another special feature of the stūpas of Andhradesa. These pillars, which are symbolic of the five important incidents in the life of the Buddha, namely, nativity, renunciation, enlightenment, first sermon (in the deer park, and mahāparinirvāṇa (passing away), have been used for incising the records of the gift of the kings and other pious devotees.

The inscriptions on these āyaka pillars have afforded us the interesting information about Māhariputra, Śrī Virapurushadatta, the second king of the Ikšvāku dynasty, in whose reign the principal sanctuaries of Nāgarjunakonda were founded, his pedigree and the achievements of his family. The principal donor was a princess named Chāṃtisiri (whose gifts are recorded in no less than nine of the āyaka pillar inscription of the mahā-chaiyita, dated in the 6th regnal year of the king Virapurushadatta). She was credited not only with the renovations and erections of Āyaka-khambhas at the mahā-chaiyita but also with the construction of chaiyita-griha and a monastic hall close to the mahā-chaiyita for the use of the aparā-mahāvinnasiyita sect of the Buddhists. The pillar inscriptions of the mahā-chaiyita revealed the names of other noble ladies as well. Adavi Chāṃtisiri, daughter of King Chāṃtisiripakā and wife of Mahā Daṇḍanāyaka Khanda Visakānaka of Dhankas, Chula Chāṃtisiripakā of the Kulahakas etc., who were associated with Chāṃtisiri in their pious works. Another interesting inscription was found engraved on the flooring slabs of the chaiyita on the hill, to the south-east of mahā-chaiyita. This record mentions that a lay upāsaka, Bodhisiri by name, founded that temple and a vihāra in the 14th regnal year of mahāraja Virapurushadatta, and dedicated it to the fraternities of the Ceylonese monks. This vihāra was said to have been located on the hill called Chula-dharimāgiri-vihāra (Sites 4, 43) and was said to have been located on the hill called Śripurata situated to the east of the city of Vijayapuri. ¹

Yet another inscription recorded the foundation of a vihāra by Mahādevi Bhāttidevi, the daughter-in-law of Śrī Ikšvāku and the mother of the last penultimate known Ikšvāku king from this valley—Ehuvala Chāṃtamuḷa, himself and records the construction of a vihāra by Mahādevi Kodabalisiri, daughter of Virapurushadatta.

Maha-chaiyita (Site 1; fig. 37)

This monument, mentioned in the inscriptions as the mahā-chaiyita (pl. LII), was adorned with āyaka pillar on all the four cardinal sides. The mahā-chaiyita was a śāririka stūpa recorded as containing the corporal remains of the Buddha himself (Samma Sam Buddhaha dhātuvara parigahitasā mahā chaiyita). Longhurst, who excavated the stūpa, discovered in it a relic casket containing the dhātu. The stūpa is said to have a diameter of 91' including the drum. The drum itself was raised to a height of 5', and a total height of the stūpa is conjectured to be, 70' or 80'. Around the base of the drum, there was a path (pradakshinā-patha) of 6' width; and flight of steps to this path was provided on the southern side. The projecting portions of the drum or āyaka platforms ranged in their length from 23'6" to 26' and in width from 6'6" to 9' and on these the limestone āyaka pillars

¹This Śripurata of the inscriptions is particularly interesting as there is a tradition in Tibet that the famous Āchārya Nāgarjuna, the founder of the Mādhya-mikā school of Mahāyāna Buddhism is said to have spent the latter part of his life in the monastery of the same name in south India (vide also Watsilef, on Buddhism, Vol. 1, p. 220).
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA EIGHT-SPOKED STŪPA
(SITE 2, N-XII) NEAR UNIVERSITY AREA

Fig. 39

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were strongly secured in the reign of Virapurushadatta, at the instance of royal donatrix Chāṁtisirī. The stūpas were provided with a processional path or pradakṣīṇā patha all round measuring about 13.6' enclosed by a railing only, the brick foundation of which are extant. This staple stūpa, devoid of any decoration, according to Longhurst, was a perfect example of a plain Andhra stūpa. It was built of bricks measuring 20' x 10' x 3' and in the usual form of a wheel and covered with plaster from top to bottom. It showed two main phases of activity after its original erection, the earlier one of brick and plaster and later one of veneer slabs (pl. LII).

Aparamahāvinaseliya Vihāra

This vihāra or the residential place for the monks was constructed near to the mahā-chāitya along with a chaitya-griha, by the royal lady Chāṁtisirī. This consisted of a rectangular open courtyard enclosed by a brick wall. In the centre of the courtyard, there was a thirty-six-pillared mandapa. It measured 54' square. Around the enclosure on three sides, there were rows of nine rooms on each side for the monks. Each of those rooms measured about 10' x 8' with a common verandah on the southern side, measuring 98' x 5'6". One of the pillars in the central mandapa bore an inscription which referred to the Āchāryas of mahāvinaseliya sect. The apsidal chaitya-griha, consisting of uddesika stūpa attached to this vihāra, contained the inscription recording the benefactions of Chāṁtisirī. The stūpa chaitya had an entrance of 4' width. The whole unit consisting of a mahā-chāitya, āchāryagriha, a pillared-hall and a three-winged vihāra.

Monastic Unit (Site 2)

This monastic unit near the university area consisted of an eight-spoked stūpa (fig. 39), the two chaitya and a three-winged vihāra (fig. 38). The stūpa was of 33' excluding the āyaka platforms. The āyaka platforms measure in length and breadth 8' x 2' respectively. The cell of the vihāra measure 8' x 8' with an entrance of 1'7" wide. The common verandah of the southern wing vihāra measures 54'6" x 4'.

Chula-Dhammagiri Vihāra (Sites 4 and 43; pl. LV A)

This is located on the small hillock to the east of the mahā-chāitya, locally called Nallarallabodu. It consists of a stūpa, an apsidal temple and the dwellings of the monks and said to have been built by Bodhisiri in the reign of Virapurushadatta, for the use of the Ceylonese monks. Unlike the other vihāras, a mandapa in the centre was of wood and no traces of any stone pillars were found. The walls were of brick and plastered and traces of a few plain mouldings were extent, along with the plinth of the cells. In one of the cells, a large number of lead coins of Andhra were found along with a lump, the terracotta disc. A limestone image of Buddha, decorated pottery, terracotta figurines were some of the notable antiquities found here. But most important point about the monastery was the inscription engraved on the floor slabs of the chaitya-griha here. It registered the numerous pious foundations and additions to the existing buildings dedicated by the Upāsikā Bodhisiri. This vihāra was called in the inscription by the name Chula Dharmagiri Vihāra, and was said to have been constructed in the 14th regnal year of Śrī Virapurushadatta. At the eastern extremity of the hillock (Śrīparvata) and its lower regions, an interesting monastic unit was opened by Longhurst. This consisted of a main stūpa on a raised platform, two apsidal temples, one enshrining image of Buddha and the other a votive stūpa, pillared hall in the centre and cells around. The rooms were all paved with slabs and the entrances were provided with ornamental balustrades and semicircular moon-stones. in the east of the vihāra were the
kitchen, dining halls and store rooms, all in good state of preservation. The main stūpa here was a šarīrika stūpa, as it was built over the relics of some important person (Āchārya) of this monastery.

Bahuśruttya Vihāra (Site 5; pl. L V B; fig. 40).

It was a fairly big monastic unit consisting of a main stūpa, stūpa-chaitiya and a Buddha-chaitiya and a three-winged vihāra, encasing a pillared mandapa in the centre. This was the construction of Bhattidevi, mother of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, in his second regnal year, for the use of Bahuśruttya sect. This main stūpa was of 49', while the ayaka platforms on four cardinal directions measure 13'6" x 4'6". The inner spokes were eight in number while the outer one were twelve. The thirty-six pillared mandapa in the centre measured 53'6" square. The cells of the vihāra measured 8'6" x 6'6". The wings of the vihāra had a common verandah which measures 69'6" x 6'. The entrance of the monastic cell was uniformly 1'9".

Sites 3 and 32-a (pls. LIII B-LIV; figs. 41-44).

This site was excavated by Ramachandran in 1938 (pl. LIIIA). This was the biggest monastic unit exposed at Nāgārjunakonda. The stūpa, a stūpa-chaitya and a Buddha-chaitya and a vihāra with a central mandapa forming a single unit to their north, a small room, a workshop and a chamber, circular outside and a square within, were exposed. The stūpa was 39'9" in diameter while the ayaka platforms were 8' in length and 3' in width. The structure was encased in limestone slabs bearing in intricate carvings, illustrating the scenes from the life of Buddha and it stands in the centre of an enclosure 64'9" sq (pl. LIIIB).

The monastery was located to the east of the stūpa and consists of two apsidal shrines facing each other, one enshrining the statue of the Buddha and other an uddēśika stūpa. The former, which was called the Buddha-chaitya, was 32' long and faced south. It was conjectured that the temple could have had a vaulted chamber as in the Kapoteśvara Temple at Chezerla in Narasapeta taluk of the same (Guntur) district. The floor and the steps were of stone and the front steps was cut in the shape of a semi-circle usually called the moon-stone with the outer border in limestone fitted at the edge. This architectural member had been developed into a motif of great beauty in Sri Lanka. In a socket between the legs and on the upper part of the padmāsana of the Buddha image, enshrined in the temple, a gold tube or casket, 3/4 heigh, containing pearls, bone, ash, etc., was found. This find was significant as it illustrated the ceremony of consecration (pratishṭhāpana) at the time of the installation of the Buddha image.

To the east of the chaitya were exposed three wings of a monastery or a vihāra with a general arrangement of five cells for each wing and a well laid out mandapa, 54 ft sq, with limestone pillars forming five bays with an outer facing, edged by vertical Cuddapah slabs over limestone mouldings. The cells of the monastery measured 9' x 6' with an entrance of 1'9" wide. The northern wing of the vihāra appeared to have been important. In one of the cells, a limestone pūrṇaghaṭa 15" high and 10 1/2" dia, designed in four detachable parts, was discovered. This pūrṇaghaṭa contained two teeth. According to the tradition, the tooth relics were believed to be of Āchārya Nāgārjuna, after whom the place itself was named.¹

An interesting example of an urinal (fig. 42) was discovered at the southeastern corner of the monastery. This was in the shape of a rectangular socket sloping towards south. In the centre of the

¹ MASI, No. 128, p. 15.
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA, MAHISĀSAKA VIHĀRA
(SITES 7&8, N-IX)

Fig. 43

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slab was drilled a hole \( \frac{1}{2} " \) in width, through which water flowed into an underground drain which ran to a length of 20' and emptied into a sanitary soak-pit 12'3" x 12' formed by alternative layers of rubble, pebbles and lime and is thus out of the earliest examples of the 'septic tank' facility.

To the north of the vihāra and adjoining it was a large hall with three chambers built round outside and square with 2" wide entrance inside. The purpose of this shrine chamber is not quite clear, but the location in an open high walled enclosure enables us to infer that they might be temples for the Buddhists Triratna-Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, under which congregation which assembled in the hall took refuge. Abutting on the outer wall of this enclosure and to its north was another vihāra which was small and different in plan from the one described above. The central pillared hall appeared to have been closed by means of screen wall all around, to serve perhaps as a hospital (Vinirgata Jvarālaya) of the monastery.

To the east of this vihāra, there was rectangular courtyard with pillared mandapa from which a passage led into another group of residential buildings. The arrangement of room in a high walled enclosure opening into a closed court – a device for assuring privacy, showed that it was meant perhaps for the Bhikshunis or the lady members of the monastery. The courtyard measured 70' x 32'. Several sculptures were discovered in the course of the carved beams, upright slabs with vertical arrangements of bas-reliefs, depicting scenes from the life of Buddha and Jātaka, local history and tradition. In the exhibition of these fine sculptures, the artists appeared to have been inspired by the Buddhist texts like Nidānakathā, Lalitavistara, Mahāvistara, Buddhacharita, Soundarānada of Āsvaghosa, Sunmangala-vilāsani, etc. The sculptures, which were masterpieces of art, not only display the dexterity of the artist, but also illustrated his mastery in depicting a long story in the synoptic and narrative styles.

Mahiśāsaka Vihāra (Sites 7-8; fig. 43)

This vihāra with the stūpa was located on the top of the rocky hillock, at the foot of Nāgārjuna hill. Close at a lower level lay a vihāra comprising a square pillared hall measuring about 56' and a row of twenty cells all round. The cells measure 9' x 6' 6" in length and breadth, with an entrance of 2' 3". One of the pillars bore an inscription, mentioning the foundation of the vihāra by Mahādevi Koṭabalisiri, granddaughter of Mahārāja Śri Chāṃtāmūla and wife of Mahārāja of Vanavasā in the 11th year of Mahārāja Bahubala Chāṃtāmūla, for the benefit of the Āchāryas of Mahiśāsaka sect, on behalf of the community of the four quarters (Superingahe Chatudiśam sa(m) gham Udissaya Sava Satantar hita sukha (a) tham thāpitam). The work was carried out by the Mahādharīma Kathika Dharanagosa.

Though the stūpas of this monastery had been spoiled by treasure seekers before it was excavated by Longhurst, he was lucky enough to discover perhaps the finest and the best preserved relics recovered from Nāgārjunakonda. They were found kept inside a stone casket shaped like a miniature stūpa, with toe and umbrella complete. The tiny umbrella canopy was of stone, fixed to the toe with a small iron rod. The casket was made of four separate pieces of stone and the dome was ornamented in relief with a usual garland device. Inside the stone, the casket was a terracotta casket of similar shape covered with a pale green glass. This in turn, contained a copper casket of similar shape. Within that was a small silver casket which had the tiny gold reliquary in the form of a stūpa. The latter contained a bone relic, golden lotus-and-jasmine flowers, and a few decayed pearls and coral beads. This elaborate arrangement for enshrining a relic showed that they belonged to a person of considerable importance.
NĀGĀRJUNAKONḍA

NAKATARA VIHĀRA
(SITE 12, N-XI)
Site 9 (pls. LVI B-LVII B; fig. 44)

This was a complete monastic unit consisting of a stūpa, Buddha-chaitya, stūpa-chaitya, three winged-vihāra, and a mandapa. A huge rubble enclosure wall and a chamber and a rubble circular platform on north-west were the other notable features. The stūpa of the vihāra, built during Virapurushadatta’s period was renovated during the 8th regnal year of Ehuvala Ćāḍamūla.

Further excavations here have revealed four structural phases. The renovation in the last-but-one phase took place during the 9th regnal year of Ehuvala Ćāḍamūla. A small fragmentary inscription recovered from one of the chambers of the stūpa mentioned Kumāra Śrīvīra which possibly stood for Kumāra Śrī Virapurushadatta and might indicate that the complex was already in existence during the time of prince Virapurushadatta.

(b) LATER MAJOR EXCAVATIONS (1954-60)

Site 10 - N-XI

As has been mentioned already, the valley was threatened with submergence in the proposed Nāgārjuna sagar Dam and excavations were undertaken as a project from October, 1954 to salvage as much archaeological material as possible. Two new sites of Buddhist stūpa complexes, chaityas and vihāras were excavated under this programme.

Site 10 was the first site which had been subjected to the archaeological spade during the present operations and was located in Sector N-XI. As a result of excavations, here, were exposed a four winged vihāra (pl. LVIII A) on a mound each wing consisted of five cells. A central open courtyard for this Chatussālā type measured 50' square.

Nakatara Vihāra (Site 12, N-XI; fig. 45)

The excavations here had revealed a monastery with an open courtyard and an incised potsherd (pl. CII B) recovered from it, gave the name of the vihāra as Nakatara Vihāra, or a Vihāra which was 'superior to heaven'. An inside pilaster record, dated in the 10th regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, was referring to some munificence for the benefit of the Buddhist faith and others.

Site 14-N V (pl. LVIII B)

This was a monastic unit, comprising a four-spoked stūpa built in two stages, a three winged-vihāra and a sixteen-pillared hall. Each vihāra wing had got three rooms. The stūpa was in the shape of the wheel, 27' in diameter with four spokes, made of a circular hub. The measurements of this stūpa were in the proportions of 9" x 18" and 9' x 27'. It will be seen that this ratio worked in multiples of nine. This is interesting since the unit of measurement in Vedic India was also in reckoning of nine. Another interesting feature of the stūpa was that the one exposed to view actually stood on another circular chaitya in an orientation which, superficially, would suggest that it was an earlier stūpa, but in reality, which was not so. The whole arrangement was intentional as one can easily make out from two segments (one earlier and the other later) meeting each other at two points so as to form an elliptical height. What seems to be the moon-stone arrangement in front, on the western āyaka platform of this stūpa, is only a part of the old circle within which the plan of the earlier stūpa was inscribed.
It is apparent that the builders had been at pains to give some attention to this stūpa, both in regard to its correct geometrical orientation and its location probably as the proper centre of the valley. One will not be wrong in surmising that perhaps this stūpa actually stands on a hill which served as Mahādhanimagiri, as opposed to Chula-Dhanimagiri; hence the description of it as Dharmačakra within concentric circular brick arrangement, though now displaced or out of plan.

**Site 15; N-IV (fig. 46)**

This was again a monastic unit with a mahā-chāitya on the west and with orientation on the east of the two votive stūpas and one yihāra of four cells inside. The mahā-chāitya was not of brick, but of chipped and cut rubble stone. In this monastery were recovered a number of broken images of Buddha, a few jars and a number of bowls suggesting that this monastery dealt more with stores such as pottery and images.

The mahā-chāitya with its āyaka platform was 48' in diameter, wheeled with cylindrical hub and ten spoke-like arms with the outer type absolutely completely exposed in a field adjoining to Site 15. The outer facing of the mahā-chāitya including the āyaka platform had an excellent plaster finish 2" in thickness.

**Site 16; N. IV**

The excavation at this area resulted in the exposition of a ten-spoked stūpa which is 46' in diameter and was encased of a brick wall, square in plan. No attached monastery could be located.

**Site 16 (a) ; N-V**

The excavation on Tellarallabodu exposed to view a rubble stūpa,

**Hāritī Temple (Site 17; S-VII; pls. LIX A and B)**

The excavations at this place revealed a temple of Hāritī, which was juxtaposed on the contours of the hill. We go up the hill to reach the temple through a quadrangle 54'6" x 45' with arrangement on its four sides for a brick gallery lined with Cuddapah slabs. At its south-west corner was a stone bench arrangement for visitors to assemble and watch their proceedings. The water used for washing was carried away by a drain provided nearby. A circular abacus part of a column right in the centre of this quadrangle, indicated the religious splendour of this area. It is also interesting to note that the front two rows of the gallery were wider than back row, thereby signifying the relative importance of their occupants. One of the stone benches bore the triratna mark and the ‘bow and arrow mark’. The latter appears to be the ‘guild marks’ of the masons and the architects, who were responsible for a large number of constructions in Nāgarjunakonda under the Ikshvākus. Another stone bench had an inscription on it reading as Kāma Śara or the ‘arrow of love’. Did it refer to the significance of the ‘bow and arrow’ symbol noted above? Through this wide enclosure, we pass and approach the temple of Hāritī, through the flight of steps, till we reached the top of the hill, where in a shrine flanked by two bigger rooms, was an image of Hāritī, the Buddhist mother-goddess whom Buddha permitted to be worshipped by children, lovers and seekers of children. This image was made of limestone. The torso was broken and missing and what remains was 2'4" high and 1'2" broad. The goddess is seated with her legs hung vertically down. The broad waist girdle can be seen around her middle. A large number of wristlets (Prakoshtha valayas) in the hands and similarly, a large number of anklets.
NAGARJUNAKONDA EIGHT-SPOKED STUPA
(SITE 21, N XI)

AYAKA PLATFORM

CIRCULAR HUB

YIELDED RELICS

Fig. 48
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṬḍA RUBBLE STŪPA CORE
(WITH BRICK FACINGS) (SITE 22, N-V)

Fig. 49

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(nāpuras) in the legs could be noticed. The decorative feature of this image would warrant a fourth century A.D. date as the possible age of the temple. An inscribed pillar was also found in this area. It refers to the putting up of a perpetual lamp (Akhayanivika) as prescribed in the scriptures for the occasion of some ātsava or festival. The festival appears to relate to the cult of Hāriti. A large number of ivory bangles were found in front of Hāriti Shrine and round about the area where Akhayanivika pillar was found. These ivory bangles, by virtue of their quantitative and qualitative richness indicate the benefactions to the structure by the members of an ivory guild, as was the case in Sāñchi and Karla, where Daṇḍakaras, as local inscriptions admit, raised the railing at Sāñchi or the chaitya at Karla. The shrine being of Hāriti, the mother-goddess, the find of ivory bangles goes also to show that it was offered by women for propitiating the goddess, for bestowing upon them children. Thus, the ivory bangles were offerings of vow, a custom which come down till modern times.

The existence of the Hāriti Temple described above explained away another structure of two periods found behind it. Its plan reminded one of the plan of Nalanda Temple. It was a temple of gigantic proportions and one that came into existence in two periods, both late Ikshvāku. The earlier construction was the sanctum where originally an image was worshipped, as could be seen from the drain provided nearby for taking away the abhisheka water. This early shrine was closed at a later stage and widened on its east into a mandapa with arrangement of steps in front, and with the difference that the image in its new orientation on the mandapa faced east, instead of west. A circumambulatory passage went around the earlier construction whose walls on the outside contained niches for holding the images.

Site 20; N-XI (pl. LX A)

On the low rocky high ground across the fields about 100 yards to the north-east of the Mahā stūpa, a monastic unit consisting of a stūpa and two-winged vihāra was exposed to view. The stūpa 37' in dia., was built of rubble stone without any radiating spoke. The brick-built āyaka platforms 10' x 2' on the cardinal sides appeared to have been added subsequently. It was apparently filled in also with rubble stones. It had a brick-built enclosure of which seven courses were extant, at a distance of 12' away from it. The whole structure would appear to have been erected on the levelled rocky ground and given a packing of rubble on the inside and within the enclosure. The 'L'-shaped vihāra and its southern and eastern flanks, measuring 63' x 23', were situated at a distance of 47' and 114' respectively from the stūpa and disclosed two rows of seven cells each. The eastern wing had at its centre on the inner side, an entrance platform with short flight of steps on either side. These flight of steps leading to the verandah appeared to have been decorated with sculptured slabs which bear the representation of the pūrnaghata carried by three lions. The total thickness of the deposits overlying the natural soil is 2' to 2'6" and two layers could be differentiated in this.

Site 21; N-XI (pls. LX B-LXI A; fig. 48)

About 50 yds, north-east of Site 20, a brick-built stūpa was excavated, with a hub, eight spokes and tyre, all complete. The diameter of the stūpa was 51' and width of the tyre 7'6". The āyaka platform measured 15' x 4'. The inner spokes were 1'9" thick and the hub was circular in shape measuring 12' in diameter. A part of the stūpa rim towards the south-west and north-west had

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'1 The two obviously distinctive stages of rubble and brick-cum-sculptured slab remains may indicate that the stūpa which was erected during Vīrāpuruśadatta's reign was improved subsequently, including the enclosure wall.
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḍA MONASTIC COMPLEX

(SITE 23, N-XI)

Fig. 50
disappeared. However, the careful manner in which the structure was built would suggest that it was important, and this was further reinforced by the fact that two small relic caskets, one of copper and another of debased silver, besides gold flowers, pearls, semiprecious stones and bone, ash (the usual concomitants of relic consecration) were discovered in and near two pots which were placed just below the rim of the tyre on the inner periphery. From the same place, pots bearing triratna symbols which were thrown at the time of conservation, were all recovered. The stratigraphy here, again, revealed that it was built without the strengthening the foundation and the whole deposit above the natural soil was 2' thick, revealing two layers.

To its south, two wings, the western and southern, of a vihāra, each comprising of seven cells were exposed. The cells measure 9'6" x 7'6". Each wing measuring 8'3" x 19'6" had common enclosed front verandah and an entrance into the verandah at the centre through a stepped platform. The maximum number of courses extant at this site were eight. The western wing was in a highly decayed condition, and only disjointed remains were available.

Site 22; N-V (fig. 49)

The stūpa of this site measured 28'6" in diameter and had an enclosing of the rubble stone circular wall, measuring 35'6" in diameter and an outer square wall in rubble of 60' length and 3'3" thick which also had projecting rubble stone platform on the inner side along the wall, at regular intervals, apparently intended for keeping the offerings by devotees circumambulating the shrine. The stūpa in its extant remains stood to a maximum height of 4' and there were two layers forming an over all thickness of 3' from the natural soil, and a maximum of seven courses were extant in the brick structure. The stūpa did not appear to have had any vihāra structures attached to it.

Site 23; N-XX (fig. 50)

This was situated close to the north-east corner of Nāgārjunakonda valley, to the eastern side of small rivulet running across the valley. The site comprised three wings of a monastery, each having eight cells, with a stūpa, chatiya and a pillared hall. Each of the wings had its own common corridor and rear angles of the wings were joining together by cantoning wall pilasters enclosing the corner. Admission into the entrance complex was through two cubicled entrances, one on the central part of southern boundary wall, and the other at the north-east.

The whole series of structures would appear to have at least, three stages of structural activity, one comprising the vihāra wings and the pillared-hall, the next that of the chatiya-griha and the front southern chambers wall; and the third, the rear side drains, including chambers on the north-west corner and in the rear centre and the entrance cubicule at the north-east angle. The interest in the site is further augmented by the occurrence of three features; the first, a rectangular chamber with a circular pilastered socket, wide and with a drain-like outlet or coarse brick lining on its northern (rear) side. The chamber is entered through a plastered moon-stone on the southern side. This forms part of the early phase of the vihāra wings. The next is a rectangular brick cored and plastered cistern (?) with stepped approaches from north-east side, the cistern itself situated as low to the main line of the structures east-west north-west. Two sets of walls (medieval?) which had apparently emerged from it were preserved in the meagrest remnants only. A single brick wall shot off in the south-east direction from the sides and met the compound wall under the latter. This wall would seem to belong to the first structural phase. The cistern was found to have been packed with partially and fully preserved pottery.
THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURĪ: ITS STRUCTURES—RELIGIOUS AND RITUALISTIC

NĀGĀRJUNAKONDĀ
EIGHT-SPOKED STūPA WITH MONASTIC UNIT
(SITE 24, N-XX)

CIRCULAR SHRINE FOR IMAGE
PHASE I
SECTION AT AIR
PHASE II
SECTION (ENLARGED)

VIHĀRA WING
STūPA CHAlTVA

SCALE
0 5 10 20 30 METRES
0 10 20 30 FEET

Fig. 31

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The utility was either in the form of a storage for water or for keeping pottery stock of the monastery. That the former was feasible is indicated by the third features of the site, namely, the stone lined oblong tub in which thick plaster layers occurred so as to indicate it as the tub in which plaster for construction work was mixed. The proximity of the plastered cistern mentioned above this tub, would be in favour of the former being a receptacle for water which would be required for mixing lime. The over-all thickness of deposits in the site is considerably more than any other and is upward of five feet and was perhaps due to the slope of the ground here. While some of the antiquities bear it out that its life might have extended up to the early fourth century A.D., the pottery suggests that its origin must have been somewhere in third century A.D. and not earlier. Apparently this was a residential arrangement for the artisan group of the late monastic life.

Site 24: N-XX (pls. LXI B-LXII B ; fig. 51)

This was a full fledged monastic unit comprising a main stūpa within a brick enclosure, a stūpa chaitya and four-winged vihāra. The main stūpa was of eight spokes. It is brick-built with tyre, spokes and square hub, of which seven courses are only extant. Its western half beyond the hub had totally decayed with the result that we have only two intact dyaka platform. It has evidence of a small sized rubble spread of a regular dimension around it which was perhaps a later occurrence although its exact function in the stūpa set up except for preventing soil erosion is not clear. The thickness of the cultural strata here is of the order of 2′ (maximum).

Another notable feature of this monastic unit was that it is a four-winged vihāra with a pillared hall and the stūpa-chāitya. To the west of its north-south hall, near the south-west corner and at the opposite south-east, exist a votive chamber, circular in outline and square in inner plan. Besides this, it had another distinctive shrine chamber, circular in both outer and inner plan, situated at the corner gap between the southern and western wings of the vihāra. Each of the wings had five cells in it (measuring 8′4″ x 7′4″) and entry from outside into the vihāra quadrangle was by the solitary entrance, stepped with moon-stone of brick and plaster situated in the centre to the outside of the southern wing. One of the peculiarities of this vihāra was that the working floor of the cells varied in height, alternate cells were paved with brick, particularly in the case of the eastern and southern wings while those of the lower floor level had only the earthen floor. The vihāra wings, as usual, had their common corridors. The corners of the wings were not joined to one another enclosing the whole area. While there was no elaborate foundation strengthening for the walls of the wings of the vihāra, it is seen that a few of the courses were laid down under the working level which itself had been raised by made-up deposits. In all, a maximum of fifteen courses of bricks were extant in many of the cells, particularly of the cross walls. The inner façade of the wings was carefully plastered over the well laid out brick mouldings and engaged pilasters of brick and plaster in front of each cell. As was the case in Site 23, a regular oblong slab tub and some huge jars containing heavy layers of chunam plaster indicating their having been employed for mixing chunam were seen in the south-east corner of the quadrangle. The hub was found to contain a stone carved channel spout apparently a ceiling drain fallen from above.

The western wing of the vihāra needed special mention, owing to the occurrence of countless pots and pans and storage-jars within almost each of its cells. In one case at least, there was a drain built into the thickness of the rear walls and a storage-jar is placed inside the cell. While in some cases, the pots had been laid on the floor level. At the northern end of the western wing, the space between the
wing and the northern one was confined by an enclosure wall and within it, there was a small four-pillared chamber in line with the last cell of the western wing and another one adjoining it to the east with a moss wall and entry point, the latter and the former having, both, been provided with small stone paved drains leading out of them fixed on their northern and western walls respectively. In the case of the eastern chamber, there was a huge damaged storage-jar near at reach from its drain. The western chamber had a kind of restricted platform near the drain. It is likely that these chambers might have been communal bath-rooms for the monks in summer time from the circumstances of their situation and features.

The stūpa chaitya was situated in the south of the western half of the southern wing near it and was enclosed by a rectangular compound wall of brick. It was rather a medium sized chaitya but its entrance steps were missing. Opposite the chaitya-griha, there was a circular chamber which had a regular dyaka projection on its south-eastern side. The orientation was slightly deflected towards the north-east, and there was an inner recessing also where some image might have been kept. It was perhaps paved originally with brick over the stone sub-stratum. The entry was apparently from north-west. Inside this chamber, almost to the centre, laying on its side, was found an inscribed memorial pillar with a relief sculpture at the top and an inscription below. The sculpture represented a scene where a lady, presumably the queen, is shown seated on a high chair holding something in her left hand and trying to take something which is being offered by a man standing opposite, with her right hand. The man with high turban and heavy kundalas appears to be the chief, if not quite unlikely the 'Sirivarma' of the inscription engraved below. Another lady, perhaps a maid, is seated on a low stool in a line with the foot-stool of the queen's seat. The inscription registers that the Chhāyā-stambha or the memorial pillars was erected on the 8th day of the first rainy season of the 11th regnal year of Sri Varma of Bahaphala gottat gotra, in honour of the queen Mahādevī, mother of Rudrapurushadatta, wife of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla and daughter of Śri Virapurushadatta. The whole genealogy of the Ikshvākus of four generations beginning with Chāṁtamūla I is given and all the rulers bear the title of Svāmī. The queen, to whom the memorial is erected is said to be a daughter of a Mahā Kṣatrapa.

The unique stone-paved, plastered, walled, circular shrine chamber mentioned before located at the south-west angle of the vihāra, was entered in from the north-east through an artistically laid moonstone and a flight of three slab paved steps, with a side lining and balustrade at the lower steps with its facing on either side beautified by pūranaghastr sculptures in low relief. It is, thus, apparent that it was a place of veneration. Structurally and startigraphically, it was contemporary to the main vihāra.

The central pillared mandapa which was lined along its outside with the slab pieces, was provided with low step at the centre of each of its sides, and by the same token would indicate that the ground level between the vihāra wings and the pillared hall was kept lower than either, so that one had to step down from one and step up into the other. As usual no pottery had been found in the pillared hall, itself, since it could not have been used for residential purposes but only for concourse.

The overall thickness of the deposits above the natural soil was about 2'6" (average), a part of which consisted of made up deposits from the working level of the cells and their immediate vicinity. Site 26; N-XVII; (pl. LXXIII A)

This was a full fledged monastic unit consisting of stūpa, on west, two chaityas, a central mandapa, and a three winged-vihāra on the east. The main stūpa is built in brick. As for the vihāra,
it was a 'U' shaped vihāra with three wings, the eastern one alone having eight cells with common verandah, while the other two had most probably less, but in their present ruined and damaged state, it was difficult to ascertain. They had, however, each at its western extremity, a special cell, or shrine chamber externally circular and internally square in plan, with its own apsidal separate compound wall entrance steps. It was situated, in its turn, adjacent to two chaitya-grihas, facing each other, with the base of uddeśika stūpas extant in both cases. The northern one which was situated at a level higher than the southern and which is longer than it, too, had the remnants of a chunam floor. It is underlain by an earlier stūpa, the front angles of whose walls and the apse line of the rear were visible in the western side. What would have been the apsidal outer wall of this older chaitya-griha was also seen on either side of the upper chaitya and its arc would appear to run under it. It was indeed this lower chaitya that would be in level with the southern chaitya and built together, but its early decay had apparently resulted in the upper chaitya having been built in its place. While the northern one had regular steps and plastered brick moon-stone, the southern one had only a door-sill stone now preserved. The area between the pair of chaityas was enclosed by a single brick compound wall with many inlets and offsets and on the western part of it was located a flight of steps and moon-stone as an exit out of this quadrangle. The western side wall retained much of their original plastering also. The southern chaitya had two square brick platforms on either flank, on its front slightly separated from it. It was apparently intended for resting or for keeping the offerings.

Stratigraphically, this side would have two phases of structural activity and the overall thickness of the cultural layers is not more than 2'.

Site 27: N-XII (fig. 52)

This monastic site was situated on the rocky high ground, immediately, at the foot of the Phiranghimotu hill, about 100 yards to the east of the university area and overlooking it. The stūpa which was of a very diminutive shape measures only 14' in diameter, the tyre being of 2'9" width, with four spokes forming a cross as it were, each with a width of 10". Both the stūpa brick casing as well as the spokes, about twelve courses of which were extant, were laid on a basement footing of 3'6" and 1'6" respectively. The ayaka platforms, added in a rather scanty manner, measure 4' x 1', were found only in two of the four cardinal directions in entirety. The stūpa was enclosed by a rubble wall measuring 30'6" x 29'6" and 1" in width, rising to a maximum height of 2'6".

About 60' to the east of the stūpa, lay a two winged-vihāra, the eastern one having three cells with an overall dimension of 34'9" x 18'6". The northernmost of these three cells is nearly paved in the interior with Cuddapah slabs, for three fourth of its area and its southernmost part i lime-plastered. At the eastern end of this lime-plastered portion, there is a raised corner ledge apparently intended for laying one's head while sleeping. The common verandah for this wing is again paved only in front of the northernmost cell with Cuddapah slabs and a single brick wall, duly plastered, tends to divide it from the other two rooms. The southern wing which measures 28' x 18'3" comprises only a couple of cells but here beneath the upper cells, we have another line of walls leading both westward and northwards so as to indicate an earlier phase of structural activity, but the plan of this earlier phase structure is not available in full. The two wings have an outer common corridor towards the west measuring 37'6" x 11'9", beyond which the entire area is delimited by a rubble walling which runs to a total length of 54' from north-to-south and is, at places, of maximum width of 3.5'. At the southern
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA
FOUR SPOKED STŪPA WITH VIHĀRA
(SITE 27, SECTOR N-XII-UNIVERSITY AREA)
WITHOUT ĀYAKA PROJECTIONS (EARLY PERIOD)

Fig. 52
NAGARJUNAKONDA SIX-SPOKED STUPA
(SITE 30, N-XII)

ENTRANCE

ENTRANCE

AYAKA PLATFORM
ASSESS TO THE SPOKES
(AND POSSIBLY RENOVATED)

NATIVE POTS

2 METRES
0
5
10 FEET

FIG. 53

186
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA DHĀRĪṆI VIHĀRA
(SITE 38, N-III) IN THREE PHASES
(MIDDLE PERIOD)

Fig. 54
corner, just beyond the southern cells, this wall is continued by a narrower single rubble wall measuring 26' in thickness, in length and running up to the eastern end of the south wing. It is met here by a brick wall projecting from the rear of the eastern cell of the southern wing, which in its turn travels for an average distance of 24' southwards. Centrally placed, along this wall with a short flight of steps measuring 9' in length and terminated by a 2' radius, plastered moon-stone, is the main entrance leading into the back courtyard of this monastery. This courtyard was delimited on its southern and eastern sides by a rubble wall. Immediately to the north-west of the north extreme cell of the eastern wing was a small brick wall chamber, measuring about 5' x 4'3", on the back side of which there is a rubble wall. Just adjacent to this room, on its western side, starting from the edge of the common courtyard of the wings, ran a long drain lined with rubble to about 5' width with a main channel measuring 8'. The drain ran for a total distance of 38' towards the north and lets out into a sloping area there.

Stratigraphically, there appears to have been three phases of structural activity, the earliest phase being represented by the system of walls lying under the southern wing, the main phase represented by the two wings of the monastery with its verandah and a subsequent phase comprising the rear side walls and extreme into the backyard and the rubble compound wall on the front side of the monastery. The fact that only one cell in the two wings was slab floored, both on the outer side verandah as well as in the interior would suggest that it had been occupied by some important persons. It is, however, to be noted that the front pilaster of the cells, particularly on the eastern wing, done in moulded bricks and carefully plastered in stucco, indicate that in its original state, the cells would have put on a fine appearance.

Site 28; N-XVIII (pl. LXIII B)

This was a vihāra site situated about 200 yds north of the university area. It was a two-winged vihāra with a central mandapa. The hall seemed to have carried timber rather than stone pillars, as no pillars are available. The wooden part of the structure might have perished. The wings were situated on the western and northern sides of the central pillarared hall. Each wing with its cells has common verandah, delimited by a single brick partition wall and there was an entrance into the central hall from the south and north, as indicated by slabs placed in the centre of the southern and northern walls of the hall. Natural soil was reached at a depth of 2' only.

Site 30; N-X-XII (fig.53)

The monastic unit had a six-spoked stūpa in a brick enclosure and single wing of a vihāra. The stūpa 27'6" in diameter, was built having six spokes of 10" width, a circular hub of 6'2" and a tyre 3'6" wide, whose lowest foundation footing was wider than the upper course by 8". The āyaka platform measured 7'2" x 1'. The vihāra wing in front, measuring 36'6" x 19' comprised three cells measuring 8'6" x 8' and had their walls laid in a foundation trench cut into the rocky ground. There was a stepped and moon-stoned corridor of the wing, measuring 5'6" in overall length and with moon-stone of 2' radius. The structures were extant only upto 3 to 5 courses, and total thickness of deposits was not more than 1.6" average.

1 It is clear that the two phases here would be those of the reign of Vīrapurushadatta and Eruvala Chaityamūla, while the third last phase, stratigraphically as seen in this site, would be that of Rudrapurushadatta.
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA RIVER BANK TEMPLES
(IN THREE STRUCTURAL STAGES AND TWO PHASES)
(SITES 77-79 S-XI)

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 METRES
0 20 60 100 FEET

RIVER KRISHNA

SITE 79
SITE 78
SITE 77

PUBLIC BATHING ENCLOSURES
(PART OF SITE 77-79)
Site 38: N-III (pl. LXIV A; fig. 54)

It was a full-fledged monastic establishment, comprising a four-winged monastery, a stūpa, a chaitya-griha and three votive stūpas. The main stūpa was brick-built and is having a diameter of 12'5" and had a brick enclosure. To its south lay the chaitya-griha which was lime-floored and had an entrance of 3' wide. The interesting feature of this entrance was its decorated balustrade. The chaitya opened into a slab flooring. Nearby were located three votive stūpas which ranged in their diameter 2'9" to 5'6".

There was a four-winged vihāra all around the stūpa, each having five cells. The cells measured 9' x 6'9". The wings had the traces of the common verandah. But in one case, i.e., of the western wing of the common verandah extended to a length of 38'6". The length of the wing was 53' while the breadth remained 10'9". The southern wing of the vihāra had a length of 53'9" and a breadth of 10'6". As for the remaining two wings, since only traces were available, the measurements about them could not be clearly known.

One of the slabs found near the entrance into the stūpa was carved with a pair of Buddha-pāda with a symbol of a pair of fish, pūrṇaghaṭa, dharma-chakra, ankūśa, etc. On it was an inscription, ascribable to the mid-third century, recording that the sacred feet were of the Buddha, and were designed and consecrated by or for the Mahā vihāra vāsins of the Theravāda-Vibhajyavāda school of Sri Lanka in a Vihāra described as Dhāринī-vihāra situated on the Praventa. The Mahā vihāra vāsins were also described as adepts in reading the marks on the human body and fixing horoscopes which constituted the eight sāsana (abbhuto) of the Navānga promulgated by the Buddhāha.

The salient feature of this monastery was its deviation from the usual plan of the monastic-complex invariably followed at Nāgarjunakonda. The usual monastic plan that was followed consisted of the main stūpa, a Buddha-chaitya, stūpa-chaitya, a pillared-hall in the centre and cells around. But in this vihāra, the stūpa took the central place within a brick enclosure, and was flanked by chaitya-griha and votive stūpa and all around by vihāra wings on four sides. This was the only site which is different in plan as compared to other monasteries excavated at Nāgarjunakonda.

Site 54: S-XIX (pl. LXVA; fig. 55)

This monastic-complex comprised a stūpa, a pillared-hall and a four-winged vihāra. The stūpa was brick-built with spokes, circular hub, tyre all complete and had an āyaka platform at the four cardinal directions. It had a brick-built enclosure with raised platforms at the four corners. The stūpa was of 21'9" and the āyaka platform measured 5'6" x 1'4". The brick enclosure wall had the measurement of 42' x 42'. To the west of the stūpa lay a sixteen pillared-hall and it measured 34' x 33' 09". Around this pillared-hall was constructed, a row of cells. This chaussāḷa type of vihāra consisted of five cells in each row. The cells measure 7'8" with an entrance of 2'3". Conspicuously, the common verandah of the wings was absent.

Svastika stūpa; S-IV: Site 59 (fig. 56)

This was a brick built stūpa with a svastika inset. The diameter of the stūpa was 30 ft. It has a āyaka platform at the four cardinal directions measuring 13'x1'5". The visible measurement of the āyaka platform was 3'6". An earlier chhāya-stambha from a locality close to this area had been pulled down, and used as the base of lime tub near the stūpa.
NAGARJUNAKONDA RIVER BANK

BATHING ENCLOSURE & WINGS OF ROOMS
(SITE 79, S-XII)

ENTRANCE CUBICAL

DRAIN

Fig. 58
Site 79; S-XII (figs. 57, 58)

This unit comprised of a three-winged vihāra. The cells of the vihāra measured 8' x 8' with an entrance of 3'. The interesting feature of this dharana-complex was a bathroom with a drain at the southern side. The bathroom measured 15'6" x 18'6". This complex was encircled by a brick enclosure which measured 133'9" x 97'6" with a main entrance of 3'10" on the east.

Hill Monastery (Site 85; S-II; pls. LXV B-LXVII A; fig. 59)

This monastic unit consisted of eight-spoked stūpa with an inner diameter of 22'6" and a central hub. It was provided with āyaka platforms, one for each cardinal point and they measured 9'10" x 3'. There were traces of āyaka pillars which could have adorned the āyaka platforms. Main entrance was on the west, by means of a doorway measuring 9' x 7' with a narrower pathway 20" wide. As one passed through this pathway, two Buddha-chāityas, one apsidal and another square, could be seen facing each other. In turn, supported the super-structure. At one end, within the square chamber abutting the southern wall, was a brick pedestal on which once 2'6" of space for circumambulation, beyond which was the enclosure wall and further beyond the enclosure wall was a chamber through which passes a stone drain which takes away all the water, collected in the chaitiya enclosure, and this drain came out of this chamber and proceeded further south, emptying water on to the steep hill slope. Such care was taken because the monastery was situated on the shoulder of Peddakundellagutta hill. The apsidal Buddha-chaitiya had pavement in Cuddapah slabs and with the typical moon-stone. It had an entrance of 2'3" wide. A Buddha statue was installed at one end on a pedestal of adho-padma moulding. The chaitiya was finely plastered, both inside and outside. The Cuddapah flooring of this chaitiya had inscription reading as "Ha ya ma". Further beyond this chaitiya was a sixteen pillared-hall, enclosed by a three-winged vihāra. The square shrine measured 13' x 13'. The sixteen-pillared hall measured 33'3" x 32'6" and was edged all around by vertical Cuddapah slabs over which a seating slab was placed providing stone benches 16" wide. On the three sides were three row of cells for occupation by the inmates of this monastery. The cells varies in their measurement from 7'0" x 8'6" to 7'6" x 10'6". At the foot of the hill was a twenty-four pillared-hall (Site 84)

Site 86

This was a small monastery, situated near the hill monastery on Peddakundellagutta, beyond the brick fortification. It consisted of only a two-roomed vihāra and a front courtyard and remains of a small brick stūpa towards its south. The cell of the vihāra measured 8'6" x 6'6" with an entrance of 2' width.

Site 105; N-III (fig. 60)

It was a full fledged monastic unit with a main brick-built stūpa within an enclosure wall, three winged vihāra and an open courtyard. The stūpa was having four spokes and āyaka platform on four cardinal directions. The stūpa had a diameter of 22'6", while the āyaka platform measures 5'6" x 1'. To its north lay the vihāra-complex, each wing having a row of three cells, all within a brick-built enclosure wall. The cells of the vihāra measured 7'9" with an entrance of 1'9". The vihāra units were also provided with a common verandah which had the measurement of 34'6" x 3'. The enclosure wall of the vihāra-complex measured 74'3" x 67'0". In the centre of the open courtyard lay a square shrine which measured 10'6" x 10'6" with an entrance of 2'9" wide. This shrine chamber yielded a Buddha image.
THE IKSHVÄKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURI: ITS STRUCTURES—RELIGIOUS AND RITUALISTIC

NĀGĀRJUNAKŌNDĀ

KUMĀRA NANDI VIHĀRA MONASTIC COMPLEX

(SITE 106, N.-II-III)

FIG. 61

197
NAGARJUNAKONDA MONASTERY
(SITE 108)

Fig. 62
THE IKSHVĀKU CITY OF VIJAYAPURI: ITS STRUCTURES—RELIGIOUS AND RITUALISTIC

Kumāra Nandi Vihāra (Site 106; N-II-IV; pl. LXVII B-LXVIII B; fig. 61)

This was a monastic-complex, exposed on the outskirts of rampart. The monastic unit comprised a main stūpa, a Buddha-chaitya, a pillared-hall and a four-winged vihāra. The main stūpa was eight-spoked with a central circular hub and had a diameter of 35'6". It had ṭyaka platforms on four sides which measured 8'6" x 2'. The brick-built stūpa has a brick enclosure wall, measuring 72'6" x 71'6". Within the enclosure were located four votive stūpas, each in different corners. They measured 8'6" in diameter. To the south of the stūpa lay the vihāra-complex. The central courtyard measured 29' x 26'6". The vihāra had five cells in each row. The cells measured 8'6" x 9' with an entrance of 2' wide. Adjacent to the main stūpa at the south-east corner was located Buddha-chaitya with an entrance of 3'. From this was found a most interesting inscribed and sculptured frieze 8'6" x 4'9", which had been facing the podium on which the Buddha image once stood. The inscription in Sanskrit language and the Brāhmī script, gave the date as the 24th regnal year of the Ehuvala Chāṃtamūla. The panel depicted the principal incidents in the life of the Buddha, in medallions in deep relief, alternating with carved mithuna panels in bas-reliefs. Flanking the Buddha-chaitya to its north, within an enclosure, lay four votive stūpas which ranged in their diameter 6' to 13'.

Site 108; N-III (fig. 62)

This monastic unit consisted of a four-spoked stūpa, built in brick within an enclosure. The diameter of the stūpa was 14'6", while the enclosure wall measured 25' x 25'. Only one wing of the vihāra-complex could be exposed to view. There were five cells in this wing, each measuring 8'6" x 6'9" with an entrance of 2' width. The interesting feature of the stūpa was the absence of ṭyaka platform and a svastika inset.

Site 116

This vihāra-complex consisted of three wings. Two of the wings of this vihāra-complex comprised five cells, while the third one consisted of six cells. The traces of a common verandah were also noted in this vihāra. The cells measured 8' x 8' while the common verandah measured 60' x 4'. The whole complex was situated within a rubble habitation area.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Nāgārjunakonda reveals an important watershed in the history of Buddhist (and also Brāhmical) architecture in India. Several trends from different directions converged in this valley to give rise to new architectural forms, also conditioned to great extent by ideologies that different sects professed. In the beginning, the Buddhist establishments at Nāgārjunakonda consisted mainly of a stūpa and a vihāra for the monks to live in. All early Buddhist establishments in India followed more or less the similar pattern. The idea of apsidal shrines which might have come into the valley from western India affected the first change in the traditional set up. The idea of quadrangular monastery, square or oblong image shrines, pillared-hall for congregational purposes was another. Votive stūpas might have penetrated into this valley, perhaps from western Indian as well as Gandhara region. All these trends combine together to give birth to a new monastic lay out. Thus, the most developed complex of Nāgārjunakonda consisted of a stūpa, built on a square platform, flanked by two apsidal shrines and monastery enclosing a pillared-hall. The practice of rearing of miniature stūpas and the construction of oblong shrines, were, however, not widely accepted by the Buddhist community of the valley.
But in the construction of the stūpa, all the sites of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa followed the same old style in the form of hemispherical dome resting on a lower drum. Yet, one finds a revolutionary change here in the mode of stūpa construction. The wheel-shaped plan of the stūpa reached its perfection in the hands of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa architects. In fact, it is a successful attempt of transfusing the Buddhistic symbols of dhārma-chakra into an architectural entity. Similar is the case of svastiṅka inset in a stūpa. Another notable contribution of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa to the stūpa architecture is the provision of āyaka platform at four cardinal directions. Each such platform was to be surmounted by inscribed or unscribed pillars, five in number, each one as if symbolising one of the five important episodes of Buddha’s life, namely; Birth, Great Renunciation, Enlightenment, First Sermon and Nirvāṇa. However, āyaka platforms were not altogether an invariable feature of the stūpa of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, as the excavations brought to light stūpas without āyakas also. Thus, stūpas with a solid core, either made of brick or stone, existed in the valley, side-by-side with a wheel-shaped ones, with spokes varying from four, six, eight to ten. Many of these stūpas have their drum portion encased with sculptured slabs, fixed in lime mortar on the brick surface. A notable feature of the stūpa architecture of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is the general absence of the railing inspite of the fact that in representations, stūpas are shown invariably within outer rail.

(ii) Brāhmaṇical remains from excavations* (pls. LXIX A-CI)

INTRODUCTION

The Brāhmaṇical temple remains from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa form a significant source of evidence, firstly, because they are probably the earliest known extensive clusters of temples, in a whole city site raised within a period of a century in the opening centuries of the Christian era. Secondly, as in terms of construction, they had used expedient techniques and devices of wood, slab and brick (plastered often), besides rubble for several purposes, they may at first sight, appear to be formative, rather unimpressive and without any definitive conventional or canonical site plan and image fixation provision. But, for this very reason, they loom large since the kind of layout they disclose, the distribution of the parts of the shrine components, the variety of shapes for small pedestals, often given some summary mouldings in stone, brick or plaster, but standing for the shapes which become cardinal subsequently in hieratic temple construction, the several terms like adhivāsa that they reveal through and special features like dhvaja-stambha (as in the Pushapabhadravāmi Temple), stone platform with a seeming wooden image (as Ashtabhujavāmi Temple), kundas of various shapes—all these would be the most authentic early patterns of temple construction in this pristine period of religious architecture in south India, and will become precursors to many later more impressive ones which we see. The fact that we do not have, in these shrines, the conventional liṅga forms for Śiva and iconographically comprehensive forms for Kārttikeya, Durgā, etc., and on the other hand, we have also shrines for demigods like Kubera etc., and apsidal shrine forms which had been extensively used in several disparate contexts, will also be of great significance in the development of architecture and temple lay out.

* This section has been contributed by the Editor of this volume.
While it would be unreasonable to read more into them than what they represent and expect retrospective-corroboration for many later features as noted in the texts which get compiled between the fifth and seventh century A.D. and they form the most valuable corpus of evidence from which one can trace the beginning of temple erections, quite apart from ancillary features like the parts of the city where they were built. To the extent of the relative periodisation of the temples among the 3 to 4 kings who ruled here, they can also identify the progressive or comparative variations of temple format in these stages of the city life. The fact that inscriptions of the Ikshvākus give suggestions regarding their own religious leanings and the fact that the frequency of divinities referred to in the records and actually found in the excavation, has its own suggestions of omission and commission, is another factor that confines our attention to the cults and religious pantheon that the Ikshvāku city was most avidly seized of. The considerable use of open-pillared mandapas in most temples and the absence of any storeyed arrangement or superstructural complexity excepting for some plausible roof and shrine tower designs, one might presume, bring another interesting factor and call for an assessment at the hands of scholars for much fruitful research.

Much importance may also be percieved in the location of the temple clusters on the river bank, with very few on the interior and these latter chiefly for Kubera etc., for ethno-religious usages in south India, which contrast often with shrines in the upper Indian region where the śūrha is directly related to the sacred waters and less so on 'mūrti' which looms large in the south. The impacts that the Nāgarjunakonda spectrum of temples and divinities had on the Pallavas, in the one hand, and early Chālukyas, on the other, also forms another vista worthy of pursuit, making the Ikshvāku capital, as being important far beyond its political stature for the diffusion of art, architecture and cults in south India, the apsidal form being the most immediate and seen as an arche-typal form adopted by Pallavas of Tondaimandalam but not seen in lower Tamilnadu.

The following pages describe the sites of the temples as found in excavations and their periodisation will be relatable to factors and stratigraphical aspects dealt within the introductory sections, especially on Chronology.

There are specific patterns of temple layout which has been followed in the Ikshvāku Brāhmanical erections which have to be seen in their totality and not as a discrete assemblage in each case. They seem to yield valuable lead given in formulation of cult scheme in actual worship.

Sites 113, 99, 82, 70, 134 (part) form one pattern and either as a related scheme or otherwise, we have Sites 78 (part), 97 forming another arche-type. 114 is a sixteen-pillared mandapa, 99 is Sarvadeva Temple, 84 is a 24-pillared hall below hill monastery (on Peddakundellagutta southern slopes). 82 is Kārtikeya Temple, 70 is 30-pillared mandapa on river bank. 34 (part), is a 64-pillared mandapa shrine behind Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple.

In the other group, Site 78 is the so-called 'Navagraha' complex with two apsidal, two octagonal and five square shrines. 97 is what is called 'Trimurti' Temple, north of the western gateway having two apsidal shrines, besides the rectangular, in-between, and other shrine shapes. On the one hand, the apsidal temple had begun only in Ehuvaha's period and later, and in so far as they are located on the river bank and have earlier phases also, these earlier stages did not introduce apsidal temples. On the other hand, the Chāhītamūla type is an earliest mode, though seemingly this is a variant of the Buddhistic residential-cum-worship shrine pattern.
Site 29 (Ashtabhuja Temple-complex) has again two main shrines and three sub-shrines in the premises. This pattern seemingly introduces whether in the apsidal pair noted earlier which are probably Śaivite or square pair as in Site 29 which is Vaishnavaite in nature, the feature of a possible God-and-Goddess shrine pair, with ancillaries becoming part of the cult. In these cases where there are apsidal, octagonal and square shrines, the distribution thus should be Śiva pair, Vishnu pair and other subsidiary divinities.

What is otherwise called the ‘Navagraha’ shrine (Site 78) is really a combined shrine for Śiva and Vishnu and certain other divinities. There seem to be, thus, Śiva complexes, Śiva-Vishnu complexes and Vishnu complexes variously, and would indicate a change in the pattern of temples wherein Kārṇikeya Temple, occurring separately, were the earliest, Śiva-Vishnu complexes and Vishnu complexes, subsequent. By this token, the Sarvadeva Temple (Site 99) is perhaps the latest stage of the sites where provision for all the divinities for a river bank adhvāsa was made.

Since Sarvadeva Temple was built in the 24th year of Ehuvala, we may presume that by that time the development of multiple cults had come into being. If so, we may even think that the Ashtabhuja Temple of the 30th year of Vasuśeṇa should be a new intrusion into the religious life, as it is clearly later to Ehuvala and perhaps to Rudrapurushadatta and quotes its own regnal year and not that of the Ikshvākus or even the ‘Ābhira epoch’. This may be a factor in favour of the Ābhira intrusion into the valley bringing a new cult in the ‘post-Ikshvāku’ stage. The elliptical tank in the Ashtabhuja Temple has its parallels elsewhere, as in the Srirangam Temple, Tamil Nadu, where it is called the Chandrapushkarini and perhaps is the first Pushkarini in the valley, while earlier temples elsewhere in the valley had a temple well, but no Pushkarini.

These aforementioned data seem to suggest that (1) the apsidal form was appropriated for Śiva Temple, in the period of Ehuvala. Octagonal form (Trivishtapa) for Vishnu as noted in (Vishnudharmottara-purāṇa) was a subsequent one and probably in the same king’s reign; (2) square as well as apsidal shown for Vishnu had been an induction in the Ābhira stage which gives, by and large, some ritual linkage with Vishnu, through the conch repose gold leaf, etc., found in the Pushkarini perhaps during the construction. Kārṇikeya Temple does not follow the apsidal pattern but the square lay out; (3) there had been simultaneously separate shrines for Devasenā (Site 39) and Kubera (Site 64) which were perhaps allied cults not directly related at that time to Śiva-Vishnu-Kārṇikeya Brāhmaṇical series. The Kubera Temple also is apsidal which may go to show either that it was a Dīkāla in the Śaivite series, or that it adopted the apsidal form by its earlier commonality with Buddhism where Kubera was deemed a yākṣa. It might then be only a yākṣa Temple and may be a transitional stage between late Virapurushadatta stage and Ehuvala early stage. All this clearly supports the position that in the third-fourth century A.D. in the Krishna Valley, the erection of temples had furnished certain attributes by way of ground plan and features of the deity which may help in dealing with the subsequent brick temples for Brāhmaṇical religion in the same zone at several sites like Chezerla, Gudimallam, etc. on the one hand and Siddhesvaram, Sangamesvaram zone further upstream, which

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1 It is however to be seen that if we categorise the Buddhist, Brāhmaṇical and secular structures, as the three components of structural architecture in the valley, we note that the first and the last are preponderant, with just less than forty-five examples each, while the second is almost one fourths of this strength, making hardly a dozen and mostly distributed on the west bank earlier and north-east bank (Siddhuladari) later.
bring a uniform square shrine pattern, on the one hand and the placement always of a 'linga' of one type or another within to represent Śiva, on the other. These are clearly, thus, of a stage subsequent to the position seen at Nāgārjunakonda in the third and early fourth century A.D., and would argue for these latter site temples as probably ascribable to the late fourth and fifth century A.D. if not later. It is interesting that no 'linga' has been seen inside a Śiva Temple in the valley at Nāgārjunakonda throughout the Ikshvaku and post-Ikshvaku times,1 and the Pallavas continued the usages seemingly, after they overran this lower Krishna valley, by their not establishing any 'linga' in their early temples either till c. A.D. 725 and on the other hand, showing a Somaskanda (Śiva, Umapī and child Skanda) in their temples on the sanctum wall. This grouping of the three major divinities of Śaivism seen erstwhile in Nāgārjunakonda separately, in unified pattern iconically, and avoiding an aniconic linga form till A.D. 725 by Pallavas, therefore assumes a chronologically valid significance as a usage imbibed from the Ikshvaku usages of which they were feudatory participants. Their subsequent continuance of the apsidal temples in their several religious constructions — followed in this way by the Cholas also later in this regard after they conquered Tondaimandalam, notwithstanding the establishment of square temples for Śiva everywhere simultaneously (both Pallava and Chola) — would also give an added impetus to this apsidal preference of the Pallavas, as drawn mainly from the Ikshvaku antecedent legacy.

By the same token, the absence of both the apsidal form (till a late stage) and the presence of the 'linga' from the earliest stages (either as mukha-linga or an arūpa form or anthropomorphic linga) almost from c. A.D. 550 in the Chālukyan region both in their Karnataka and Andhra zones, on the one hand, and Pāṇḍya region on the other emphatically, would show this dichotomy between Ikshvaku-based traditions for early Pallava temple worship, and other Pan-Indian traditions for Chālukya-Pāṇḍya milieu, and fill up gaps in our evaluation of religious diffusion in the fourth - fifth century A.D. and after, from Nāgārjunakonda. On the other hand, we have also seen certain filiated Vaishnava cult features in the valley, as well as in both Chālukyan and Pallava domain, as in the ashjabhujā form of Vishnū. Thus, Śaivism and Vaishnavism follow two divergent channels from this period.

The remaining feature of pillared-halls, as parts of a temple layout, again stand in contrast with the subsequent developed stage of structural architecture wherein pillared mandapas do not make their appearance till late and there again, they have specific individualistic patterns depending upon the purpose for which they are intended. In the Nāgārjunakonda examples, however, they are not only everywhere but, as parts of temples, they are usually large, multi-pillared constructions of several sizes and shapes, and seem to have the chief purpose of providing ample space for the large volume of people who may worship there. It is obvious that they had not followed any hieratic usage or prescription and, if so, the chances are that, in all such mandapas, except for the nature of the sculptured carvings, relief scenes etc., where available, there is no other means of distinguishing them as different from the pavilions for secular purposes or those in use in the Buddhist monastic structures. The chances, indeed, are that they had used a common usage and technique of erection; and the tradition into those which specifically follow religious and ritual injunctions or designs of a text has yet to arrive. In the total layout, again, the atypical and asymmetric pattern they adopt, by way of additions and expansion to

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1Such examples of what could be 'hinalingas' in stray cases, as in Nādagiśvara-complex, would surely not call for an organised 'linga' cult as such.
earlier stages of erections, are so prominent that we may say that, at least, in so far as Nāgārjunakonda is concerned, a hieratic formula for the mandapas of temples had not emerged, or indeed a 'pillar order' germane to temple categories alone, had made their appearance.

Thus, temple layouts in the valley, in the absence of the above, and also the paucity of iconic features of the different divinities who might have been placed in the various chambers (which had obviously been lost, either because they might have been of wood or stucco or had otherwise perished in the declining stages of their existence), have to be eked out mainly by the ground plan of the chief shrine structures, and also by the shape and detail of the several plinths and platforms that remain on which the images might have stood. These certainly do seem to have a rudimentary adherence to the emerging ritual preferences which texts of a slightly later stage compile and talk about and categorise; and also the comparative position of temples in the lower Krishna zone or neighbourhood tracts in the succeeding stages might be pointing to. In every way, therefore, the valley city of Vijayapurā forms the cocoon out of which the temple model had not fully emerged, in elevational scheme of roof or tower, and 'pillar' order or sanctum scheme or ground plan of compact temple design. The fact that brick and stucco had extensively been used for the walls and ceiling as well as iconic images, had not also helped in this context. Inscribed or literary references where available alone give the minimum insight into the matter.

The reference to the prevalent Vedic sacrifices performed by the Ikshvāku kings and their Vedic religious outlook, in this regard, might suggest that in their times, the simultaneous or overlapping usages of both the Vedic sacrificial programmes and an emerging 'Purānic' shrine form had been a notable feature.1

The Brāhmanical remains excavated at Nāgārjunakonda are mostly places of worship called 'Devakula' or 'Praśāda' as in the Sarvadeva Temple inscriptions and as in the inscription of Pushpasahadravāmi and Nādāgīśvaravāmi Temples dedicated variously to Śiva, Kārttikeya, Devasenā, Ashtaśeṣavāmi (Vishnu), Devi, Hārīti, Yakshas etc. Many of these structural remains are seen punctuating the eastern bank of the River Krishna outside the citadel. However, the noteworthy feature is that the apsidal form of temple or shrine—generally associated with Buddhist architecture (in view of the occurrence of large number of such buildings called chaitya halls)—seems to be one of the general types of temple architecture also of this period at Nāgārjunakonda. The sancta in the temples of Pushpabhadra, Yaksha, etc., are all in apsidal form and these are directly or indirectly datable to the reigns of Ikshvāku Kings. Apparently, the Hindu temple builders should have followed some early usages—perhaps of Vedic Sulba Sūtras and re-produced the forms prescribed therein. Circular (vrītta), elongated circle or apsidal (vrītayata), square (Chaturasra) and rectangle (Dirgha chaturasra or āyatastra) were the favourite architectural patterns chosen for constructing the shrines by the 'Sthapatī' of ancient Vijayapurā. It is difficult to fix variously the exact text if any, that had inspired the 'Sthapatī' or its date, but it may not be unreasonable to presume that the inspiration was mostly

1It may even be speculated that while the Vedic was indeed part of the personal religion of the kings, the Brāhmanical temples could as well have been mainly the response to the people, rather than the elite, until the advent of the Ābhira King.
from the contemporary traditions in architecture, the names of which are not yet known to us but the contents of which have been found incorporated in later texts like Mānasāra, Mayāmata etc. and the Śaiva Āgamas.

The materials used in the construction of these temples are invariably brick, stone laid in mud or lime-mortar and limestone. Walls of all important buildings were built with brick, though stone was available in plenty around. This feature can be explained only if we presume that the builders belonged to a brick-using tradition. Their preferences of brick to stone was also due perhaps to the easy and cheaper moulding facilities afforded by the latter materials. The technique of construction of walls was also quite sound. Vertical straight joints were broken or avoided in the construction and proper bonding was ensured by laying one header for every two stretchers. Thickness of these brick walls varied in size between 3' to 13'. In the case of walls built in random rubble, proper care was taken to dress them at least on one face and fix them in gritty mud. A few pieces of painted lime-plaster discovered in the citadel area indicate the aptitude of the builders for their use on the wall surfaces. Special precautions were taken for protecting these walls when they come into contact with water. Flooring was generally done in Cuddapah slabs, neatly cut to sizes, since this material is available in plenty in the close proximity. Floor joints are quite imperceptible and artistic. Sometimes flooring was done either by paving one layer of brick or by lime-concreting the surface.

Mānasāra gives elaborate details about the rules for measurements for foundations—bhūmi lamba vidhi-garbha vinyāsa or burying of vessels filled with coins and other precious metals (nava-ratna) underneath the ground etc. In the case of temple walls, the foundations are regulated by 'Śādhārana bhūmi lamba' or 'measurement for ordinary foundations'. The garbha vinyāsa for the temple building was to be done beneath the sanctum and generally emerald, gold, silver, coral and other precious and semiprecious materials were laid along with the image of Viśvakarma or Maya carved on a plate. In temples, Chakra and Śankha, the āyuṇhas of Viṣṇu, and Triśūla or the trident, the weapon of Śiva were also buried along with precious objects in the course of 'garbha vinyāsa'. This function which is styled 'ratna nyāsa' is invariably done while consecrating the images.

While digging below the foundations of the temple of Pushpabhadrasvāmī, a huge pot was noticed buried beneath the garbhagriha (sanctum-sanctorum) covered carefully by a stone. This pot has yielded a lamp (jyotī). Burlying of a lamp or jyotī below the 'garbhadaya' was to be a substitute for luminous substance like diamond and pearls.

Pillars are all in limestone beautifully cut, carved and polished, with their bottoms fixed into masonry and inserted pedestals or mounted on pedestals in stone specially made for the purpose. Mānasāra, while discussing the adhishṭāna vidhi refers to numerous types of pillar bases, Pratibandha Mañcchabandha, Śribandha and vase-shaped bases with fine mouldings named after the

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1Mānasāra, 13th Adhyāya.
2This function 'Garbha vinyāsa' is classified under six heads: Viṣṇugarbhā, Rudragarbha, Nripagarbhā, Naragarbhā, Grāmagarbhā and Jatagarbhā.
3Perhaps the 'Kālās' for the image were invoked from the Jyoti or lamp (Kālaprakārśanam) and installed in the image (Kālāmyāsa). Evidently the builder of this temple was following strict Agamic injunction on this subject.
4But in this case, the converged pot was of an earlier layer and might not have any link with the temple construction (Ed). It is also to be noted that the earliest compiled Viśist/Sthāpata texts are not earlier than the seventh century A.D. and many of them are much later.
flower they resembled. The top of the pillars are generally provided with grooves ranging in width from 9" to one foot to take in the beams. The average thickness of the pillars found at Nagārjunakonda varies from 1" to 1' 9" while their length was uniformly 13 ft. These pillars went into the construction of mandapas, of various sizes. The smallest mandapa contained a hundred pillars in rows of three (navarangā) while the largest contained a hundred pillars. Invariably either in the centre of this mandapa or nearest to the main entrance, one bay of four pillars was enclosed by a brick wall, where by raising the floor, small platforms were constructed. This platform was used as ahiśa mandapa for keeping the God at the time of festivals and other important occasions. This feature is very common and is met with in almost all the temples excavated at Nagārjunakonda. The 16th and 17th adhyāyas of Mānasāra supply some interesting information about the types of pillars that went into the construction of different types of buildings—Chaturasra stambha or square pillar called Brahma Kantha generally seen in the abhisheka and mukha mandapas in the temples, Dirgha stambha or rectangular pillars called Vishnu kantha, usually found in hundred-pillared mandapas in the temples, Vartula stambha or circular pillars called Rudra-kantha; Pañchakona, Shaṭkona or hexagonal were called Skandha Ratna, Ashtakona or octagonal (Vasukona), Chitra stambha or fully ornamental pillar etc. Stipulations about the number of pillars that should go into the construction of mandapas are also made in the text on architecture. The Śaiva and Pañcharatna Āgamas mention that the Abhisheka mandapas where monthly or annual festivals for Gods are celebrated should have 28 pillars, while Kāśyapa Śīlpa prohibits the use of ornamental pillars in temples other than Vishnu, Śiva, Subrahmanyā or Kārttikeya, Lakshmi, Sarasvatī and Parvati and the most suitable places for erecting such pillars are Brahmotsava, Vasanotsava, Abhisheka, Kalyāṇa and Vāhana mandapas of the temples dedicated to deities enumerated above.

Pillars of most of the varieties cited above as prescribed in the Śīlpa Śāstra, are met with in the Brāhmanical structures at Nagārjunakonda. Square and rectangular pillars are very common, while fully ornamented and free standing pillars (Chitra stambhas) were found only at the temple of Asṭabhujaśvāmi.

On these pillars, at times we find engraved labels or small inscription referring to the names of guilds (Vidhikās—stone-cutters). Guild marks like bow and arrow, and triratna are also noticed. Besides the above marks, pilgrim records mostly in shell characters (Śaṅkha Lipl) are also found on the pillars which help us in fixing the beginnings or the terminal dates of these structures. Generally, the temple-complex comprises an enclosure wall with two or more entrances. The main entrance was always facing east and opening on the main road. The circumambulatory path around the temple was also paved with Cuddapah slabs to facilitate pradakshinā round the temple. The erection of dhvaja- stambha is another notable feature of some of the temples like Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple etc. These pillars, slightly thicker in section, octagonal in the centre and cylindrical and tapering at the top are found fixed into masonry pedestals, circular or rectangular, specially built for the purpose. This feature is a late characteristic ritual part of Hindu temples only but we notice a comparable stambha bearing scenes from the life of Buddha on its cubical part, erected opposite a shrine chamber in the monastery dedicated for the use of Bahusrutiya sect of monks by Ehuvala Chāntamūla. At the temple of Yaksha, sockets for erecting māna-stambhas on either side of the temple—an additional feature—have been noticed.

Some times, around the temples, votive platforms of varying sizes in brick, built in different shapes, rectangular, circular and square were also exposed to view, indicating provision for keeping
NAGARJUNAKONDA SARVADEVA TEMPLE
(SITE 99, N-VIII)

RUBBLE REVETMENT (1st PHASE)
OUTSIDE RAMPART WALL.

Fig. 63
some images related to the shrines at different stages of their history. Accommodation for keeping stores of the temple and residential apartments for temple servants were also provided within the temple enclosure, but where the establishment was too big to be accommodated inside the temple enclosure, arrangements were made for their residence immediately outside the enclosure but within its immediate proximity, as was seen in the case of the so-called Navagraha Temple (?) with an opening or passage serving as the means for inter-communication. These residential apartments for the temple servants were built probably in imitation of the Buddhist vihāras i.e., in chaityāśāla type. Adequate arrangements with regard to the drainage and water-supply have been made by the builders both in the temples as well as in the residential apartments as is indicated by the drains, soak-pits and wells discovered in the course of excavation.

Although, little information was forthcoming from the excavations about the type of roofing and the nature of roofing materials used by the builders, the sculptural representations offer an adequate information regarding the same. As it can be seen from the sculpture, the vaulted roofings had apsidal ground floor, while the circular roofs are seen mounted over the circular ground floor. The roofings of pillarized-マンダパ were flat and probably done with Cuddapah slabs paved on the wooden or stone beams spanning the space between the pillars. Over this course of Cuddapah slab, one layer of brick or tile was laid in limew to render it watertight. Roof drains also fixed for draining the water from the top.

These structures could have been decorated both on the exterior and interior with stucco friezes of animals and birds, while the roofings of the buildings had finials, 3, 5 and 9 or whatever be the number, depending on the size of the structure. The frontage of these vaulted structures might have had the shape of chaitya and vulya head, with a niche to take in a seated image, with finials fixed round the arch, as can be seen from the extent remains of temple at Chezerla. Large quantities of finials discovered at almost all the places in Nāgarjunakonda during the excavations also are indicative of their profuse use in the construction.

Temple Plan

The temple usually consisted of three units, garbhagriha, antarāla or ardha-曼ダパ, मुक्खा-マンダपा or a pillared-hall in front; and immediately outside this मुक्खा-マンダपा, we have the pedestal for dhvaja-stambha or नांद्ले in the case of Śiva temples. Instances of the pillared-halls themselves converted into shrine chambers were also noticed in the excavations (as in Sarvadeva Temple). Structural temples built in brick with a long rectangular sanctum and an oblong front room, the two ends of which served as small shrines imitating the three arms of the star are also set side-by-side with circular and apsidal shrine chambers.

The discoveries of inscriptions from the temples such as Sarvadeva, Pushpbhadrasvāmi, Ashtaḥbhusvasvāmi, Nādagisvāra have been of immense value in identifying the structures as well as the deities installed therein. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that temple paraphernalia generally used in the daily worship like पुजा पात्राः, धुपा-अराई, plates for keeping flowers etc., pots probably

\[1\] Perhaps in these uses, the small end-shrine chambers were for the द्वारपालाः like Ganesa, Viśvakarma, Durgā etc., which become common already from this period, in pairs.
containing sacred materials were also found near these structures. These pūjāpātras are, sometimes in gold and silver conforming to the prescriptions of the Āgama Śāstra and bear the esoteric symbols like bindu in double triangle (shaṭkona) which is indicative of their association with Śiva and Śakti.

Site 99; N VII (Sarvadeva Temple; pl. LXIX A-LXXI B; fig. 63)

This structure, which is on the bank of the river, is perhaps the most magnificent of the buildings excavated at Nāgārjunakonda. In this, more than two phases of structural activity are noticeable. The first phase structures comprise pillared-hall or prāśāda in two levels. The lower one is a 32-pillared māṇḍapa covering an area of 74’ x 36’ and is to the east. At the northeastern corner of this māṇḍapa, two bays of pillars were enclosed and converted into a shrine chamber measuring 24’ x 22’.¹ In the north-western corner of this enclosure, a circular pedestal, 4 ft in diameter with five mouldings (pañcādhisthāna) and covered by a 3 ft thick circular Cuddapah slab, was exposed to view. Third pedestal must have been built to mount some image. There are two openings or passages to this enclosure, one on the east and other on the west, obviously taking note of the river to the immediate west. In the same shrine chamber, another pedestal was built abutting the pillar to take some stucco image which could have been an ancillary devatā.

To the west of this and at a higher level is another pillared-hall (70’ x 85’) with a raised flooring. Approach to this hall from the lower māṇḍapa is by means of a flight of steps provided with fine moonstone and balustrades carved in Cuddapah slabs. Extensions to the māṇḍapa, towards the river, were made by levelling up the ground in three stages. The māṇḍapa with its first stage of extension measuring 50’ x 70’ had slab roofs. At this stage, additional supports were given to the pillars to take the weight of the slab roofing above. Hence we find double and triple pillars used in the construction. In view of its location on the river bank, and its susceptibility to damage by floods, successive reinforcements were made to this building by revetment walls in random rubble seemingly during the phases of the rise of the flood water levels. The space in-between the revetment wall and the māṇḍapa was also filled up eventually, thereby increasing the overall plinth area of the building to 70’ x 70’.

Staircases built in brick were seen added on the southern and northern ends of the māṇḍapa, leading to the first floor on top (pl. LXIXA). Besides these, there was a porch on the corner where two steps were built to serve as a passage to the pillared-hall to its north (pl.LXIXB).

To the south of this māṇḍapa is another hall with 16-pillars, measuring 32’ x 32’. Opposite this square māṇḍapa and at a lower level to its east is a small brick structure within an enclosure (52’ x 46’), also in brick, but reinforced with random rubble walls. This brick structure which was in a dilapidated condition, yielded a fairly tangible plan consisting of a rectangular shrine (18’ x 10’) with an oblong room (20’ x 7’) in front. Either end of this oblong room formed small rooms or cells with a common central space in front (mukha-māṇḍapa). Indications of damage, repairs and reinforcements done to this structure are also in evidence.

Main Hall

To the north of the pillared-hall, described above, was another pillared-māṇḍapa, measuring 56’8” x 64’. It consisted of fifty-six pillars, some of them having double and triple columns. This was

¹These recall the type of shrine provided for Ladkhan at Aiholi, temple of the time of Badami Chalukyas-Ed.
also paved with Cuddapah slabs (pl. LXXB), with flooring slightly higher than that of the mandapa described earlier. From the occurrence of the double and triple columns, it may be surmised that this mandapa also had a slab roof. The space in-between these two mandapas was filled up, where a staircase leading to the first floor and subsequently from there to above was built in bricks. Additions were made to the mandapa both on the east and west to increase the floor area in the second phase (pl. LXXIA). A large rectangular hall measuring 23'6" x 69' was also added during the same phase on the west, from where steps leading to the water edge of the river were provided. Extensions were made on the east and the northern sides also. The eastern extension was converted into a pillared mandapa consisting of thirty pillars, subsequently. From this mandapa leading to the earlier, mandapa in the lower level, was a flight of steps with moon-stone and balustrades cut in Cuddapah slabs. Pillars of this mandapa or Prásāda were fitted with inscribed tablets registering the name of the donor responsible for its construction and consecrations. A number of rectangular and circular pedestals were built inside and outside the temple-complex for keeping the idols brought here for worship purposes during festivals. Provisions for draining abhisheka water was made by building masonry drains from the pedestals. From the grooves at the top of the pillars it is possible to infer that they took either wooden beams or stone beams into them over which flat slab roof was provided. If it was the former then when it got damaged it led to the complete destruction of this magnificent structure. Limestone was not a good material for supporting super structures or flooring though it was good for carving sculpture.

The inscription, referred to above, helps us in identifying the structure. This inscription which seemingly had at least six or seven copies (?) was found in numerous fragments and by due-tailing the pieces, a final complete record could be re-constructed. This was in chaste Sanskrit stokā in Sragdhara metre. It recorded the construction of perhaps the entire structure—described as a Prásāda—by Eliśrī, the Commander of the Ikshväkus in commemoration of a victory and dedicated for the use of the gods as 'Sarvadevādhisvāsa'. Eliśrī was described as a grandson of the commander-in-chief Anikki, a great devotee of Kārttikeya, the Agni-sāmabhava. This inscription has been edited by Dr. Chhabra. He is inclined to identify the structure as a Prásāda or temple built for installing the image of Sarva, which he takes as a synonym to Sarva or Śiva. The word 'Stalavāravaram' occurring in the inscription has been interpreted by him as a synonym of the title Mahātālavāra, that we find in the inscription of the Ikshväkus, discovered near the Mahā-chaitiya. But since actually the archaeological evidence from this site seem to suggest that this structure had more than one floor or that it was a two-storeyed building, the phrase 'Prásādam stalavāravaram' can also conveniently be interpreted as a temple provided with an important tala or upper floor. This structure is said to serve as an adhivāsa or temporary abode for gods who are taken to the river banks during festive occasions.

About nineteen lead coins were discovered at the site and such of those whose legends are clear, read 'Śrī Eha' above the elephant which also confirm the date of structure. Gold and silver articles (pl. LXXIB) found in the temple precincts are interesting. It is customary in south India, even to this day, to take out the gods on certain parvas to the banks of the rivers (or tanks, if there is no river), where they are kept for a specific time, and special worship done of this premises. The structure with its location on the river bank has a picturesque setting. This building appears to have been damaged by fire, since a lot of ash, charcoal of burnt-wood, etc., were recovered. Even the iron nails used in

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1E.I. XXXIII. No. 27. p. 147 ff.
2Since the later day practice is carried out through usava bheras of metal, in the present case perhaps all the then currently worshipped deities at Vijayapuri were establaed here, but only for the special occasion.
the construction got fused with other materials, while some of the limestone pillars got calcined into lime.

*Site 97; NI: (pl. LXXII A; fig. 64)*

This structural complex is also located on the river bank and is in immediate proximity to the western phases of structural activity in this building. The earliest phase consisted of a broken enclosure wall with its main entrance on the east, measuring 120' square, with an apsidal shrine on its west. There was a pedestal opposite this shrine, circular in shape, which was perhaps used for erecting the *dhvaja stambha*. Later on, in the second phase of structural activity, a pillared-*mandapa* consisting of 72 pillars was planted in the centre of this enclosure, to serve as a *mukha-mandapa* for the apsidal shrine of the earlier period. Two more additional shrines, one circular and the other apsidal, were added on either side of the earlier sanctum. It was also noticed that decorative pylons were added on the wall of those shrines on the exterior. Since the entire construction was unfortunately raised on sheet rocks, no excavation could be done into this rock to fix these pillars. They were therefore, embedded in masonry-built pedestals. Facing the shrines and occupying the central bay of the pillared-hall and nearest to the entrance on the east, a raised platform was built in brick to serve as the festive-*mandapa*. This brick platform was veneered with Cuddapah slabs cut into shape. The entire flooring of the *mandapa* was done in lime-concrete and pedestals wherever they were built, were also lined with Cuddapah slabs. Flooring level, also raised by filling up the surface inside and the entire floor surface was redone in lime-concrete. Since no image or inscription pertaining to this shrine were discovered, it is difficult to fix precisely the nature of deities installed in these temples.

In the third phase of structural activity, more votive pedestals were added inside the *mandapa* while outside the enclosure, residential accommodation by way of random rubble-built rooms with a separate enclosure measuring 75' x 52' were added. These later structures are in very poor state of preservation and some of them were not making any tangible plan. Indications about the sanitary arrangements by way of bath rooms, etc., built at the corners, were also available. Outside this rubble enclosure and at its western corner, a small brick-built chamber was also excavated.

Since the main entrance of this entire complex is to the east, in which direction all the palace buildings in the citadel are located, it may be reasonable to presume that this was a shrine chamber, evidently meant for the inmates of the citadel for their private and personal worship. Pillars of this temple-complex bear fragmentary inscriptions* (in Śaṅkha līpī) mentioning the names of pilgrims, similar to those discovered at Ghantasala, Jagayapeta, Salihundam and Yelesvaram. Since the name of these pilgrims sound Śaivite, one is tempted to identify it with a temple of Kārttikeya or Śiva. From the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus, we know that the first ruler Chāntamūla was a great devotee of Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), the leader of the Virupāksha Gaṇas (Virupākshapati Mahāsena parigahitasa) and this structure which is almost inside the citadel could have been the temple dedicated to the patron-deity of the Ikshvākus viz., Kārttikeya, where the kings offered their daily worship.

*Site 82; NI: Kārttikeya Temple (pls. LXXII B-LXXIV A; fig. 65)*

This structural complex is located on the bank of river Krishna and to the south-west of the bastion on the slopes of Peddakundellagutta. This comprises two pillared-halls and a residential wing to its north.

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Its location on the bank of the river and its consequent susceptibility for inundation had necessitated the raising of the floor levels and construction of reinforcement of the walls, as a precaution against possible damage from floods. Its construction had been started nearest to the river, but finding that the area was subject to inundation, the flooring level of the building was raised by filling and packing with pebble and mud (pl. LXXIII A).

The method adopted in the construction of this *adhisthāna* of the temple by the builder, is interesting. A rectangular chamber measuring 50' x 45' was built with brick in lime and the entire interior was filled with pebbles and rubbles collected from the river. So much so the brick walls served as retainers for this inner rubble core. The elevated platform raised on it was a small shrine, square in plan, measuring 15'6". Subsequently, the floor area in front of this shrine was increased by a similar process referred to earlier, and this rectangular frontage measured 33' x 6'. In this rectangle, two brick chambers or shrines were added, on either side, in front of the main shrine described earlier. Along the southern wall of this rectangle, four post-holes 9" wide were noticed at regular intervals of 7'6". Evidently these post-holes took vertical and uprights fixed along this wall, on which a small verandah (*āltīna*), with protecting roof above, might have been constructed. The area immediately in front of the shrines was paved with Cuddapah slabs, and here the structures were all intact. The slab pavement must have served as porch or *ardha-mandapa* for the temple. On the northern side of the rectangular chamber alluded to above, there is a passage 2'6" in width, leading to the residential apartments on that side. In front of this group of shrine and slightly removed from them is another brick enclosure measuring 67'9" x 62'6", the flooring of which was raised by the same technique alluded to already. This enclosure consists of a 36-pillared hall with a retaining wall around (pl. LXXII A). These pillars are cubical at bottom with octagonal chamfering in the centre, while their tops are provided with grooves to take the wooden or stone beams. The main entrance to the *mandapa* measuring 7'9" in length, is on the east. There is a passage through the *mandapa*, leading to the shrines to its west, measuring 5' in length. Even here, pedestals were seen built inside the enclosure for mounting images. These were variously circular and rectangular in shapes. The southeastern corner of the enclosure is occupied by a room measuring 8'6" x 8'6" with an entrance for it from the west. The exact utility of this structure is difficult to conjecture in the absence of positive evidence pointing to that. The festival *mandapa* or a raised platform in the centre of the pillared-hall *mukha-mandapa*, which is generally met with in the temples excavated at Nāgārjunakonda, is conspicuous by its absence here.

One limestone image of Kārttikeya standing in *samabhanga*, holding a *kukkuta* in his left hand which is akimbo and the right hand broken was discovered (pl. LXXIV A). The image which is not in keeping with the iconographic feature prescribed in the subsequent versions of the text, is provided with a tasselled lower garment with heavy *kunḍalas* with strings of pearls flowing from them. Unfortunately, the face of the image is broken but still from the extant portion, it is easy to recognise the turban or head-dress with the central crest jewel (*Chūdrāmanī*) typical of the Ikshvāku period. It is, however near to the western south Indian version seen on the Konkan coast and by this tokens, the right hand might have held the *sakti* spear. Discovery of this image of Kārttikeya helps us in identifying the chamber as an abode of the God of the same name, and the location of this temple near the southwestern corner of this bastion is also significant, since he is the war-lord, *Devasenaṇapati*, installed at the corner as the guardian deity of that corner of the citadel. The cock as well as the peacock are the special emblems of Kārttikeya, particularly associated with various aspects of this deity like
NAGARJUNAKONDA UNDERGROUND CHAMBER
WITH TWO FACING SHRINES ABOVE
(SITE 83, N-I)

Fig. 66
Mahāsena Skanda etc. Skanda Kārttikeya is described in the texts as Barhiketu (skandāḥ kamara rūpaḥ saktidhara barhiketuśca—Bṛhat Samhitā, Chapter 57) of which the present one is obviously the Śaktidhara versions. The provenance of Kārttikeya Temples in District Kanpur of Uttar Pradesh has been reported and they have been datable to early second century A.D. Vishnudharmottara enjoins that Kukkuṭa and Ghanṭa should be placed in his right hand, and Vaiśayanti Patṭakā and Śakti in his left while the Mahābharata associated cock with him (tvam kriṣṭeṣaṃ shanmukha kukkuṭena vadhesṭa nānāvidha kāmarūpiḥ). This one-faced, war-god stands with his right hand holding a spear or sakti, the left resting on the hip holding the Kukkuṭa, seemingly shows Kushana influence.

To the north of this temple-complex was situated a residential apartment, perhaps belonging to servicing hands of this temple (pl. LXXIIIIB). It was also built almost in a usual 'Vihāra' pattern of Buddhism consisting of wings of four rooms on each side measuring 8'6" x 8' with a front verandah of 3 ft width. The western wing of this unit had an additional adjunct behind it serving perhaps as the temple stone. Numerous pieces of earthen ware dishes usually used as dining plates were discovered here, which corroborate such a view.

At the southeastern corner of the residential buildings is a 3' square brick-built well to supply water to the inmates of this temple-complex. This residential unit also had an entrance on the east besides secondary passage on the south leading into the temple-complex and the pillared-mandapa. In later temples, this āgnikona is for kitchen and on the northern or northeastern side the kunda or well is located—cf., in the Ashtabhujā temple-complex.

To the south of this temple-complex, there was another pillared-hall consisting of 64 pillars. This huge pillared-hall did not yield any antiquity or inscriptions which could help us in identifying or assessing its use. Since it had large number of pillars that might have been used as Abhisheka or Utsava mandapa where large gatherings were expected on the festive occasions. The pillars of this mandapa were rather crude and unpolished.

Site 83; N I : (pl. LXXIVB-LXXVA; fig. 66)

To the south of this temple-complex and at the southwestern corner of the citadel and located on the banks of the river was another temple-complex. This structure which is in a very dilapidated condition betrayed three phases of structural activity. The first phase revealed a pillared-hall with a rectangular chamber or shrine to its west. The hall consisted of 24 pillars with an enclosure running allround. Facing this, to its east, the usual front mukha-mandapa was provided by enclosing one bay in the pillared-hall and constructing a raised platform. Evidently, the structure was subjected to damages due to floods and the builders of this second phase were compelled to raise the flooring as was done to the temple of Kārttikeya described earlier, by packing the entire surface with random rubble. During this phase, over the raised floor of the pillared-mandapa, an apsidal shrine facing east was planted. During the course of those operations, steps and moon-stones leading to the rectangular shrine chamber of the first phase were all got covered and in their place on either side of the entrance two rectangular pylons purely ornamental or for security purpose, measuring 3'6" x 2'3", were added.
Of the structures belonging to the second phase, reference has already been made to the apsidal shrine. This shrine chamber has 6' width at the apse with long arms measuring 12'. Facing this was another rectangular cell or shrine chamber measuring 9' x 15'. All along the walls of this rectangular chamber, sockets about 8" deep were noticed at intervals of 2'8", perhaps to take in the wooden pillars supporting the roof.

In the last phase of structural activity, the mukha-mandapa referred to above, belonging to the first phase had been tampered with, and a narrow underground chamber measuring 15 ft in length and 2'3" in width, with flight of steps on the eastern and southern sides, was added. This chamber contained storage-jars, water pots and a broken finial. This must have served either as a sub-terranean chamber for keeping the precious belongings of the temple or as a convenient place for austerities (Samādhi).

This mandapa also had seemingly flat roof covering of Cuddapah slabs, overlaid with lime concrete 3" thick. All the walls have been plastered with fine lime on the exterior and the bricks used in the construction vary in sizes.

Site 78; S XI-XII: (pls. LXXV B-LXXX B; fig. 67)

This is another huge structural-complex located on the river bank (fig. 57), comprising an enclosure measuring 89'9" x 128'9", with the main entrance on the east (pl. LXXV B). The entrance, as usual, is built in rectangular fashion typical of Ikshvāku usage and had been provided with doors or shutters as indicated by holes in the base slab. The central passage through this gate measured 9 ft in width. The enclosure had got three more openings besides the one on the east. The western one was slightly narrower than the one on the east and was not in the right middle of the wall in straight alignment with the main entrance but slightly to the side. It led to a well which was nearby, as well as to the river which flowed beyond. Immediately inside and slightly to the west was a pillared-hall measuring 88'6" x 68'6" and through the pillared-hall was a passage to the raised platform or adhishṭhāna, on which were located two apsidal shrines (pl. LXXVII). Only retaining brick wall measuring 2'6" in thickness pertaining to this platform was extant. This platform had an ornamental basement moulding in limestone and a dwarf railing around, decorated with beautiful sculptured panels. These apsidal shrines had two approaches, one on the east and the other on the south. The eastern approach has been completely damaged, while at the southern one, traces of a brick-built moon-stone with a flight of steps had survived.

Numerous sculptured pieces belonging to the railing were discovered at this site. The coping stone or ushnisha of the railing had beautiful representations of friezes of animals, lions, camel, winged-lion, varāha, fish, etc (pl. LXXVIII A). The uprights had half-lotus medallions and mythical figures like beaked-and horned-lions as well as dwarfs. The sūchis or horizontal beams contained medallions with the Greek acanthus in the background. The central figures within the medallions were varied and interesting. One such medallion contained two goats, while another had a winged-garuda in anthromorphic form. In this collection of sculptures, a torso of the lower part of a lady with tasselled lower garment with side loops, heavy mekhālā and a vaikakshaka (a part of it alone visible), standing cross-legged perhaps on a makara was very interesting. This compares very well with the similar sculptures found at Amarāvatī, identified as Gaṅgā (pl. LXXVIII B). Another interesting piece is a bull-headed dwarf with his heavy belly broken (pl. LXXVIII C), rendering it difficult to identify him. Medallions showing two hefty wrestlers in action and a dwarfish yaksha in dancing pose were also interesting (pl. LXXVIII D).
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆDA
24-PILLARED HALL & SHRINE
BELOW HILL MONASTERY
(SITE 84, S-III)

SECTION AT A-B
(ENLARGED)

FIG. 68
The builder appears to have conceived the plan of the building consisting of the main apsidal shrine on a raised platform, pillared-hall mukha-mandapa and the enclosing compound wall measured 20′ x 38′ with the main entrance on the east was also indicative of the above surmise. The pillared-hall faced the main shrine and had forty-eight pillars. Four pillars of the central bay nearest to the main entrance were enclosed later by a brick wall 1′8″ thick, lined with Cuddapah slabs to form a raised platform in the mandapa itself. This served as a separate section of this temple. The pillars were all of limestone and embedded to a depth of 4′3″. The height of the pillar above the floor level was 9′6″. These pillars were decorated with half-lotus medallions and friezes of animals. A groove was cut at the top of the pillar (9″ in width), perhaps to take the rafter or beam of that dimension and the roofing of the mandapa was done with slabs.

From the occurrence of disturbed Cuddapah slabs in large quantities at this site, it was inferred that the entire mandapa floor was done with Cuddapah slabs, laid in lime. Around the mandapa, a retaining wall was built in brick and mud, plastered with lime and veneered with Cuddapah slabs. The veneering vertical slabs of the platform were actually mounted on a basement moulding which was of green limestone.

One peculiar feature noticed of the complex is the occurrence of numerous pedestals (pl. LXXIX A) or shrines around the mandapa and the apsidal temple. At the southeastern corner was a square pedestal measuring 10 ft with an inner room, paved with Cuddapah slabs, measuring 10 ft and an opening into the shrine from the west. The walls of the room were built of brick laid in mud and were lined with Cuddapah slabs similar to the central pillared-hall described earlier. Traces of monostone with steps were discernible at the entrance on the northeastern side very near to the entrance into enclosure, from the north, there were traces of a circular pedestal, but it was in such a poor state of preservation that it is difficult to describe its correct plan and measurements. To the west of this dilapidated pedestal was square platform, similar to the one found on the southeastern corner; also were rectangular pedestals with rooms measuring 13′ x 15′. The walls were built of bricks laid in mud, but no traces of any encasement or flooring were noticed. But the most interesting of these pedestals were two octagons (pl. LXXIX B), on either side of the mandapa circumscribing a square platform with four pillars with an intersecting circular pedestal in the centre. The sides of the octagon on the south measure 6 ft, while the sides of the one in the north measure 5′0″. Actually, they stand to a height of 2′ to 2′6″. The purpose for which these pedestals were erected is not known.†

Immediately outside the enclosure is a small shrine chamber, measuring 15′ x 15′, slightly later in date, perhaps utilised for enshrining image. This shrine had also pillars on which the roof was surmounted.

Excavation to the south of this complex had revealed to view a huge structure-complex consisting of a Chatussāla (pl.LXXXA). Clearly, three phases of structural activities were discernible, but only the plan of the last and the middle phases were better preserved and were therefore, intelligible. This Chatussāla was located inside an enclosure measuring 65′6″ x 84′6″ and it consisted of rows of rooms on all four sides, each row having seven rooms-all opening into a central courtyard. The main entrance

†Perhaps they were meant for Gangā an Yamunā – Ed.
to the structure was through a room from east. The rooms are not of uniform sizes and were built of brick-in-mud. Narrow opening through the rooms into the courtyard outside were also noticed on the southern and western sides. Indications of drainage arrangements were also available. Extensions of this structure had been made by the builder towards the south where remnants of two rooms measuring 6'9" x 8'6" on the south, and the other 8' x 7'3" on the east, had been exposed to view. Constructional material like lime-pots (pl. LXXX B), and heaps of bricks were also met with in the course of excavation of the site. The bricks used in the construction of these structures of the middle and late phases were comparatively smaller in dimensions, and they measured 14" x 7" x 2" and 15" x 6" x 2".

All these rooms built in brick evidently served as residential apartments for temple servants. That was perhaps the reason for a passage to the main shrine-complex provided on the southern side also, to facilitate access for these people into the temple.

Since no inscription or image was found inside the temple-complex, it is difficult to fix precisely the nature of this temple or the God installed therein. The occurrence of yakshas and winged-goats and garuda, beaked-and horned-lions as motifs in the sculptures, and absence of any material indicative of its connection with Buddhism, tempts one to associate it with the Brähmanical structures. We had not come across in any of the sites excavated at Nāgārjunakonda having two apsidal shrines side-by-side, one bigger and the other small on the same adhishthāna or platform, nor such large numbers of pedestals or of smaller shrines arranged around. The exact purpose for which these were built is not intelligible. Since they are nine in number, a suggestion may be made that it might be the temple for Navagrahas. But the date of these finds was too early for Navagrahas. Were they temples of Devī and Kārttikeya? The temples at Sandur in Bellary district, datable to the period of Rāshtrakutās (9th-10th century) apsidal in shape dedicated to Pārvatī and Kārttikeya, the war-lord in the identical positions, seems to suggest a solution for the interpretation of this structural-complex. Even then, no satisfactory explanation could be given regarding the main shrine.

Antiquities discovered in this site were a copper wrist bangle, plain ware, a long barrel-circular-collared-bead in green jasper, a long bi-convex tubular bead in crystalline quartz, besides a few terracotta beads.

Site 84: S III: (pl. LXXXI A; fig. 68)

This temple-complex was located at the foot of the Peddakundellagutta to its south and in immediate proximity to hill monastery. It comprised a 24-pillared hall with a rectangular shrine chamber to its south. The entire structure faced north. The shrine chamber which was built of brick laid in mud measured 32'3"", while the enclosure walls had a uniform width of 2'6". In the centre of this rectangular chamber, there was a pedestal with a moon-stone. The pedestal measured 4'6" x 4'9" built of brick and plastered. From the pillared-hall, a passage led to the shrine chamber through a porch or antarālā, measuring 7'6" x 7'6". Immediately in front of this shrine, a moon-stone cut to pieces and displayed was found. To the east of this antarāla and inside the pillared-hall, there was another pedestal laid in brick. The mukha-mandapa measures 53' x 33" and, as mentioned already, contained, twenty-four pillars. The pillars were 1'1" in section and cubical at the bottom, with octagonal chamfering. They had half-lotus medallions. No inscription or image was found here which could help us in the identification of the structures. Its location, however, indicated that it should have been used for installing a guardian deity of the citadel.
NAGARJUNAKONDA
ASHTHABHUJASVAMI TEMPLE
(SITE 29, N-XXIV)

RESIDENTIAL PARTS OVERLYING
36 PILLARED MANDAPA

APSIDAL SHRINE (MAIN)

ELLiptical PUSIKARINI (EARLIER)

ENTRANCE

TWIN SIDE ENTRANCE

31-PILLARED
HALL LATER
CONVERTED INTO
SHRINE

DHVAJASTAMBHA

ENTRANCE
PANCHABRAHMA
(LATER)

FIG. 70

223
Site 39: N II: Devasenā Temple (pl. LXXXI B-LXXXIII B; fig. 69)

On the southeastern slopes of Peddakundellagutta, immediately outside the fortification wall was located a temple-complex, dedicated to Devasenā, the counterpart of Kārttikeya. It consisted of a rectangular shrine chamber, measuring 27' x 18'6", with a front pillared-hall containing 36-pillared square (58' x 58') mandapa. The temple faced east and was located in a huge brick enclosure with an entrance in the east. This entrance was as usual, rectangular, measuring 17' x 6', in the typical Ikshvāku style. The northern flank of the enclosure wall had been built thicker and on the undulating surface on the slope of the hill. The thickness of the wall was 3'. Inside this brick enclosure, there were traces of rubble wall which served as a retaining wall for the platform or adhishtāna for the mandapa, as well as for the sanctum. The brick compound enclosure appeared to be later, since this was built over the rubble. The pillared-mandapa had also been provided with a retaining wall allround, built in brick. At the central bay of the mandapa, nearest to the opening, had been converted into kalyāna-mandapa (17' square). The entire mandapa was paved and lined with Cuddapah slabs. The pillars, beautifully well cut and polished, were cubical in the bottom, octagonal in the centre and again cubical on the top. They also bore half-lotus medallions in juxtaposition. The tops of these pillars had been cut into grooves to take the beams. It had also a slab-running roof like all other pillared-mandapas described earlier with proper facilities for draining out rain water through the ceiling drains. The most interesting antiquity found here was the icon of the presiding deity of this temple, identified as Devasenā, the counterpart of Kārttikeya. The location of this temple at the southeastern corner of the citadel was also significant and perhaps this deity was the guarding angel in that direction.

Site 29: Siddhuladari I: Ashtaabhujasvāmi Temple (pl. LXXXIV A-LXXXIX A; fig. 70)

This huge structural-complex, in three units, was located on the banks of the river at the north-eastern corner of the valley, in the immediate vicinity of the Siddhuladari where a cave was explored and particularly excavated by Longhurst earlier. This entire structure had a compound wall in brick remains alround (230' x 143') and betrayed two stages of structural activity. The first unit which belonged to the early phase was right on the banks of the river and comprised a hall of thirty-six pillars in rows of three and enclosed by a brick wall. This pillared-hall with its long bays faced the river. Part of this building had been encroached by the second phase builder who planned a rectangular enclosure, 45' x 60', comprising pillars on the whole length of the mandapa. This unit consisted of rows of long rooms on all the four sides, with a backyard on the north. These rooms were 9 ft in width uniformly but their lengths vary. The west wing measured 37' x 9' with a partition wall at its eastern end, while the rooms on the south measured 42' x 9'. The south and north wings measured 24' x 9'. To the south of this structural-complex, there was a brick room, measuring 24' x 22', perhaps serving as kitchen. Brick-built troughs were noticed in the backyard for storing water, while the one in the mandapa was used for pounding lime. Its proximity to the river where stone steps were provided for people to approach the river for bathing purposes indicated that this mandapa was used as a dharmaśālā. Evidently, it was a place where pilgrims were camping during festive occasion, had their bath in the river and changed their clothes etc., inside the enclosed rooms and were also cooking their food here.

Immediately to the east of this narrow mandapa, there was a huge temple-complex consisting of a long rectangular shrine chamber, measuring 53' x 32', with a front pillared-mandapa. This pillared-hall consisted of twenty-eight pillars while the rectangular room which contained another room
measuring 17' x 17' was not straight with masonry pedestalled alignment with the hall in front. To the north of this pillared-hall was another temple with an apsidal shrine measuring 20' x 9' or garbhagriha and a 16-pillared mukha-mandapa measuring 29' x 26'6" in front. Communications between these two shrine chambers were also provided by a way of balustraded steps paved with Cuddapah slabs and moon-stones. Both these temples were provided with retaining wall in brick all around.

This apsidal shrine chamber with mukha-mandapa faced east, and the apse part of the sanctum sanctorum was missing. At the threshold of the sanctum, on either side of the entrance were fixed two slabs with semicircular tops bearing the emblems of Pārṇa Kalaśa perhaps as a mangala sūchaka. No image, however, was found installed therein.

The pillared-hall and the rectangular shrines to its west had been discovered in a very badly damaged condition, superimposed by random rubble walls of the later period. These random rubble walls were removed to expose the plan of the earlier phase, and it is interesting to note in this connection that part of the 28-pillared-hall had been converted into a temple. Four of these pillars had been enclosed and converted into a shrine chamber with an oblong front room at the either end, at which narrow and small shrine chambers were provided. Facing this shrine, a pedestal and a broken pillar presumably a dhvaja-stambha of the temple were also found.

Excavation revealed, outside this brick shrine, an inscribed slab referring to the consecration of a wooden image of Ashtabhujaśvāmī, by Ābhīra Vasūśeṇa who was accompanied by Mahāgrāmikā, Mahātālavāra, Mahādandāṇyaka Śivasena of Kauśika Gotra, Yavana prince of Sanjayelpura, Śaka Rudradaman of Avanti and Vishnuvedra Sīvalanda Satakarnī of Vanavāsa. The latter princes were also associated in the benefactions made to this temple as well as to the other edifices at Nāgārjunakonda. Inscribed conches were also found in the rectangular shrine chambers behind those which also refer to Ashtabhujaśvāmī and Dacchinakanasara. If the last two letters "Sara" are taken by mistake for "Sīrī" Dacchinakanasirī or Dacchinakanasrī — perhaps the name of the donor who presented this conch to the temple — while the other conch which bears the inscription "Bhagavato Ashtabhujaśvāmisa", besides the representation of a chakra mounted on a pedestal and an ankusa, was evidently an abhisheka conch used in the deity worship at this temple of Ashtabhujaśvāmī.

Ashtabhujaśvāmī has been identified as Vishnu in Virat or Gajendramoksha and since the image was said to have been done out of fig tree "Udāmarabhava", the image has perished leaving us only the tablet registering its consecration. Eight-handed Ashtabhuji was popular in Mathura. Two Ashtabhuji images of Vishnu have been reported from the Mathura Museum, discovered somewhere around Mathura. They have been dated in the early third century on the basis of artistic merits. Reference to Ashtabhuja Vishnu is also found in Sanskrit texts, particularly Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where Vishnu is described as holding in his eight hands, śankha, chakra, asi, kheṣaka, tsu, dhanu, pāśa and gadā. This iconographical representation of Vishnu with eight hands perhaps indicated worship of Vishnu in the Virat Svarūpa as conceived by people of the early 2nd-3rd century A.D. and perhaps the oldest case of a full temple for that god at Nāgārjunakonda.

Besides the inscribed conches, a group of four more conches bearing no inscription were found in the temple premises. The most interesting antiquity at its site were two finely ornamental pillars "chitra stāmbhas" found lying opposite this apsidal temple (pl. LXXXVII A and B). These two pillars were 7'4" in height excluding the unchiselled bottom portion to be buried in the earth. It was square in section and 1'3" in width. The overall length was divided into six parts including the base and the bodhikā on the top, which were square in section. The first part of the pillar above the ground had been chiselled into a ring or pratibandha base about 1' in height with the bottom mahāpadma ogee, with a central dwarfish torus and the kapota on the top. The torus itself is not round but square with bevelled edges. Immediately above the pitha, the pillar was cubical on the faces of which representation of advancing elephants were shown. The part above the cube was octagonal with a prominent belt 5" portraying on each of its facets floral designs, animals and human figurines in different settings. The part immediately above this, was cylindrical, ornamented with six-petalled lotuses. The part above the cylindrical section was octagonal above which is the part occupied by corbel (bodhikā). The pictures portrayed on the bodhikā were the winged-lions. The sculptures portrayed on these two ornamental pillars were interesting and varied. Representations of human form as well as animals and floral designs had been done very artistically. At the base of the pillar, two elephants were very finely portrayed in advancing pose while on the other face of the cubical forms, we find representation of a woman holding a big sword and attended by a servant. This woman amazon in her stature and form, might be one of the Mahātalavāris mentioned in the inscriptions. Scenes of popular interest like double animals, cock-fights, bulls and rams in different poses and postures, had been done very artistically, betraying the skill of the artist in handling different themes and grouping them within a small compass.

Besides the above, a gold plaque representing a chauri-bearer seated on a dwarfish stool holding a lotus or some flower in his hand, betraying foreign influences particularly of the Kushans, was also found at this site. It is difficult to identify the figure.

The dhvaja-stāmbha referred to above had been installed on a masonry pedestal, circular in shape. It had been actually discovered in numerous fragments. It compared very well with the similar dhvaja-stāmbha in Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple but bore no inscription. Coins belonging to the Ikshvākū kings were found in large number at this site, indicating its date during the period of the Ikshvākus.

Superimposed over this structure were discovered numerous rubble buildings belonging to the early and medieval periods of Andhra history. They comprised thick rammed rubble walls built of the debris of the earlier structures and yielded no tangible plan. Two rectangular burials (pl. LXXXIX A) were also noticed right on these rubble structures. Invariably, these burials had vertical stones fixed around with the entire floor surface pitched with stone itself. Invariably, the antiquities found in these burials were Śiva-lingas indicative of their purport. Two such burials were opened to examine their contents, but no skeletal remains were noticed. They may be constructions of the late medieval occupations of the city. Another interesting feature found in this temple was a stone box, built to the left of the passage leading to the apsidal shrine from the pillared-mandapa to its south. It was actually a chamber dug into the natural soil lined with thick Cuddapah slabs and covered by similar one. Evidently, this was used as a vault for keeping the precious belonging to temple. Stratigraphically, it came with the first phase of occupation, and therefore, belonged to the period of the Ikshvākus.

On the eastern side, brick-built pedestals, square, rectangular and circular in shape, had also been
exposed in mutilated condition whose actual purport is difficult to ascertain in the absence of any antiquity pointing in this direction.

Outside this temple enclosure and to the right of the main entrance on the east, a 12-pillared mandapa with damaged retaining wall around was also excavated. Its location outside the temple premises was difficult to explain, since the usual feature ‘Kalyāna-mandapa’ is met with in the mukha mandapa itself in the temples excavated at Nāgarjunakonda. It may not be unreasonable to presume that this mandapa outside the temple was also used.

Site 34; NVIII: Pushpabhadravāmi Temple (pls. LXXXIX-B-XC-B; fig. 71)

This is located at the northwestern foot of fortified hill at Nāgarjunakonda on the banks of the river where the river takes northerly course (pl. LXXXIX B). It is customary in India to build Śiva temples at the spots where streams or rivers take northerly course, since a special sanctity was attached to such spots. They have been considered as equal to Varanasi, the most sacred place of pilgrimage for all the Hindus.

This temple-complex was actually located inside a brick enclosure with four gateways, three of which are extant today. It consists of an apsidal shrine (pl. XC A) with a mukha-mandapa. The dhvaja-stambha which had been planted facing this temple immediately outside the mukha-mandapa bears an inscription dated in the reign of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, the third of the Ikshvākus. It refers to the consecration of this temple-devakulam, by Kupanasiri and her son Virapurushadatta II for their victory and longevity. This is the earliest structural temple with all the units—garbhagriha, mukha-mandapa, dhvaja-stambha and enclosure wall with four dvāras or gateways, all complete—discovered in India so far.

The garbhagriha of this temple was apsidal in form and the apse had been achieved by arranging four pillars at a distance of 3 ft each. It measured 13' in diameter and 6'6" in radius, while the long axis was 33'. Two box-like structures were noticed on either side at the entrance of this garbhālaya encased with Cuddapah slabs. A comparison of this with the temple of Chejerla which was up till now considered as the earliest temple in Andhra, indicates that these two box-like structures were actually masonry pillars built to take the beam on it, over which the roofing was done. All along the length of this apsidal hall, there should have been a brick wall, only a few parts of the collapsed structure have been found in the excavations, perhaps due to the fact that they were rifled by subsequent dwellers for building materials, and the rest of it was missing. The pedestal nearest to the apse must have taken on it a linga in limestone which was found away from this place during the excavations. The inscription on the dhvaja-stambha, which is in chaste Sanskrit in Vaidarbhī style calls the God installed in the shrine by the name Pushpabhadra. Temples of Śiva named Pushpabhadra is not met with even during the later periods. Pushpabhadra means beautiful with flowers and the God Mahādeva might have been decorated with huge quantities of flowers to make him beautiful. But the discovery of a simple linga and no anthropomorphic representation of the God at this site, makes the interpretation unreasonable. One is inclined to interpret the word ‘Pushpabhadra’ occurring in the records, as a reference only to the pillared-pavilion to the south of the temple which might have been the Royal palace, to which the temple of Mahādeva was added by Virapurushadatta II as an adjunct, and the God was, thus called Pushpabhadravāmi, to signify its association with the palace named Pushpabhadra.¹

¹Pushpabhadra is a vatsu term used to denote pavilion of sixty-four pillars; and the pillared-hall behind the temple has sixty-four pillars (Ed).
The mukha-mandapa which is almost square 29’ x 26’6” contained sixteen pillars, arranged in a row of four at 9’ span. The pillars which were beautifully polished measure 1’6” x 1’. The pillars of this mandapa also had grooves on their tops to take in the beams and the flat roofs over them. The debris found on the floor of this mandapa consisted of slabs and brick laid in lime which incidentally suggests the roof over the mukha-mandapa was flat and was made of slabs arranged on beams and the joints closed by brick or tiles laid in lime. The apsidal garbhātāya should have had a vaulted roof with stucco decorations on the exterior. Numerous broken finials discovered at this site also indicated their being used as decorative piers over the apsidal roof of this temple. No Kalyāna-mandapa or an elevated platform inside this mukha-mandapa was noticed. However, the outermost bay of the pillars was enclosed and converted into rooms measuring 8’9” x 8’9”. The dhvaja-stambha surmounted by a capital was installed facing the deity immediately outside the mukha-mandapa on a circular pedestal. The pillar measured 16½’, cubical at bottom and octagonal in the centre and tapering and round at the top. Four facets of this pillar were utilised for inscribing commemorative tablet which supplied us interesting information about the temple, its authorship and date, besides the benefactions made by the then rulers for its maintenance.

As had been mentioned already, it had four gateways at the four cardinal directions, though not in straight alignment. They varied in their sizes as well. The eastern entrance which led to a pillared-hall measured 9’5” x 3’ while the western entrance located towards the river measured 11’7” x 5’3”. The southern gateway was missing. The northern gateway which opened towards another temple-complex measured 8’3” x 4’.

Excavation at this site had disclosed two phases of structural activity. The second phase structures superimposed over the earlier, comprised a long rectangular room 27’ x 13’6” built with the debris of the first phase building, betraying an attempt by the builder in the late medieval period to instal the image of Śiva here. A granite yoni measuring 3’6” x 2’4” was also added in the second phase. Constructional necessities like water troughs, for storing water and pounding lime etc made at the stage of structural activity were also found superimposed on the earlier ones. This attempt of the late medieval builder to re-instal the image of Śiva may perhaps be reminiscent of its earlier association with Śiva called Pushpabhadrasvāmi.

The western gateway of this temple led directly to a beautiful Bathing Ghāt on the banks of the River Krishna. To the north of this temple of Pushpabhadrasvāmi, was another small complex presumably a temple dedicated to the worship of Kārttikeya (pl. XCI A). This had been subjected to large-scale spoilation in subsequent phases and hence only pedestals and small shrine rooms alone were extent. A beautiful image of Kārttikeya made in limestone was discovered at this site. In view of its mutilated condition, it is difficult to precisely fix its height or its iconographical features in detail. Its location on the slopes of the Nāgārjunakonda, the fortified hill, perhaps was deliberate and placed there as a guardian deity for the southwestern corner of the citadel.

**Site 36**

This was the site of the famous inscribed memorial pillar called Senāpati Chāṃtamūla Memorial Site and had yielded also a 24-pillared-hall nearby.
Site 35; 24-pillared-hall (pl. XCI)

This was located on the eastern slopes of Nāgarjunakonda hill, on which Mahiśāsaka Vihāra was situated. This comprised an apsidal shrine chamber with a 24-pillared mukha-mandapa, 53' x 35'. Since sheet rock was met with during the excavation at a depth of 6", the builder was compelled to embed these pillars in masonry. It opened to the main road on that side. The pillars were cubical at the base, octagonal and chamfered in the centre and cubical again at the top while grooves have been made to take in the beams and the roofing over it. The apsidal temple measured 15'6" and 10' and had brick flooring. No antiquity was found associated with this structure and it is difficult to identify the deity installed there.

Site 77; S Xi; (pl. XCII A)

This site was also located on the banks of the River Krishna and consisted of a huge brick enclosure, measuring 142' x 98', reinforced by rubble walls, the latter provision made against possible erosions by the river. This enclosure contained a 24-pillared hall with a shrine chamber to its west. The shrine chamber which measured 30' x 18' was rectangular in plan and appeared to have been built on a raised platform (as it was done in the case of stūpas) with remnants of a flight of steps with moonstone to approach the shrine. The 24-pillared-hall, in front of the shrine had a retaining wall 1'9" in thickness running alround. No traces of any raised platform or Kalyāna-mandapa were noticed in the mukha-mandapa.

Numerous pieces of Cuddapah slabs discovered on the surface indicated that it has a slab flooring as well as a slab roofing. Four varieties of bricks of varying dimensions had been used in the construction of this building—(i) 17⅛" x 9" x 2"; (ii) 16½" x 8½" x 2½"; (iii) 18½" x 9" x 2"; (iv) 19" x 9½" x 2". The compound wall which enclosed all these structures, had been damaged by successive floods and by recent cultivators. Only portions of that remained to indicate the original alignment and dimensions. The nature of the structure or the utility to which it had been put to by the builder was difficult to ascertain, in the absence of antiquities associated with the building. One sculptured head with fine ushnīsa or head-dress in limestone was discovered just outside the compound at this site. It is not unlikely that this head might belong to the image installed in this shrine chamber. No antiquity which can help us in dating the structures had been discovered, but pottery discovered at the site and the sizes of bricks used in the construction suggest its dating in the Ikshvāku period (second-third century A.D.).

Site 57; N III; Kārttikeya Temple (pls. XCIIB-XCIII)

In the midst of habitation area, almost opposite the eastern gateway of the citadel, structural remains of an unostentatious temple dedicated to Kārttikeya were exposed to view. This temple-complex, which was 'L' shape in plan, had been a victim of large-scale spoilation. Nothing of the structures except the pedestal, about five in number, and mutilated images installed had survived the vandalistic activities of the people. These pedestals which were located in small-sized rooms had a common portico or verandah in front. The entire temple-complex had been provided with a compound wall. Immediately outside the main shrine and in the centre of the enclosure, there was a well, rectangular in shape with steps leading to the waters on the eastern side. Though it is difficult to ascribe any date for this well, from the materials used in the construction viz., broken portions of pillars, a seated image of Buddha without a head, it is possible to infer that this well built subsequent to the period of desertion and destruction of the city, in the post-Ikshvāku period.
NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA  KUBERA (YAKSHA) TEMPLE

(SITE 64, S-III)

Fig. 72
Numerous pieces pertaining to the idols installed viz., Karttikeya had been discovered scattered all over.

Its propinquity to the Senapati Memorial Site suggests that this temple was used by the Senapatis of the Ikshvaku period, since Karttikeya was the commander-in-chief of the devas, and the Ikshvakus and Karttikeya as their patron deity (Mahasena Parigahatas) were well related.

Site 64: S III; Kubera (Yaksha) Temple (pls. XCIV A-XCVII B; fig. 72)

This was a large temple-complex, located between Peddakundellagutta and Yeddanamotu in the southeastern corner of the valley. This was a rectangular brick enclosure (475' x 485') comprising three units of structures — two temples and a masonry tank — with a main entrance to the east. Of these, the main temple occupied the central half of the enclosure and was in alignment with the main entrance. This structure consisted of a sanctum or main apsidal shrine chamber, on an elevated platform with a huge pillared mandapa in front. There was an inner wall around this structure.

The other temple-complex was to the south of the main shrine within the enclosure and was approachable both from outside and through the main temple. This temple faced west and betrays at least four phases of structural activity.

Temple 1

This apsidal shrine mounted on an elevated platform measured 20' x 13' with 3' thick wall. Around the temple, the pradakshina patha has been paved with Cuddapah slabs, similar to the flooring inside. Approach to the temple was by means of a flight of steps with thick Cuddapah slabs. At the western end of the shrine, a pedestal was built for installing the image. All along the outer wall of the shrine, indications of ornamental pylons 2'6" x 1'6", were also noticed. Immediately outside the shrine and on the platform itself were located many small constructions — circular brick platforms covered with thick plaster, rectangular brick vedikas etc., though it was not possible at this distance of time to fix the purpose for which they had been put up by the builders. The outer wall of this apsidal shrine was covered with a thick coating of lime-plaster. Interesting feature noticed in this temple was a soak-pit, built immediately outside the platform and connected by a closed drain with the sanctum. This soak-pit measured 3'2" x 2'7" and was built in brick, laid in lime. The interior of the pit was plastered with lime.

The outlet emptying into this pit was 5" x 8"; perhaps this pit was constructed to receive all the abhisheka water. On either side of the entrance, abutting the shrine were seen sockets (1'8" x 10½") in the floor built in masonry to take wooden columns perhaps the mana-stambhas or dhvaja-stambhas for this shrine.

Immediately outside this apsidal shrine, a broken image, representing a pot-bellied figure with thick lips, protruding teeth and bulging eyes, was noticed along with other dwarfish figure (pl. XCVB), with a naga as an udarabandha and mutilated members of icons, like a hand holding a naga (pl. XCVC). While the latter have been identified as the image of yaksha (pl. XCVA), the former, in view of its mutilated condition, rendered it difficult to identify. Thick lips, protruding teeth and the peculiar hairstyle tempted Sankalia to identify this figure as Roman or a foreigner.

The shrine as well as part of the mukha-mandapa had been screened off by another brick wall and the floor of the entire enclosure was paved with Cuddapah slab around. The floor of the enclosure
was slightly lower than that of the sanctum and therefore steps leading into this enclosure with fine moonstone added, bearing an inscription in early Brāhmī characters. This inscription reads ‘Dhumasa’ perhaps the name of the stone cutter who prepared or donated this slab. Some of the pillars also bear the labels reading ‘vidhikasa’ in Brāhmī characters of second-third century AD and these labels might belong to the guild of stone-cutters (vardhakas) who had worked out this structure.

Mukha-māṇḍapa

Within the enclosure were sixty-four pillars, of which three bays of pillars opposite the temple and nearest to the entrance on the east had been enclosed to build a raised platform. This raised platform had also been lined with Cuddapah slabs and was provided with flight of steps on the eastern and western sides. The steps on the eastern side still retained their semicircular moon-stone slab with balustrade bearing ‘yāli’ decoration. The pillars were all cubical in section 1 1/5’ x 1’ with the entire exposed surface beautifully polished. The tops of these pillars were provided with grooves 8 1/2’ in width, to take in the roof rafters.

The main passage leading into the temple (māṇḍapa on the east) measured 3’6”, while a similar passage on the south leading out of this enclosure to the next temple-complex was 2’6”. On the eastern side, extensions were made by adding two more rows of pillars by which a rectangular pillared-hall with 20 pillars measuring 107’ x 18’ was achieved. The outer row of pillars on the east was provided with a brick retaining wall which also served as a screen. This enclosure was provided with brick steps. Flooring of this māṇḍapa had been done by laying a thick course of lime-concrete and plastering smooth with lime. The southern half of this māṇḍapa had been converted into rooms where building materials perhaps were stored. The oblong trough 14’ x 2’1’ x 1’9” with a tapering bottom 1’5” heavily plastered both on the exterior and interior was opened to view in this room. Similar extensions were also noticed both on the north and the south. One more row of pillars was added on either side to get a 5 ft extension to the māṇḍapa. The exact purpose and the need for the extension is difficult to ascertain.

To the north of this huge temple-complex was a masonry tank, built after excavating into natural rock to a depth of 20 ft. It is 68’ square at bottom and the masonry retaining wall had been built around, taking advantage of the exposed outcrop of the rock. The entire construction was done with brick in lime and veneered with Cuddapah slabs. A flight of steps leading into the well was provided on the southern side and were found in a very dilapidated condition.

As has been alluded to, there was a passage on the south leading to the next temple-complex. This structure has been a victim of large-scale spoliation, due to the centuries of neglect. Excavation at this place had revealed four phases of structural activity. No tangible plan of these different phases of structures could be made out since they had been badly damaged. The earliest phase structures seem to represent a rectangular shrine chamber with a pedestal measuring 3’6” x 4’ (inside), with a 16-pillared māṇḍapa in the front. This mukha-māṇḍapa contained, as usual, a Kālīyāna-māṇḍapa, enclosing four pillars where a raised platform was built. Curiously, this temple, unlike the temple described earlier, was facing west. This māṇḍapa had been provided with rectangular chambers measuring 8’6” x 45’ with a 2 ft thick wall. At the southwestern corner, a trough 6’ x 10’ built in brick plastered in the interior was also noticed. The base was tapering. In the northern side, a similar adjunct was added through which there was a passage into the māṇḍapa. A semicircular moon-stone in masonry with a thick lime-plaster on it measuring 7’9” diameter was also noticed near the passage leading into this rectangular chamber.
This pillared-hall which was in dilapidated condition also had polished pillars with half-lotus medallions with a frieze of mythical animals bordering it. One such pillar bears label inscriptions in early Brāhmī datable to the third-fourth century AD. Of these, one label containing the name ‘Sīhavamna’ (Simhavarma?) occurring here is significant. In the next phases of structural activity, the sanctum of this temple was covered up and the flooring level was raised sufficiently high. A rectangular brick structure perhaps a platform 42’ x 36’ was built by raising the floor by 3’9” On this raised floor was built a plinth (adhishthāna) for a four-pillared mandapa. On the southern side, steps were provided for approaching this platform. The entire mandapa had been veneered with Cuddapah slabs, broken pieces of which were still sticking to the walls today. Immediately behind this mandapa and belonging to the same phase observe the small pedestals built in brick and covered with Cuddapah slabs in a long room 48’ x 16’ for mounting the image installed. Large number of broken unidentifiable images were installed at this site. No identification of the image of Gods installed in this structure can be hazarded, in the absence of evidence pointing in that direction.

Along the northern enclosure wall and very near the wall were brick remains, perhaps serving as residential room for the inmates or temple servants. Another interesting feature noticed here was the occurrence of large number of slab-lined drains.

(iii) Ritualistic Structures¹ (pls. XC VIII - CI)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Several inscription discovered at Nāgārjunakonda credit the Ikshvāku rulers, particularly Vasishthiputra Śiva Chāṁtamūla, as the performers of various religious sacrifices like aśvamedha, vājapeya, agnishthoma, etc. The kings were extolled in the inscriptions as Mahārajās Aśvamedha yājīsa or as Agniḥutta Agithoma Vājapeya-Yājīsa-Agnishthoma-Vājapeya-Aśvamedha Bahusuvarnaika Yājīnah etc. Interestingly enough, corroborating this epigraphical evidence, the excavation at Nāgārjunakonda have brought to light the structural paraphernalia required for an aśvamedha sacrifice.

The origin of aśvamedha is muffled like many other ritual institutions of India in the hazy mist of antiquity. The earliest mention of it we get in the Rigveda² wherein the entire ritual has been vividly delineated. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa also describe the aśvamedha sacrifice in detail.³ The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa even identifies the aśvamedha with “the kingdom”⁴ and adds that he who being weak offers an aśvamedha is indeed thrown away. If the enemies were to secure the horse, the sacrifice would be destroyed. Thus, a deep mystic significance came to be attached to the horse sacrifice in the speculation of Brāhmaṇas.

¹This chapter has been contributed by T.N. Ramachandran. Assistance, in preparing, by Dr. K. Krishna Murthy is also gratefully acknowledged by the author.
²Rigveda, 1. 162 and 163.
³Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII, 1-5; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III. 8-9.
⁴Rāṣṭrapa Vā aśvamedhah Parava esha Siṁchayati Yo Abalo-aśvamedhena Yājate yad mitra Aśvam vinderāhanam Syā yājīnah.
Later the Śrauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba, Aśvalāyana, and Sānkhyāyana also speak about the sacrifice, mainly concerning with the religious side of the ceremonial. According to Aśvalāyana, the aṣvamedha is deemed as an ahina of three pressing days. A paramount sovereign (Sārvabhauma), or a crowned king who is not a Sārvabhauma may perform this sacrifice. Aśvalāyana adds that one who desires to secure all objects, to win all victories including the victory over one's own senses and to attain all prosperity, may perform this sacrifice. ¹

In ancient times, the horse sacrifice was performed by the kings who were desirous of off-springs or purifying themselves from the sins. Interestingly, in the Rāmayāṇa and the Mahābhārata, the exemplification of the performance of the aṣvamedha sacrifice is described with Epic diffuseness. The Bālakanda of the Rāmayāṇa contains a graphic description of the aṣvamedha performed by Daśaratha for securing sons. It expressly points out to the Kalpasūtra (Thravosvamedhah Sānkhyātah Kalpasūtreṇa Brāhmaṇaṇaṇaḥ). The Aṣvamedha Parva of the Mahābhārata makes it look an expiatory ceremony (Prāyaścittha) for cleansing Yudhisthira and his brothers of all sins incurring by them in manslaughter in the Mahābhārata war. ²

"Aṣvamedhohi Rājendra Pāvanaḥ Sarvapāpamānam Tenestva Tvām Vipāpmya Bhavitā Nātrasamśayah Inati Vadhākyram Pāpam Prahasyasi Narādhipa Pavitraṁ Paramam Chaitat Pāvanaṁ Cha Pavanānam Yadāśvamedhavābhritham Prāpyase Kurunandana" ³

This cleansing of sins is what the Brāhmaṇa also advert to as "Tarati Tarati Brahmahatyāmyo Aṣvamedhena yājate"⁴

The aṣvamedha has thus royal sacrifice par excellence. Keith rightly defined the aṣvamedha as an old and famous rite which kings alone can bring to increase their realm. The privilege of performing the horse sacrifice appears to have been the right of a ruler whose sovereignty was unquestioned. It was designed to secure for him continued success, fulfillment of all his desires, increase of strength and the extension of empire. ⁵

Generally, the aṣvamedha sacrifice would be performed either before digvijaya or after the campaign. In fact, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa enumerates the list of ancient kings who performed the aṣvamedha sacrifice after fitting out victorious expeditions. ⁶ Apparently, the aṣvamedha ritual became more a great State function with which were associated secular customs accompanied by oratorical displays. Unlike the other sacrifices which are mostly priestly, the aṣvamedha distinguishes itself by its more secular character and natural colouring. Max muller ⁷ speaking about the importance of the aṣvamedha sacrifice adds "the performance of the horse-sacrifice must have had connected with it a certain amount of ceremonial of a purely secular and popular character. Even at the time of the

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¹ASV, X, 8.1. Com. on Ks. XX. Also Ait., Brāh: 39-1
²Rāmayāṇa - Bālakānda, Sargas 13-14.
³Ibid., Sarga, 14, V, 40
⁴Mahābhārata, Aṣvamedha Parva, 71, Verse 16, adh. 39, verses 16, 17.
⁵Sāthapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 3.1.1.
⁶Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 2, pp. 160-61
⁷According to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa they are Janamejaya-Saryāti Satanika, Ambhastya, Viśvakarmā, Sudāsa, Marut, Angabhipāla, Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, Durmukha and Ārati.
⁸Max Muller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIV
fully developed ritual, this was almost certainly the case, to a large extent, than would appear from the exposition of it given in the Brähmanas and Sūtras which indeed were mainly concerned with the religious side of the ceremonial”.

Generally, the aśvamedha sacrifice begins on the 8th or 9th of the bright half of Phālguna or on the same day of Jyestha or Ashādha. Āpastambha holds that it should begun on the full moon of Chaitra. A careful attention has been paid in the selection of the sacrificial horse, as rules are laid down about the colour and qualities of the horse. The animal selected should be of pure brand and should be born of a Sire that had drunk Soma rasa. It must be of white colour with dark circular spot and of great speed. It should have on its forehead a wheel and whirlpool - like tuft of dark blue hair. It should have thirty-four ribs. It is identified with Āditya, Tīrtha and Yama. The four principal priests standing in four directions, sprinkle the horse with holy water. A dog with four eyes (having two natural eyes and two depressions in the skins above the eyes) is killed by a man of the ayogaya caste or by a voluptuary with the pestle or Sidhraka wood and tethered to the leg of the horse, before it is set for the victorious march.

The horse, thus let off, roams over the country for one year. During its ramblings it will be escorted by four hundred guards, including a hundred royal princes, a hundred noble men, a hundred sons of officials of higher ranks, and a hundred of lower ranks — all armed in accordance with their status. These guards during this period of conveying the sacrificial horse, should live on the food demanded from the Brähmanas who do not know the procedure of aśvamedha or on cooked food taken from all Brähmanas. They should guard the horse against its danger or theft without impairing its freedom of movement. If the horse is captured and the force that was following the horse fail to conquer the man who retarded its progress, the very intent and the purport of the sacrifice was rendered futile. On the return of the sacrificial horse, after its victorious march, the Yajamāna completes the aśvamedha sacrifice, by following the later ritualistic customs.

During the period that the horse was out, the king accompanied by four queens, the crowned queen (Mahishā), the second queen (Vayatā), the third queen (Parivikrīti) and the fourth queen (palagall) of low origin, was engaged in the sacrificial hall doing homas and listening to Vinā, music played by Brähmanas in the morning, and Kshatriyas in the night. Everyday celestial fires (Āhvanta) was created in the Chiti area and offerings were made. The Chiti or the altars for the Soma sacrifices have been enumerated in Taittirīya Sanhitā, Baudhāyana and Āpastambha, according to their shapes. Three Iṣīs were offered to Savitr. Daily at the festive congregations before the king and court, the hōtra had to give a recital. Every eleven days, this cycle of recitation would be repeated. The recital concluded with an appropriate chapter from the Vedas, together with singing, lute playing and impromptu verses composed by a noble bard in honour of the king who performed the sacrifice comparing him with the pious rulers of the ancient times. The ballad singers invariably comprised of old and young people, besides snake charmers, fishermen or sages. The recital itself was enlivened by dramatic action. As the king was engaged in the sacrifice and the listening to the display of music, the adhvaryu becomes the king till the aśvamedha was performed. The sacrificer or the crowned king declared “O” Brähmanas and nobles; this adhvaryu is your king, whatever honour you want to pay, you should pay to him. Thus, for a year the sacrificer keeps observances as in the Rājastāya and large fees were given to the

Rigveda, 1.163-3
A.P. XX. 11.7, 9, 20; Kat. XX, 18-21
hotṛ and adhvaryu and to the Singers. When the horse had returned after its ramblings of one year, the latter ceremonies of the sacrifice began with the consecration (dīkṣā) of the king. Several expiatory ceremonies were prescribed and in cases where the horse died or suffered from diseases.¹

The ceremony proper lasted for three days accompanied by numerous other sacrifices and by the pressing of the Soma. It was mentioned that a large number of animals were tied to all the staked and slaughtered. Even wild animals were bound and held between the intervals of the Yūpas. According to the Brāhmaṇa, during the central day called Ukhyan, the ritual ordained immolating of 349 victims (519 according to Taittirīya Hiranya Brāhmaṇa) bound to 21 yūpas. In the Mahābhārata, Ásvamedha Parva, it is said that during the Ásvamedha Sacrifice 300 animals were killed along with the horse. The second among the three pressing days was the most important and was full of striking matters, such as a ribald dialogue, Brahmodaya etc. The sacrificial horse, decked with gold was yoked to a guided chariot with three other horses and was driven round and then bathed.² On its return, it was annointed by the three Chief wives of the king, and was decorated, while the hotṛ and the Brāhmaṇa of the sacrifice performs a Brahmodaya—a theosophical enigma play. The horse was then tethered to the sacrificial post, yūpa, along with a he-goat, then is smeared with ghee, oil, etc. and is killed. When it is killed, the wife of the king go round thrice from left to right with mantras chanting "gaṇāṇāmya" and again thrice from left uttering "niṭṭḥāṇāmya" (all from Vājasaneyī Samhitā, XXIII, 19). The ladies fan the dead horse with their garments, while braiding their hair on the right side upwards and loosen their hair on the left side and strike their left thighs with their right hands. Then the mahishṭ, i.e., crowned queen, lies down by the side of the dead horse and both are covered by the adhvaryu with the mantle on which the horse lies and she unites with it (upasamvesāna).³ The attendant princesses raise the crowned queen from the horse repeating "daṇḍikravanno akarishham". The horse is cut up with golden, silver and iron needles (lauhis) by the crowned queen, the favourite queen and the discarded queen respectively.⁴ They take out the fat of the dead horse, in place of Vāpa taken from the goat in other sacrifices. The flesh of the horse is cooked in a pot called Ukhō and offered.⁵ There is a theological dialogue called Brahmodaya where riddles are propounded and answers found in the Šadas. Offering of the Vāpa of all the other animals is made to all other deities of whom Prajāpati is the last. The king then sits on a lion’s or tiger’s skin, a piece of gold is placed on his head, a bull hide is kept over his head, he is sprinkled with the remnants of the offerings called Mahimān and offerings are made to the twelve months and the seasons etc. After several offerings on the third Soma pressing day, the sacrificer performs the final ceremony which is the purificatory bath called avabhrita. At the end of the avabhrita, Ishṭi on the head of the bald man whose eye-balls are yellowish-brown, who has prominent teeth, who is suffering from leucoderma and who profusely perspires (Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III, 9-15), bay an offering is made with the words Jambakaśvāḥ. The Brāhmaṇa says that the āhuti to Jambaka is the last in ásvamedha and that Jambaka is Varuna. Then the leper receives hundred coins and a bullock cart. Then, the sacrificer gets into the avabhṛita tank, followed by his queens, the officiating priests and after that the entire nation is a process of national cleaning. When the sacrificer comes out of the

¹A.P. XX, 11.7, 9.20, Kat. XX, 18-21
²Kat. XX, 5, 11-14.
³A.P. XXII, 18. 3-4. See also D.C. Sircar, Successors of Sātavānaḥas, pp. 127-128.
⁴In Rāmdīyana, Kaushalya cuts the horse with Kripāna: In Mahābhārata it was again with needles.
⁵In the Rāmdīyana and the Mahābhārata the Vāpa of the horse was offered instead of flesh. Āpsastamba declares that there is no Vāpa offering in an Ásvamedha.
avabhṛita tank, persons guilty of such grave sins as Brahmahārya dip into the water and become sanctified. The sacrificer then distributes liberally the booty which he has captured during the horse’s ramblings as gifts to all the Brähmanas who have congregated there on the occasion.

According to Oldenberg, aśvamedha sacrifice was an offering to Indra, the warrior God, to enable the Yajamāna to derive thereby occult powers and establish his Sarvabhaumata. A king who performs hundred aśvamedhas will acquire the throne of Indra. The killing of the dog which is enjoined in the ritual is intended as the destruction of hostile powers. The union of the dead horse and the queen (upasamveṣana) is clearly a “fertility spell”. But in the words of Kane “in it (aśvamedha sacrifice) several popular, religious and symbolic elements are inextricably blended and some rites like the queen lying down near the dead horse must be regarded as unaccountable survival of the hoary past”.

The sacrifice appears to be a rare rite in ancient times. Both the Ṭaittirīya Sanhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refer to the aśvamedha sacrifice as one which was utsanna (gone out of vogue). The Atharva Veda actually brands rājastiya, vājapeya, aśvamedha and several other sacrifices as Utsanna.

The cult of the sacrifice was very much developed in Indo-Iranian period. The Vedic āgniṣṭoma and Iranian ṛtvah are alike and such words as atharvan, ahūt, uktha, barhis etc., also occur in Iranian scriptures. The Magadha Emperor Pushyamitra Śunga performed two aśvamedha sacrifices. The Purāṇas are full of instances of the performers of the aśvamedha sacrifices. According to Matsya Purāṇa Sudra kings in Kali age were also credited to have performed the aśvamedha sacrifices. Bhāgavata Purāṇa actually branded the founder of the Satavahana dynasty and the performer of the aśvamedha sacrifice, a Vrishala. In the historical period both epigraphic and numismatic evidence throw light on these aśvamedha sacrifices. Even Kalidāsa’s Rāghuvrāmā (Sarga III, V. 48) and Mālavikāgnimitra and the Harivamśa (III, 2-39-40) refer to kings performing the aśvamedha.

P.V. Kane, History of Dharmasatras, Part II, Vol II, Ch. XXXIV.

Tait. S. V. 4. 123; Sat. Br. XIII, 3.6


Ep. Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 162 and Vol. I, page 2, Gupta Ins. No. 55, p. 236. In the 4th century A.D. the Salankayana king Deva Varman called himself aśvamedhayājī by performing the horse sacrifice (Deva Varman of Ellora Plates). The Vākataka king Pravarasena I performed aśvamedha sacrifice besides āgniṣṭoma, uktiya, Sodast Atriṭa, Brohastipatra, and Sadayakṣa (Corpus. Ins. Indicarum, III, p. 97), Madhavarman Janasraya, Vishnukundin king appears to have performed 11 aśvamedhas, 1000 āgniṣṭomas and some other rites including Hiranyagarbha. In Hirshadgali grant the earliest known Pallava king Śivakandaka Varman of the 4th century A.D. is pointed out to have performed the horse-sacrifice. Moreover, Śivakandaka Varman II of Omgodu grant called himself aśvamedhayājī. Later, the kings of Kadamba dynasty also followed the traditions. Mayura Varman, a Kadamba king, is known from the inscription (Ep. Carnatic, Vol. VII, SK. 178) to have performed aśvamedha ritual. In the 6th century A.D. another Kadamba king Bhogivarman of Tagare Plates (Mysore Archaeological Annual Reports, 1918, p. 35), is said to have performed the horse sacrifice. The Chālukyan emperor Pulakesin got himself sanctified by the bath at the Aśvamedha (Ep. Carnatica, Vol. X, No. 63). The famous poet Bhaṇabhūti who lived in 8th century A.D. also refers to the Aśvamedha sacrifice (uttara-charita, Act IV). In 11th century A.D. Alburni while speaking about the aśvamedha sacrifice says “Certain of them (sacrifices) can only be performed by the greatest of their kings so, aśvamedha”. As late as 18th century A.D. we get a reference to the performance of the aśvamedha. The king Jai Singh of Amber is said to have performed the horse sacrifice (Indian Culture, III, p. 547).
NAGARJUNAKONDA

(SITE 126 (F) N-VIII)

SECTION SHOWING TWO PHASES OF RUBBLE AND BRICKWORK

FIG. 74
Apart from this historical gleanings, the performance of *aśvamedha* sacrifice can be traced even in the countries like ancient Rome, Greece and Scandinavia, which reveals its Eurasian popularity. As it was performed in India, we note in it that several popular, religious and symbolical elements are inextricably blended and some rites like the crowned queen lying down besides the dead horse (*upasainvesana*), not found in other parts of Eurasia, must be regarded as unaccountable survivals from the hoary past. Various theories have been advanced to account for the origin, but there is no agreement among the commenting scholars.

**The Aśvamedha site in the citadel (pls. XCVIII-XCIX B; fig. 73)**

At Nāgarjunakonda, during the recent excavation, the site which can be identified with *aśvamedha* with its paraphernalia like *chiti*, *avabhrita*, *upasainvesana* platform, skeleton of the sacrificial horse etc., have been exposed to view. This *aśvamedha*-complex (Site 93; N II) was situated in the centre of the fortified area (pl. XIV A). The structure exposed here were enclosed by a massive compound with flanks measuring 54’ x 87.6’ x 102.9’. In the centre of these structures lay a square, plastered, brick tank. It measured 27’3” x 27’3”. It was in four tiers with the bottom 6’3” square. There were short sidesteps at its flanks at each level. It was in the Sulba orientation of inverted *Chandas* (stepped-pyramid reversed). The water level in this tank was being maintained constantly to a depth of 6’ by providing an outlet which was in turn connected to the River Krishna by a closed drain. This tank could have been the *avabhrita* tank (pl. XIV B) where the performer of the sacrifice had taken his purificatory bath. It appears that there was a deliberate attempt to keep the water in the tank and perhaps the depth of the water in the tank indicated the height of the *Purushākāra* who performed the sacrifice. The idea of providing the closed drain connecting the outlet of the tank and the River Krishna seems to be that since the water in the tank was a holy water, it should be made to join only the holy River Krishna without being polluted. This fine tank had been completely destroyed by fire, for in the course of excavation inside the tank, which itself showed signs of fire, were discovered a large quantity of ash, charcoal burnt-iron objects, burnt-tiles with impressions of wood fibre—all indicative of conflagration. This *avabhrita* tank is enclosed by a compound wall measuring 55’ x 55’.

The specific ritual association of the tank was further strengthened by the exposition of a curved tank simulating a *kūrma* or a tortoise (in plan) with the head projection towards the river. Evidently, this was the *Kunda* or the altar shaped like a tortoise. The *Taittiriya Samhitā* (V.4.11) and the Kātyāyana (XVI-5-9) mention the various forms into which an altar can be built in an *aśvamedha* sacrifice. They include altars like (i) Drona (trough), (ii) *Rathachakra* (wheel), (iii) Śyena (hawk), (iv), Garuda or *Suparna* (Brahmini kite), (v) *Kanka* (heron) (vi) Alāja (eagle), (vii) Prauha (triangular), (viii) udhavatah Prauha (rhombus), (ix) Samūha (heap), (x) Śmasāna chitā (funeral pyre), (xi) *Parichāya* (spiral) (xii) *Chandas* (stepped-pyramid), (xiii) *Kūrma* (tortoise) etc.

The altar that was used in the *aśvamedha* sacrifice of the king Śila Varman of Pona Vamsa and Višagana gotra was in *Garuda* shape as revealed at Kāli excavations. The altar that was used by the king Dāsaratha in his *aśvamedha* sacrifice was in *Garuda* shape without spread wings. It was three cornered (*Rāmāyana*, Bālakānda, Sarga 14, V. 29). The *aśvamedha* Parva of the *Mahābhārata* also refers to three cornered altar shaped like a *Garuda* bird without spread wings (adh. 89, V. 33-34)
The one that was exposed is in Kūrmākāra. Generally, the altar was arranged by bricks, some triangular in shape, some oblong, some oblong and triangular and some square and so on. A mantra proceeded the placing of every brick and the bricks should not be placed at random or as regular house builders would have it, but in peculiar arrays, some in front, some on the sides. They should, however, be placed one over the other. A sound knowledge of geometry and mason craft is required in constructing the altar. The bricks have different names to distinguish them. According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa each layer consists of two hundred bricks when the performance was for the first time. Two thousand bricks are employed for all the layers when the performance was for the second time and this number goes on increasing each time the performer repeated the agnichayana (Yaj. Veda, V. 6-8). The performer for the first time utilised the sand bricks and built the altar to the height of his knee. The number of brick for the second time increased to two thousand and the height of the altar relatively increased to the height of the nābhi of the performer. The performance for the third time increased the number of bricks to three thousand and the height of the altar to the neck of the Yajamāna. As for the kūrma-chiti exposed at Nāgarjunakonda, there was an off-set to the height of the knee and the total height of the kūrma-chiti comes to nābhi thereby indicating that the performance was done twice at this place. Adjacent to the avabhrita tank was exposed a brick built platform on which was seen lying the skeleton of the sacrificial horse and would have been the upasamveśaṇa platform. Since the platform was in a very mutilated condition the plan of it was very difficult to make out. Nearby was found an iron mallet, presumably which was used as a weapon for killing the horse. Within the massive compound were exposed some more fire altars, which ranged in their measurement from 2'3" x 2'6" to 3' x 4'. As far the yūpas, no such evidence could be obtained from the site, probably due to the reason that the yūpas were of wood which was a perishable material. In an Aśvamedha performance, there should be generally 21 yūpa-stambhas all being 21 aratis high. The central yūpa should be of rajjudal (śleshmātaka). To its north and south two stakes of devadāru or Palāśa were put and on both sides thereafter there were three yūpas each of bilva, khadira and palāśa totalling 21 yūpas. The aśvamedha in the Rāmāyaṇa times (Bālakānda, Sargas 13 and 14) prescribed 21 yūpas of which six were of bilva and khadira each and one yūpa of sleshmātaka and one of devadāru. Again, the aśvamedha parva in the Mahābhārata (adh. 89, V. 33-34) refers that there were in all 15 stakes or yūpas, six were of bilva, six of khadira, two of devadāru and one of sleshmātaka (rajjudala). Besides the structural activities a number of miniature pots were recovered from the site during the excavations. These could have been used as containers of the coins meant for distributing to the Brāhmaṇas who participated in the aśvamedha sacrifice.

Burning Ghat (Sites 126 and 127; N XIII-XIV; pls. CA - CI ; fig. 74)

On the northern slopes of the fortified hill at Nāgarjunakonda and overlooking the river, is situated a huge structural-complex identified as the 'Burning ghat' of the Ikshvākus. There is a shrine chamber which comprised a rectangular sanctum 9' x 7' built in bricks. It had walls measuring 7' in thickness. The structure was in mutilated condition and betrayed no tangible plan. A Śiva-līṅga which was perhaps installed in this shrine was found dislodged from its position and thrown outside the sanctum. Facing

1 In the aśvamedha sacrifices of the Vedic times, the horse was killed by the crowned queen by needles of gold, silver and iron. Same practice continued in the Mahābhārata time. But in the Rāmāyaṇa, it is mentioned that Kausalyā cut the horse with Kripāṁ.

2 For the stratigraphic evidence on the site of Aśvamedha within the citadel, pls. see Chapter II. B.

3 For the stratigraphic evidence on the above two Sites 126-127, pls. see Chapter III.
the temple a dhvaja-stambha was erected. The pillars was octagonal in shape and measured 11'9" in length, part of which was embedded in masonry. It bears an inscription in 7 lines and is dated in the reign of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla. But the Government Epigraphist who deciphered this inscription with considerable difficulty thought that it referred to a temple of Śiva named Nādalāśvara. In this connection, it is noteworthy that it is customary to build Śiva temples near the śmaśāna or the Burning ghāt. An elaborate 48-pillared hall measuring 71' x 49'6" overlooked the river with the arrangement of limestone benches and intervening high stone seats. The gallery of stone benches was interspersed with rubble lingas, as indicating the purpose, as for tarpāṇa. The northern end of the hall seemed to have been screened by a wood partition as the sockets prove. The find of effigy of a princess (pl. CIA) lying-inside and an inscribed pūrnaghatā put up by Khandavelu, wife of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, seemingly praying for immunity from widowhood and child-deaths, confirm the identity of the structures as the crematorium, probably royal. Again, between the open courtyard and the long stone bench was an elevated platform 10' x 7' near which was discovered a limestone carving of Vrāṅgaṇā. Bereft of all ornaments except the Chudāmani and with just the nivi on her body, a graceful woman was shown as about to jump a ladder, which itself is placed between four fires in four directions. Evidently, the sculpture is meant to depict a lady who was about to commit self-immolation. On the Cudapah slabs of the adjoining pillared-hall was found inscribed in two places the word svamedha which means self-immolation. This incidentally throws light on the self-immolation practice that was in vogue during the time of the Ikshvākus.

This practice of Sāti—the concremation of widow on the funeral pyre of the deceased husband—seems to be later accretion as late as to the period of the Vishnu Dharma Sūtra (AD 100-300). It is believed that this practice was prevalent among the ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs and other races and influenced India considerably, confirming to nobles and princesses in the initial stages. But it appears in Vedic India, the Sāti sacrifice was discouraged and no Vedic passage refers to the burning of the widow alive as then current. Kasigi, the commentator on the Rigveda, writes "the well-known custom of burning of widows for thousands of years, demanded by the Brāhmaṇas is nowhere evidenced in Rigveda. Only by a palpable falsification of hymn has the existence of the custom prove directly the opposite, i.e., the return of the widow from the husband's corpse into a happy life and her re-marriage. The Atharva Veda only calls it "the ancient custom". At the time of Aranyaka, this rite had not obtained currency in the country."

The Sūtras that follow the Brāhmaṇas give scanty references to Sāti. According to the Baudhāyana the wife should be on the funeral pyre on the left side of the corpse whereas Aśvalāyana recommends that she should be placed near the head of the corpse on the north side.

The Manu Smriti is entirely silent about it. Of the Dharma sūtra, only Vishnu bears direct reference to Sāti. According to it, a wife should observe either cerebacy or should ascend the funeral pyre after him. Interestingly, Vedavyāsa Smriti advocates that a Brāhmaṇa's wife should enter the

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1. K. Krishnamurthy, "The Sati Sacrifice and its lithographic vestige at Nāgarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh, The Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. XI, 1963, No. 4, pp. 201-205. It is not known whether it is self immolation or a deliberate Sāti or Sahagamana, as except for the sculpture of the lady on the ladder surrounded by fires on four corners, there was no funeral pyre remains as such.
4. Aśvalāyana Grihyasūtras, IV 2-4
5. Vishnu dharma Sūtra, 25, 14
pyre clasping the dead body of her husband. If she lives after her husband’s death, she should lead an unaustenations life emaciating her body.

The exemplification of the satī practice from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata can be gleaned with epic diffuseness. The uttarakāndā of the Rāmāyana describes a Brāhmaṇa woman who committed Satī when molested by Rāvana. In the Mahābhārata, Mādri wife of Pāṇḍu is shown as performing satī. In the virāṭa parva (115, 129) Sairandhri is ordered to be burnt with Kichaka. The Śanti parva describes how a kapoti entered fire on the death of her husband, the bird. The Vishnu Purāṇa (V.38.2) incidentally mentions that the eight queens of Kṛṣṇa entered fire on his death. The Jaina literature does not speak about satī. The Buddhists also probably deterred it. 

Some of the commentators vehemently demonstrated against deleterious practice of satī. Āpastamba prescribes the Prajāpatya penance for a woman having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at last moment. Rājatarangini (VI. 196) quotes an instance where a queen who declared to commit satī retreats at the last moment.

Distinctly different from Sahagamana or Sahamarana is anumārana. This occurs after the cremation of the husband’s body. On hearing the death of her husband in a remote place, she enters fire with or without any ashes or belonging of his. The Kāmasūtra (VI, 3.54) speaks of anumārana profusely. The Harshacharita described how Yashomati, consort of Prabhākara Vardhana consigned herself to fire when the king was dying. Bāna in his Kādambari (7th century AD) totally condemns anumārana. But the Bhāgavata Purāṇa speaks of Gāndhari’s satī on the death of her husband Dhrītarāśtra.

The epigraphical evidence in support of satī are numerous. The earliest inscriptive evidence of satī, we get in 191 of the Gupta Era. 

The Balatur Inscription of Rajendra Chōla dated Śaka 799 speaks of one Śūdra woman Dekabee committing satī on the death of her husband. A grant is made in Śaka 1103 by Mahamandaleswar Rāchamalla in connection with two satis. Thus, to start with, this inhuman rite of satī was continued to kings and nobles as on the death of their husbands, queens, and princesses preferred entering fire than to be the captives of the conquerors who very often wreaked vengeance on these poor captives. In fact Manu allows (VII, 96) the soldier to retain a woman conquered by him along with other booty.

Similarly satī memorial stones are found at large throughout India. Generally, they are depicted with human figures, at times with a raised arm and hand. In some cases, the human figure, is shown being flanked by moon and sun on either side. Their delineation in a satī stone is symbolical and means

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1Uttara Kāndā, 11.58
2Adiparva, 95.65
3Encyclopaedia Britanica, Vol, 21, pp. 624-625
4Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.13.57
5Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p.62
6E.J. Vol. VI, p. 213
7Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 264, 267
that they are the perpetual witnesses to the satī offering—in certain cases, human figure holds a lemon fruit between the thumb and the forefingers. Curiously, in some of the cases, the figure of a snake is also depicted.

The occurrence of limestone sculpture of a lady committing satī at Nāgarjunakonda, represents the earliest sculptural evidence of this practice.

The satī practice continued even during the Vijayanagara period. The evidences of this practice could be seen, until, in AD 1829. Lord William Bentick as Viceroy abolished the satī practice, declaring it as illegal and a crime.  

1 JAHRS, Vol. XXVII
CHAPTER VI

POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS\(^1\)

(a) Introduction

The range of Nāgārjunakonda pottery has a homogeneous character throughout the sub-periods of the habitation of the Ikshvāku city. There does not appear to be any marked intrusive differences in the type, fabric and forms of the pottery of its period, forming the early centuries of the Christian era, although certain devolutionary traits are visible in the earliest levels. While the fabric ranges from coarse to medium, quite a few fine specimens, with better finish are also available. The bulk of the pottery shows much of sand particles and grit having been mixed in the paste, as a result of which, during firing in the kiln, in most cases, it has resulted in a grey to black core section. Evenly fired sections are generally confined to what may be termed as ‘deluxe’ table ware.

A majority of the pottery is turned seemingly on a fast wheel, as the nature of the striation marks indicate, but the handmade variety also forms a minor percentage. In the case of huge storage-jars and trough types, only the rim part appears to have been wheel-turned, the remaining parts being handmade and luted. Some of the jars have apparently been made on wheel in three parts and joined subsequently. This may, of course, indicate the full familiarity of the potter with the on-going technology in the art of pottery.

More than fifty percent of the vessels, of the plain red ware variety have been treated with mostly haematitic slips variously of red, brown, chocolate brown, pale red, pinkish red, from bright to the light shades. The black-and-red-ware sherd s have got highly slipped and polished surface.

Decorations are particularly profuse, especially on huge troughs and all types of ‘sprinklers’. Examples variously of incised, stamped, applique and moulded decorations are available, more common among them being incised, incised as well as stamped, lotus medallions with finger nail-lifted, twisted cord pattern in applique. Interesting among the decorated sherd s of about a dozen, display musical scenes, human and animal figurines in panel scheme.

Religious symbols like triratna and svastika are often noticed on many of the sherd s from Buddhist or Brāhmanical temples. More than a dozen sherd s having graffiti marks have been recovered from different sites, an outstanding example showing plan of a monastery in incised lines.

Pottery is represented generally by three wares plain red, Black-and-red, and black-slipped, though

\(^1\) This introductory section has been added by Editor, as preliminary to the the main chapter contributed by Sri M. D. Khare (Also see: Introductory chapter, for the pottery evidence of the chronology of the site).
a few examples of glazed ware, comparable to the one found in some of the north Indian sites in Kushan levels, are also available. Even the 'stone-ware' is not totally lacking. Plain red ware forms the bulk of it, whereas the percentage of black-and-red and black-slipped wares is comparatively much less. Almost all types, available in latter wares are, however, found in the former which had other types of utilisation and religious character. Black-and-red ware is confined to shallow dishes having incurved or vertical rims and sides either carinated or rounded in a flattish base, besides deep bowls. Black-slipped ware has some additional types like double-flanged lids, conical lids with flat or knobbed terminal, and narrow necked jars, besides the dish and bowl types. Plain red ware has furnished a pleasing variety and range of shapes. Miniature vessels of different types - dishes, lid-cum-dishes, conical bowls, deep bowls with wide mouth, lid-cum-bowls, pans, various forms in lids like conical and with cup-like body having flat terminal, carinated vessels of various sizes, rimless carinated handi types, 'lota' shaped pots, medium sized globular vases, medium to large-sized water jars, huge storage jars and troughs, finials, lamps, jugs variously (i) with double opening, major opening and secondary perforation on the flattened top, (ii) having receptacle top, and (iii) a few with perforated knobbled top, most of these similar to north-Indian sprinklers available in Kushan levels are all noticed. A number of specimens of these have been distributed over different sites. A good percentage of these is made of very fine clay, burnished and slipped and fired in a kiln to high temperature, resulting in its strength and a metallic note. Apparently, some of these have been brought from outside Nāgarjunakonda, as also revealed by local specimens of the same types of coarser and nor so well fired fabric. A few sherds of the former (imported) variety bear a superficial similarity with the famous 'Red polished ware' of North-West Indian sites. Sprinklers and other types made on Kaolin paste found here, however, have their analogues from Kondapur sherds of the same ware of the Sātavāhana phases. Even the glazed ware of early historical times found here can be compared to those from a few sites in north India.

One of the common features of the pottery in the case of lime coat on its interior mostly though occasionally on this exterior of pottery, namely, black-and-red ware, black-ware, Kushan polished red ware, decorated pottery and other types. In view of the above, it is a general feature and not particularly characteristic of any specific pottery type or group. If so, it would seem to suggest that its purpose had been utilitarian and seemingly in order not only to strengthen the fabric of the pottery by such a coat preventing excessive porosity. This could also mean that what was kept inside these pots could have been liquid material, though residuary elements of such a liquid like oil, honey etc., had not been detected. If they were, all the same, intended for keeping the contents in good state of preservation, it could also be of solids as well protected against or insects; and if so, they have purely a preservative value, especially due to the fact that the spartan, austere way of life of the monks in the monasteries with the floor level use of space (though suspension vessels with perforation and also coated with lime) had been known from several examples) have been helped by this lime coat. All the same, these were apparently in vogue in non-monastic areas as well, and may lead us to presume that insect life in the valley, because of its floral, could have been posing problems in daily life. The primary function, however, may be to prevent water from procolating and drying up too soon; and this could be a commentary on the hot dessicating summers in the valley in the past, as now.

Again, the sophisticated level of the ceramic production here is indicated by the use of spouts and handles of various shapes. Besides, the common type of spout with triangular section, a few examples
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having the shape of bull or cat are also found. Along with the strap and loop handles, a pot with female figure in applique is noteworthy.

Datable pottery conventionally useful is restricted to a type of black-and-red ware dish (types 23 and 24) having white smoothed concentric bands at the inner base, similar to those found in Chandravalli and Kondapur. Another sherd of the same ware, is akin to ‘rouletted ware’ dishes found at Arikamedu, Sīşupālgadh and Salihundam, but unfortunately without the ‘rouletting’. The presence however, of both these types would tend to emphasise the substratum linkage of the valley with Sātavāhana phase (terminal), as there could not have been later than the close of the second or the very beginning of the third century A.D., at best.

Nearly a dozen inscribed sherds having the name of the monastery or of a person or Buddha in Prākrit dialect of third to fourth century A.D. have been picked up.¹

A few trenches across the defences were taken up to find a chronological sequence of this phase, but from the point of view of pre-Ikshvāku pottery, as indicated earlier, no new light could be thrown.

All the pottery types, usually found in the sites yielding inscription of kings, were found in both pre-rampart and rampart level. This may show that there was not much of change in the ceramic industry of Nāgārjunakoṭa during the entire period of first three or four centuries of the Christian era. All the same, one fragmentary jar rivetted with iron has been found in pre-rampart level. A similar jar fragment was found at Kondapur. It is thus quite possible that this place would have been an ordinary river bank village before the advent of famous Ikshvāku capital here which is why even in the pre or early Ikshvāku level of many sites here, datable ceramic like painted ‘russet coated’ ware of the typical Sātavāhana period absent. All this would not preclude a late Sātavāhana beginning for the valley, with its links with Kondapur type of cultural relic (as seen above) and all-black ware which here was devolutionary from the late-Magalithic to late Sātavāhana phases.

But some of the sites like Stūpa No. 9 (Longhurst) in S-IV and brick-wall in S-XIII do give an idea about the disappearance of black-slipped and black-and-red wares, round about third century A.D. The black-and-red ware is further confined only to the lower levels at Nāgārjunakoṭa. It is shown elsewhere (I: Introduction and II: Chronology chapters) that there is no doubt about a pre-Ikshvāku existence for the valley life.

Sculptural representation of some of the pottery vessels is again noteworthy in this context. Spouted and handled sprinklers, funnel-necked and medium-sized jars, goblets, pedestal cups, sometimes used as lids and squat bodied pots are some of the types which occur on different carved panels displayed in the museum collections, especially associated in some cases with exotic people. The occurrence of Vijaya Sātakarni’s pillar record will also be relevant in this context. The sculptural art, besides, is also a robust though devolutionary stage of the art of Amarāvatī whose likes in late Sātavāhana stages with Nāgārjunakoṭa cannot be ignored.

¹As the pre-Ikshvāku activity here should have been mostly centred around the Mahā-stūpa which was far interior in the valley, it is possible that the defences which were raised over almost the virgin soil on the river bank and between the two Kundelugutta hillocks did not contain any significant pre-Ikshvāku occupational layers.
Most of the pottery types are available in the excavated and explored sites form the contemporary deposits throughout India. Brahmagiri, Kunnatur, Sanur, Arikamedu, Maski, Yelleshvaram, Alampur, Kondapur, Raigudi, Hasmetpet, Siispalgarh, Rajgir, Nalanda, Kaushambi, Mathura, Hastinapur and Ahichchhatra are some of the many sites where the similar pottery in the early centuries of Christian era are found. This would underscore the fact that participating, even if somewhat feebly, with the mainstream developments of pan-Indian movements.

Correspondingly, it is also relevant to note that the Ikshvakuj period pottery (and antiquities also) suddenly end on a high note, there being no degeneration of culture towards the close of the third or early fourth century A.D. Thus, it did not decline and perish, but suddenly came to a stop with the larger region (in which it was located) itself continuing the culture to an onward growth, but not in the valley site of Vijayapuri.

(b) Early Historic and Historic Period—Pottery and its phases

(i) Pre-Ikshvakuj to Ikshvakuj rule—early phase

BLACK-AND-RED WARE (fig. 75)

1. A black-and-red ware dish of medium size with incurved rim, almost vertical sides, blunted carinated waist and flattish base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is thin-sectioned and treated with a slip inside and outside excepting at the base on the exterior. From S-IV/29-A2 2. The analogues come from Arikamedu, Siispalgarh, Maski etc. Variant differs from the above in having a featureless rim and striation marks. It is of fine fabric and better finish. From N (v) IV-A4 2. Variant 1b has internally thickened rim and deeper base. Of medium to fine fabric, it has a glossy slip. From N-II/105-B2 3, Variant 1c has slightly convex sides. It is of fine fabric. From N I/A4 3. Variant 1d is of black and more convex sides. From N I/50-D2. Dump sealed by layer 2.

2. A medium-sized dish of black-and-red ware with prominently convex sides and flattish base. Of medium fabric, it is slipped on either side and has a lime-coating on the exterior. From N. XI 2. Variant 2a differs from above in having a thicker section and deeper base. From N XI 2. Variant 2b is large sized and has lesser convex profile than the arche-type but is of finer fabric. From N XI 2.

3. A rare dish fragment with internally obliquely cut and thickened rim and slightly convex sides. Of coarse to medium fabric, it seems to be a specimen of straight saggar-firing, instead, of the usual inverted firing process, as the black is restricted only upto the interior of the rim and not on the exterior. Analogies come from Maski. In shape it is of the family of the standard 'rouletted ware' dish.

4. A shallow dish fragment with internally obliquely cut rim and sides tapering to a flattish base. This is similar to 3 above. Of medium to fine fabric, it is from S II/b-cl2. Variant 4a has a very limited convex profile tapering to a roundish base. Of the same fabric as above, it has brown patches on its interior though with a fair degree of polish on both sides. From 5 in N I/98-C4. Variant 4b has sharply convex sides tapering to a slightly deeper rounded base. Of medium to fine fabric, it has a glossy interior. From 4 in N II/156-C2. Variant 4c differs from above only in its thicker section and pinkish colour on the lower exterior. Of medium fabric, it has a black patch on the exterior, near the waist and is from 3 in S II/6-b 1. Variant 4e has internally collared rim and is also of thinner fabric, carrying poor
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polish. The blackening is restricted only to the incurved rim on the exterior. Of medium fabric, it is from 2 in S II/32-A 1.

5. Dish fragment with an internally thickened clubbed and mildly grooved rim, tapering to a rounded base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has a dull polished slip. From pit 1 sealed by layer 2 in N III/3/4-B 4. Variant 5a has an internally cut and grooved rim. Of fine fabric, it is thinner than the arch type. From 2 in N II/172-D 2. Variant 5b has only prominently cut and proved rim of coarse fabric, it is from layer 3 in N II/31-C 4 (fig. 76).

6. A dish fragment with almost vertical featureless rim and saggar base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with light slips. From N VIII A/C3 2. Variant 6a differs in its thicker and coarse fabric and grooved interior. It has a mildly carinated waist and is devoid of any slip. From layer 2 in N II/1 25-C 2. Variant 6b has a sharpened rim, slightly convex sides blunted carinated to a rounded base. It is smoothed and slipped. From 4 in N II/98-B 4.

Variant 6c has a featureless rim, thick vertical sides and a sharp carination at the waist. Of coarse fabric, it has a cracked appearance (like the megalithic pottery class) and is coated with the lime on the exterior. From 4 in N II/39-B 3. Variant 6d differs in having an incurved rim, a ribbed waist and deeper base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is slipped on the exterior and coated with lime on the interior. From 6 in N XI-A6. Variant 6e has a thicker section and bluntly carinated waist. Of coarse to medium fabric, it carries a light slip on both sides and bears an incised post-firing graffito mark on the interior near the base.

7. A shallow bowl with a sharpened rim, vertical sides bluntly carinated to rounded base. Of medium fine fabric, it carries a light slip on either side. From layer 5 in N VIII/303-B 1. Variant 7a is a fragmentary deep dish type having slightly inturned rim and deeper base. Variant 7b has a high profile and weakly corrugated interior. Of medium to fine fabric, it is smoothed and slipped on either side. From layer 2 in S IV/9-c 2. Variant 7c is a fragment of grey and brown ware. It is of very thin section and fine fabric, having an irregular groove on the exterior of the rim. It is not well polished. From layer 5 in N VIII/157-A 1.

8. A rare type of dish with featureless closing rim mildly carinated sides tapering to a rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on both sides. From layer 2 in N II/122-A 5. Variant 8a is smaller but deeper than the arche type and has a grooved waist. Coarse to medium fabric, it carried a light slip and has a multigrooved interior. Variant 8b has only inturned rim. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped. 8c has more incurved rim from layer 3 in II/105-D 3. Variant 8c has more incurved profile and glossy slip. Of coarse fabric, it is from layer 2 in N II/157-C 3.

9. A rare type of lid-cum-dish with a vertical thick rim, concave sides, tapering to a rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a slip on the interior and exterior up to the waist. The blackening is restricted up to the thickened rim, on the interior. From layer 3 in II/61-B 5. Analogues come from Brahmagiri. Variant 9a has more thickened rim, vertical short neck and less pronounced waist. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has a multi-grooved and slipped interior. From layer 2 in N II/161-A 1. Variant 9b differs from above in its flattish thickened rim and coarse fabric. It is devoid of any slip and is from

1 The examples of black-and-red ware with lime coated exterior interior and also graffito incisions could be transiational to application of russet-coating and use in earlier Iron Age megaliths.
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layer 2 in N II/101-A 5. Variant 9c has almost vertical rim and shorter sides carinated to a deep base. Of coarse fabric it has a weakly corrugated exterior and carries light slip, on the interior and exterior upto the rim. From layer 3 in N II/81-C 4 (fig. 77)

10. A small to medium-sized bowl with beaded rim, bulging sides, grooved waist and rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a light slip on both the sides. From layer 2 in II/172-D 1. Analogues come from Arikamedu, Śiśupalgarh and Brahmagiri. Variant 10a has slightly everted rim and deep oblique sides. Of coarse fabric, if is coated with lime on the exterior below the waist. From layer 3 in II/42-A 1. Variant 10b is similar to the arche type but with less pronounced sides. Of fine fabric, it smoothened and slipped on either sides. Similar rim form, though of bigger size, is available from the megalithic sites also. From dump sealed by layer 2 in II/42-A 2. Variant 10c has an everted rim and glossy slip. It carries an incised line on the exterior, perhaps accidental. From N I/A 2.

11. Unique type of medium sized fragmentary bowls of black and brown ware with incurved, externally thickened and obliquely cut rim, recessed short neck, and globular profile. Of fine fabric, it is slipped on both sides. From layer 2 in S II/304-C 3.

12. Shallow bowl fragment with everted rim, slightly oblique side, bulging waist and flat base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a light slip on either side.

13. Bowl of black-and-red ware a vertical featureless rim and flat base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a slip on both sides and has two perforations, opposite to each other, apparently for suspension. This is the only specimen of its type and comes from layer 3 in N II/76-B 1. Analogues come from Brahmagiri, Chandravalli and Maski.


15. Shallow bowl of black-and-red ware with slightly incurved and externally grooved rim, straight sides, sharply tapering from the grooved waist to a rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is irregularly potted and has a dull polish and lime smeared interior. From layer 4 in N IV/387-E 5. This is the characteristic type in black-and-red ware of early historic period of this place. Variant 15a differs mainly in the featureless and extremely ledged rim to receive a lid or also to serve as a lid, when put up side down. It is of coarse fabric and is better potted. The exterior black zone is uniformly restricted up to the grooved waist. From pit 5, cut into layer 2 in N III/381-E 5. Variant 15b is shallower than the arche type and has bulging sides. Variant 15c has internally thickened and externally sharply grooved rim. Of medium to fine fabric, it is thinner sectioned than the above and comes from layer 3 in S XIX/156-A 4. Variant 15d is shallower and smaller than the arche type. Of thin medium to fine fabric, it is smoothened and slipped. The blackening is restricted up to the middle grooved waist on the exterior. Variant 15e has incurved sharpened and middle grooved rim. Of medium fabric, it is very thin in section and has a poor polish. From layer 4 in N VIII/148-A 5. Variant 15f is again thin sectioned and irregularly potted. It differs from above in its vertical rim. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has post-firing triangular scratches on the exterior near the base. From layer 5 in N VIII/167-A 1.¹

¹ The occurrence of such important graffiti marked class from layers deeper than (3) or (4) will be of relevance in the consideration of pre-or early Ikshvāku pottery usages in the Nāgarjunakonda valley.
16. A small to medium-sized black-and-red shallow bowl with a thick, internally chamfered and externally mildly grooved rim, almost straight sides and rounded base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is polished and comes from layer 3 in N II/101-B 2. This is another characteristic type in black-and-red ware. The analogues occur in Brahmagiri and Maski. Variant 16a is bigger than above and has multi-grooved waist. Of medium fabric, it is slipped. From layer 2 in N II/115-E 3. Variant 16b is slightly thinner but deeper than the main type and has a steeper profile. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a dull polish. The blackening is irregular on the exterior near the rim. From pit 5, sealed by layer 2 in N III/381-E 5. Variant 16c has almost thick flattened rim, vertical sides and rounded waist. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on the exterior and the blackening is restricted to the rim outside and inside. From the cutting of the rampart trench B.L. I-LIX 6. Variant 16d is wider and has sharply internally chamfered and externally multi-grooved rim, tapering profile to a rounded base. Of medium to fine fabric, it has a bluish tinge on the interior and exterior up to the rim. A few finger marks are discernible on the exterior. From layer 2 in N II/316-A 1. Variant 16e is thinner and has almost flattened and externally grooved rim. Of medium to fine fabric, it is smoothed and slipped on either side. From pit sealed by layer 4 in S I/360-C 3. Variant 16f has internally beaked and externally prominently grooved rim. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is slipped on the exterior and interior. The top of the rim has four post-firing vertical incised strokes.

17. An unique black-and-red ware fragmentary bowl with slightly excurved rim, externally boldly ribbed and internally grooved neck and rounded profile. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on both sides. From layer 2 in N II/19-A 3.

18. A rare black-and-red ware fragmentary vase with out-turned thickened rim, concave neck and widening shoulders. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on both sides, and the black zone is uniformly restricted up to the multi-grooved shoulder on the exterior. From Trench B IX-XIC 4.

19. A fragmentary dish of black-and-red ware of less than medium size with closing sharpened rim, mildly convex sides, carinated waist and rounded base. Of thin coarse fabric, it carries a dull polished slip on both sides and has a prominently undulating inner base. From pit 5 sealed by layer 2 in N III/381-E 5. Variant 19a is another small sized dish with vertical featureless rim, blunted carinated waist and saggar base. Thinner than above and of coarse fabric, it is devoid of any slip. From layer 2 in S III/358-B 2. Variant 19b is again a miniature dish with slightly incurved rim and mildly convex sides. Of thin coarse fabric, the blackening is restricted up to the rim portion on the exterior. From layer 2 in S IV/29-A 3 (fig. 78)

20. Distinctively carinated waist fragment of a bowl type (rim missing), showing a characteristic ashy grey fine fabric, akin to the typical early historic rouletted associated wares, carries a dull polished slip on the burnished exterior only. It has three incised and roughly parallel lines, probably before firing, on the exterior below the waist. From pit 6 sealed by layer 2 in N III/382-C 4.

21. A rimless fragment of a dish, on whose interior has been incised, presumably after firing a design comprising a rudimentary bell with triangle and pendent tongue which is only partly extant. From layer 3 in N II/158-B 4.

22. A rimless dish fragment of grey and brown ware of very fine fabric and thin section. It is akin to the 'rouletted ware' but without rouletting. It is polished, well fired and gives a metallic ring. From layer 2 in N II/302-B 1.
Black-and-red dishes with smoothened concentric bands or spirals of kaolin paste. More than a dozen sherds of this variety have been discovered, only two of which are described below.

23. Medium-sized dish with incurved and internally thickened rim, low straight side tending towards a blunt carinated waist and rounded base. Of medium fabric, its main feature is the row of ten smoothened concentric bands of Kaolin paste of uneven thickness on the inner base, in two distinctive zones of six and four bands. From pit 5 cut into layer 3 in N III/381-E 5.

24. Base fragment of black-and-red ware of medium fabric, showing a row of ten bands in one single zone (with perhaps more bands in the periphery of the inner base). From layer 3 in N III/121-E 5.

BLACK-SLIPPED WARE

Dishes and bowls (fig. 79)

1. A fragmentary dish of grey ware with incurved featureless rim, convex sides and deep base. Of fine fabric, it is treated with a black-slip on the exterior and interior, and comes from N XI/F1 4. The analogues occur at Brahmagiri. Variant la is smaller and has less convex sides. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has a dull polish on both sides and is from N XIII/F2 2. Variant Ib is a dish fragment of grey ware with internally thickened and grooved rim and mildly convex sides. Of fine fabric, it is treated with a black-slip on the exterior and interior. From S IV/48-E1 2.

2. Has an incurved thickened rim and bulging convex profile. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a black-slip which appeared to have been salt-glazed. From layer 2 in N VI/E 2.

3. A fragmentary dish of grey ware with mildly incurved and sharpened rim, slightly convex sides and bluntly carinated waist. Of medium to fine fabric, it carries a black slip on both the sides and has the coating of lime on the interior only. From N v/V-F1 3. Variant 3a has a thickened rim and almost straight sides. Of medium to fine fabric, it is thin sectioned and has black polish on both the sides. From layer 5 in N VIII/146-A 5. Variant 3b has a sharpened rim, vertical sides with grooved exterior and a carinated waist. Of fine fabric, it is slipped and comes from layer 3 in S IV/7-C1. This type occurs here in black-and-red and plain red wares also. Variant 3c has a sharpened rim and high sides. Of medium fabric, it carries a polished slip on both sides. From N.K. XI/F7 2. Variant 3d has a mildly internally grooved rim and almost straight sides. Of medium to fine fabric, it is burnt black in its gritty section and has a glossy black slip on either side. From S IV/48-B4 3. Variant 3f has an internally mildly collared and grooved rim. Of coarse fabric, it appears to be salt-glazed and is slipped. From S XIX/134/A4 3.

4. A dish fragment of black ware distinguished by an internally vertically cut and grooved rim. Of coarse to medium fabric, it bears a dull black slip on the exterior and interior. From N I/78-D5 5. This type is available in black-and-red ware also.

5. A shallow bowl fragment of grey ware with inturned externally grooved rim, straight sides and bluntly carinated waist. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a light black slip on either side. From layer 4 in N.K. XIII. This type along with its variants occur in other wares also. Variant 5a has a more thickened rim and mildly grooved waist. Of coarse fabric, it carries a poor black polish. From layer 3 in S IV/29-B4. Variant 5b has boldly grooved and thickened rim. Of coarse to medium fabric, it carries

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*While black-and-red ware (with or without graffiti and lime coat) is confined to the western part of the Valley, black-slipped ware is seen all over the eastern part. This gives the relative position of these two wares and their life in the valley.*
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Fig. 79

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a polished black slip on either side. From S IV/8 B2 3. Variant 5c differs from above in its sharply inturned and externally mildly convex profile. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with black-polished slip. From NII/101-C1 2. Variant 5d has a thickened and grooved rim, deeper sides and carries a light black slip. From N K. (v) LV/133 3.

6. A deep bowl fragment with a closing, externally thickened rim and shoulder sloping into a convex profile to a deep rounded base. Of medium fabric, it has a dull polish and is well fired. From layer 3 in NII/56-C2. Variant 6a has a slightly out-turned featureless rim and less convex profile. Of medium to fine fabric, it also carries a polished slip. From surface in S XIX/136.

(fig. 80)

7. A fragmentary deep bowl with incurved thickened rim, bulging profile and rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a polished slip on the exterior and interior and is from layer 2 in S XXI/121-B 2. Analogues come from Brahmagiri. This is a common type in black-slipped ware at Nāgarjunakonda. Variant 7a has a bluntly cut rim. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N XV/A 3. Variant 7b has incurved featureless rim and globular profile. Of fine fabric, it is treated with a thin black slip. From NK XII/D1 2. Variant 7c is akin to the above but appears to be deeper. Variant 7d has a thickened and less incurved rim and rounded profile. Of coarse to medium fabric, it carries a poor slip. From S IV/42-A5 3.

8. A bowl fragment with bluntly cut rim and slightly convex profile. Of medium to fine fabric, it appears to have been treated with slip on both sides. From S IV/42-D4 2.

9. A deep bowl with an internally elliptically collared rim and rounded profile. Of fine fabric, it has a glossy black slip. From N XI/E2 2. This is the most characteristic type in black-slipped ware of Nāgarjunakonda and has a number of variants. Variant 9a has thickened and cut rim and multi-grooved interior. Of fine fabric, it is also slipped. From XI/F2 2. Variant 9b differs in its vertically cut rim and has a medium fabric. From N XI/36-B1 2. Variant 9c has a mild inner grooving a little below the rim. From NK XV/F7 2. Variant 9d, e and f, are distinguished by a perforation below the rim, while 9d and f have glossy slips, 9e has a poor black slip. From S IV/47-F4 3.

10. A deep bowl fragment with internally beaked rim and steep profile. Of fine fabric, it has a light black slip. From NK XXIV/G3 3. Variant 10a has prominently beaked rim and lime coated interior. From NK XI/C7 3. Variant 10b is distinguished by a vertical pair of perforation. From NK VI/B 4-2. Variant 10c has a thick internally cut and grooved rim. From N I/Trench B (cutting) I-IV-4.

11. A deep bowl fragment with internally bevelled and sharpened rim. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a thin black slip and fine texture. The exterior seems to have been coated with lime. From NK XV/G6 2. Variant 11b is distinguished by a perforation below the rim and is of coarse fabric. From NK XII/A1 2.

12. A medium to large-sized deep bowl of bright polished ware with an internally thickened and chamfered rim, closing mouth and roughly globular body. Of fine fabric, singularly without slips or other gritty particles and evenly fired, it carries a black slip with magnetic lustre both on the interior and exterior to the same degree. From layer 3 in N III/122-A1. Variant 12a has closing thickened and
internally collared rim and glossy slip. From N III/121-D2 3. Variant 12b is slightly thinner and has a sharpened rim. It appears to have a salt glazing. From N II/200 E4 2. Variant 12c is similar to the arche type but has a sharpened rim and lacks the lustre. It is of medium fabric. From NK VI/C3 3.

13. A deep fragmentary bowl with a distinctive internally collared and sharpened rim. Of fine fabric, it is treated with a fine slip. From NK XI/N2 2. Variant 13a and b are of fine and medium fabrics respectively and have weaker collars. Variant 13c has only internally thickened and mildly grooved rim. Of coarse gritty fabric, it has been treated with a black slip. From NK III/C4 1.

Carinated bowls, lids and water vessels (fig. 81)

14. A carinated bowl with a flaring thickened rim, weakly concave shoulder having a flat ribbing above the sharply carinated waste, tapering to a shallow rounded base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has a bright black slip on the exterior and interior. From layer 3 in N II/173-B 2. This is a rare type in black-and-red ware. Variant 14a differs in its ledged neck and short grooved shoulder. Of medium to fine fabric, it has got a glossy slip. From N II/80-B2 2. Variant 14b is smaller with a black slip. From N VII/282-B4 5. Variant 14c is thinner and a horizontally flaring and sharply grooved rim. Of coarse fabric, it is also slipped on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From N VIII/148-A4 3. Variant 14c is a rimless fragment similar to the arche type but lack the glossy slip. From Trench B3-(pre-Rampart). Variant 14f is a grey ware rimless fragment having a deeper rounded base. Of medium to fine fabric, it is slipped on the exterior only. From Trench B4 I-IV. Variant 14g is again a rimless fragment of fine grey ware. It is so well fired that it gives a metallic sound and is slipped on the exterior alone. From Trench A3.

15. A lid-cum-pan type with horizontally splayed and drooping rim, internally sharply ledged neck, short vertical and grooved sides, prominently flanged waist and almost flattish base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a glossy black slip on both sides and also coated with lime. From N VIII/349-E4 3. A few specimen of this type are available in plain red ware also. Variant 15a has a horizontally flaring and thickened rim, and sharply flanged waist, tapering to a shallow base. Of medium to fine fabric, it carries a polished slipped exterior upto the flange and interior upto the neck. From S III/66-D5 2. Variant 15b differs from above in its slightly concave sides and multi-grooved exterior over the flanged waist. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on both sides and appears to be salt-glazes. From N II/81-C4 3. Variant 15c differs in the width of the horizontally splayed out rim and sharply flanged waist. Of medium to fine fabric, it carries a lustrous black slip on both sides. From S II/341-A1 2. Variant 15d is a rim fragment similar to the arche type but with a thickened rim and slightly higher vertical sides. Of medium to fine fabric and well fired, it is treated with a polished black slip on either side. From N VIII/340-E 5. From pit sealed by layer 3. Variant 15e is a rimless fragment with vertical sides and a mild rib over the flanged waist tapering to a shallow rounded base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is uniformly fired and treated with a lustrous slip on the exterior alone above the waist. From S III/8-B2 2.

16. Fragment of a medium-sized vase with out-turned nail-head and internally grooved rim and concave neck. Of coarse to medium fabric, it carries a glossy black slip on both sides. From S III/81-B2. Variant 16a is narrow mouthed and slightly thinner than above with a pronounced rim and concave neck. Of medium to fine fabric, it has a polished black slip on the exterior and interior. From S III/22-B3 3.

17. A narrow mouthed round pot of grey ware with splayed out flanged and mildly grooved rim, short vertical neck, multi-grooved shoulder and body and rounded base. Of medium to fine fabric, it is uniformly fired and slipped on the exterior and interior upto the neck. Similar types are available in
slipped ware. From 2 in S IV/48-A4. Variant 17a is akin to above but with a slightly concave neck and lustrous black slip on the exterior and to less extent on the interior upto the neck. From layer 2 in N II/18-B1. Variant 17b has a sharpened flanged rim. It is also treated with polished slip on both sides. From layer 2 in S III/48 E 4. Variant 17c has a horizontally flanged rim and carries a light black slip on the exterior and interior upto the neck. From layer 4 in N III/124-E 3. Variant 17d differs from above in its elongated grooved flange and more concave neck. It is slipped on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 3 in S II/71-A 1. Variant 17e is only a shoulder fragment which is thinner and treated with a black slip on both sides. From layer 4 in N XI/F 1. Variant 17f is a body fragment with globular profile. Of thin and medium fabric, it carries a bright polished black slip on the exterior only. From layer 2 in N VIII/177 A 1. Variant 17g is again a small shoulder fragment of very thin and fine fabric with slipped exterior. From Trench B IX-XIV 4. Variant 17h is a body fragment of fine grey ware, with widening profile and greyish black slipped exterior. From layer 3 in S XI/79-A 3.

Jars, lids and decorated sherds (fig. 82)

18. A necked pot with a flaring featureless rim, short concave prominent shoulder and probably a rounded body. Of medium fabric, it carries a dull polished-slip only on the exterior. From layer 2 in N II/118-B1. Variant 18a has a wider mouth. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is slipped on both sides. From layer 4 in Trench B IX-XIV. This type is also available in the slipped-red ware.

19. A fragment of a jar with externally thickened prominently collared-rim, boldly ribbed and grooved high neck and widening profile. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a polished-black slip on the exterior and the interior. From layer 2 in N II/84-D 1. Variant 19a has an elliptically collared rim, with no well defined neck but having convex shoulder. Of medium to fine fabric, it has uniform fired surface. From layer 2 in N VIII/302 E 2. This type with a number of variants is available in slipped red ware also.

20. Unique knobbed lid type with an everted rim base, which, however, is missing, convexly rising to a flat grooved shoulder and ending in a hollow concave bodied knob with grooved conical top. Of medium to fine fabric, it is treated with a black slip mainly on the exterior and interior upto the shoulder. From layer 4 in N II/296-A 5. Variant 20a which is almost double the size of the arche type, has a flaring, externally flanged and ridged rim-base, rising steeply into a wide sloppy multi-grooved to the above. Of medium fabric perhaps with a knob similar to the above. Of medium to fine fabric and well fired, it is treated with a dull black-slip on both sides. From layer 2 in XII/118-C 2. Variant 20b is similar in size to the above but with a vertical featureless rim base, which is, with prominently flanged shoulder, rising perhaps to a concave body and knobbed top. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a dull-slip. From layer 2 in N III/265 D 2. Variant 20c is only a horizontally splayed and grooved rim base and is thicker than above. It has a glossy slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in S II/88-C 4. Variant 20d has a horizontally splayed out and ridged rim-base and rising convex profile. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a dull slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N II/118-C 2. Variant 20e is a shoulder fragment with a multi-ribbed exterior. Flaring rim-base and knobbed top are missing. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a light slip on either side. From layer 3 in S II/86-A 4. Variant 20f is a knob fragment similar to the knob of the arche type but with a short concave neck and prominently stepped or multiple ledged and knobbed terminal. It is hollow, though with only a narrow opening within. Of thick and medium fabric, it has a bright slip mainly on the exterior. From layer 2 in N III/302 D 3. Variant 20g is a knob fragment with a smaller knob at the top and wider opening. Of coarse to medium fabric, it carries a dull slip
on the exterior alone. From layer 3 N VIII/384-E 3. Variant 20h has a long, sharply ledged and grooved neck and button knob restricted terminal. Of the same fabric as above, it has a slipped-exterior. From 2 in S II/III-C 4. Variant 20i is with a short concave neck and flattish grooved top. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on the exterior. From layer 2 in N III/262-E 3. Similar types are available in plain red ware also. Analogues come from Maski.

DECORATED SHERDS (fig. 82)

21. Unique type of deep, and wide-mouthed basin with nail head rim, carrying a criss-cross incised design on top and almost straight sides having incised oblique strokes within parallel grooves on the exterior. Of thick and coarse fabric, it is treated with a polished slip on both the sides. From layer 2 in Trench B LVI/LIX.

22. Shoulder fragments of a medium to large-sized grey ware pot has finger nail strokes within two of the five circular grooves around, overlying incised zig-zag lines. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is treated with a dull greyish black slip on the exterior only. From Trench—XXXIII-XXXVIII-3.

23. Body fragment of a huge bulging-bodied red ware jar has finger-nail impression over the rubbed shoulder above which are incised leaf design, stamped creets and incised strokes with oblique grooves. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a polished black slip on the exterior only. From layer 4 in N II/105-B 4.

24. Another body fragment of the above type with incised leaf design over a triangle carrying incised decorations of criss-cross and check-patterns on the three sides, two of which are connected by a stamped lotus below.

25. A body fragment of a medium to large-sized pot carrying two parallel grooves around the shoulder. Of this and coarse black ware, it is treated with a bright black slip on the exterior only. From layer 3, N VIII/195-E 1.

Habitation Pottery: Red ware (figs. 83-105)

Most of these dishes, lids, lid-cum-dishes, lid-cum-bowls or lid-cum-pan types appear to have been used as cooking utensils, as is indicated by the soot-stains on the exterior and at rims. Very often they carry a light red slip, which is peeled off or affected by soot-stains. Lime-coated interiors are also available in certain cases. All these types are found in a large number in the habitation areas. In the following description (HR would represent here Red ware from the Habitation layers).

Dishes (fig. 81)

HR 1. A red ware dish, fully preserved, with almost vertical rim and tapering sides to a shallow rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is slipped on the interior. From a trough in NK XXI/D1. The analogues come from Ariakamedu, Sirkap, Sisupalgarh, Brahmagiri, etc. Variant 1a deeper than above, internally multi-grooved and brightly slipped on the interior and exterior upto the rim. From layer 4 in N II/81-C 3.

HR 2. A red ware dish with slightly incurved rim and roundish base. Of thick coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in gritty section, and is coated with lime on the interior. From layer 3 in N XIII/106-B 3. Variant 2a has incurved sharpened rim and is deeper than above. Of medium
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fabric, it is thin in section and carries a red slip on both sides below a layer of lime coating (probably to preserve the slip). From layer 3 in XIX/158-E 2. Variant 2b differs in its internally cut rim and has a saggar base. Of medium to fine fabric, it is evenly burnt and carries a slip on both the sides. From layer 3 in N II/78-C 5. Variant 2c differs from the arche type in its internally obliquely cut and grooved rim. Of medium fabric, it has a chocolate brown slip on the interior and soot-stained exterior. From layer 3 in S I/360-C 3.

HR 3. Has incurved sharpened rim and carinated waist tapering to a saggar base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a pinkish brown slip on both sides. From pit 5 in N III/381-A 5. The analogues come from Arikamedu and Brahmagiri. Variant 3a has sharply incurved featureless rim and carinated waist. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is well fired and treated with a light brown slip on the interior below a lime coating. From layer 3 in S IV/7-E 1. Variant 3b has internally thickened and mildly collared rim. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a red slip on both sides. Sand particles are visible on its body. From layer 6 in NK XI/H 6.

HR 4. A carinated hāndi type fragmentary wide-mouthed bowl of red ware with inturned thickened rim, sharply carinated to a deep tapering rounded base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with dull red slip on both sides but coated with lime on the exterior subsequently. From layer 2 in N VIII/72-D 4. Analogues come from Sisupalgarh. Variant 4a differs from above in its featureless rim and a groove above the carination. It also carries a red slip. From layer 1 in NK V/D 1.

HR 5. Has a thickened rim, short concave sides and bluntly carinated waist. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a light red slip on the interior and coated with lime on the exterior. From NK 1.

HR 6. A fragmentary dish with slightly out-turned rim, concave sides and weakly carinated waist. Of medium fabric, it carries a black slip on the interior and black patches on the exterior. The analogues come from Brahmagiri and Maski. From layer 2 in N II/85-D 2. Variant 6a has excurved rim and short concave sides carinated to a deep rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and carries light brown slip on the exterior. From layer 4 in N VI/302 A-5. The interior of both the sherds is uniformly black.

Dish-cum-Lids

HR 7. Large-sized dish-cum-lid of coarse grey ware with flaring sharpened, externally thickened and ribbed rim, concave sides carinated to a shallow rounded base. It is devoid of slip and the soot-stained exterior indicates its use as a cooking utensil. From layer 3 in NK XV. Variant 7a has a flaring featureless rim, low concave sides and mildly carinated waist to a shallow base. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a light red slip on the interior and exterior upto the grooved carinated waist and subsequently coated with lime on the interior. From layer 2 in N VII/344-B 2.

HR 8. Unique dish-cum-lid of red ware with characteristic drooping rim, tapering sides bluntly carinated to a flattish base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is indifferently potted and treated with a dark brown slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N III-104-A 1. Variant 8a is shallower than above and has a short nail head rim. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From the upper levels of Tr. B XXI-XXVI.
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HR 9. Shallow lid-cum-dish fragment of red ware with nail head rim and almost flattish base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on the interior and partly on the exterior. From layer 2 in N XI/F 2. Variant 9a has a prominently recurved rim. Of thin and coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with brownish red slip on both sides. From pit sealed by layer 2 in NIII/381.

Pans and Lid-cum-Dish Types (fig. 84)

HR 10. A shallow large-sized pan type of red ware with drooping rim and sides, sharply carinated to a tapering rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a black slip on both sides over a pinkish wash. From layer 2 in N II/174-A 5. Variant 10a is again a lid-cum-dish pan type of red ware with prominently drooping rim and internally grooved sides, carinated to a rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N. XIII/C 4.

HR 11. Is a lid-cum-pan type with a thick nail headed rim. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with light red slip on the interior only. From layer 2 in N XXI/C 3. Variant 11a is smaller but thicker and has externally cut rim and tapering shallow profile. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in N VIII/152-A 1.

HR 12. Unique lid-cum-dish with an internally grooved, collared and externally cut rim and deep base. Interior below the rim is also distinguished by many grooves. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in S XXI/F 7.

HR 13. Is a hat-shaped lid-cum-bowl type of red ware having a flanged rim to rest on a medium-sized pot and also for gripping. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is treated with a light red slip on the exterior. From NK VII D/D - Pit A.

HR 14. A red ware lid with an out-turned and externally cut rim, sides tapering to a conical deep base. Of coarse red ware fabric, it is burnt black in section and is coated with lime over a red wash. From layer 2 in S II/302-B 5.

HR 15. Has a horizontally flaring rim and deep receptacled body. It is coated with lime over a red wash on both sides. From layer 2 in N III/307 C 4. Variant 15a is similar to the arch type but with internally collared rim. Of medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in S IV/9-B 2. Variant 15b is thinner but with a tapering profile and flat base and correspondingly flat-based interior. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a dull red slip. From layer 4 in N III/110-D 2. Variant 15c is a small-sized fine red ware lid with a pale red slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N I/290-B 2. The quality of the clay may go along with the imported type of receptacled sprinklers. Variant 15d has prominently thickened rim, internally ledged shoulder and narrow limited cup-like receptacle having a corresponding flattish base. Of coarse and thick fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in III/90-E 5.

HR 16. Has drooping rim and conical base. Of coarse grey ware fabric, it is burnt black in section and is soot-stained. From layer 1 in N I/19-D 4.

HR 17. Is primarily a bowl type but could have been used as a lid with a flanged rim and deep profile. Of coarse red ware fabric, it is coated with lime on the exterior and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in NK IIIA 2. Variant 17a has everted and internally cut rim and tapering profile.
Of coarse to medium fabric, it is thinner than above and is treated with a red slip on both sides. From layer 3 in S III/104 B 1.

HR 18. Has an externally obliquely cut rim narrowing concave profile, low carinated waist and rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a thin red slip on the interior. From pit 5 sealed by layer 3 in N III/385-A 5.

HR 19. A deep lid of red ware with closing externally round collared-rim, grooved convex shoulder, corrugated and pronounced flanged waist tapering to a deep rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a light red slip on the exterior upto the flange and interior upto the rim. From layer 2 in N II/54-B 4. The analogues come from Arikamedu, Ahichchhatra, Brahmagiri and Maski. Variant 19a has a wider mouth, thinner featureless rim and horizontally flanged with a thin red slip on the exterior upto the flange and interior upto the rim. From dump sealed by layer 3 in N VII/340-E 5. Variant 19b has an everted rim, and a smaller flange. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is burnt black in section and has a slipped exterior upto the waist. From layer 3 in NK XI/56-C 5. Variant 19c has slightly outcurved rim and vertically ledged flange. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N II/62-A 2. Variant 19d is smaller than above with a narrow mouth, short shoulder and internally recessed and pronounced flange, tapering to a rounded base. The upper part is coated with lime. From layer 3 in S II/322-A 4.

**Lid-cum-Bowls**

HR 20. Is a lid-cum-bowl type of small size with an everted rim and a mild flange developing into a sharp carination with a rounded base. It is coated with lime on the interior and exterior upto the waist over a light red slip. From layer 3 in NK XI/55-B 3. Variant 20a is shallower and has short rim and ledged waist tapering to an irregular soot-stained disc base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in Trench B II-III. Variant 20b is bigger than the arche type and has a mild flange. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is coated with lime over a thin dark red slip on either side. From layer 2 in N III/270-B 1.

HR 21. Is of diminutive size of lid-cum-bowl with vertical sides and a small flange. Of thin red ware fabric it is treated with a coating of lime and is devoid of slip. From layer 1 in N VII/303-A 3.

HR 22. A typical red ware lid-cum-bowl with flattened vertical rim, sharply flanged waist tapering to a deep rounded base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is devoid of slip. Soot-stained exterior indicates its use as cooking utensil. Analogues come from Arikamedu, Sisupalgarh, Brahmagiri and Maski. From layer 4 in N XIII/148-A 5. Variant 22a has a prominent concave side, and sharpened flange. Of medium fabric, it is burnt black in its thin section and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in NK (v) V/A 3.

HR 23. A large-sized lid-cum-bowl of red ware in fragments with slightly incurved sharpened rim, vertical sides and horizontally flanged waist tapering to a deep rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and slipped on the exterior. It is coated with lime over a slipped interior. From layer 3 in S II/140-B 4. Variant 23a has a beaded rim, oblique sides and thick flanged waist. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is well burnt and treated with bright red slip on both sides. The base is soot-stained. From layer 2 in NVIII/94-A 3.
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Double flanged lid-cum-pan bowls are rare and unique types having a better finish and fabric. Conical bowls, which have served as lids as well, are mostly corrugated (by the pressing of the fingers on a moving wheel) and carry a lime wash/coating and also a terracotta wash but are never slipped. It shows their frequent use and early breakage etc. This type must have been one of the commonest to manufacture and also to buy. Saggar based, wide-mouthed bowls in hat-shaped types are likely to have been used for many purposes i.e., as lids for bigger pots, but rarely on cooking vessels, as there are no soot-stains and are carrying red slip on either side, for eating and even as begging bowls. Slipped-and unslipped-bowls of this type can easily be distinguished. While the slipped-ones have been recovered from the interior of the hubs of stupas, the crudely made and unslipped vessels come from habitation deposits. This might indicate a religious use as well.

(fig. 85)

HR 24. Is a lid-cum-bowl type with an externally grooved side and a small flanged waist. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in its gritty section and is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N XXI/E 6.

HR 25. Unique lid-cum-pan of red ware with horizontally flanged and drooping rim, straight sides, prominent vertically ribbed sharp flange at the waist and rounded base. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N XIII/D 2. The analogues come from Arikamedu. Variant 25a has only horizontally flaring rim and sharply flanged waist, which is internally grooved. Of medium grey ware fabric, it is treated with a chocolate brown slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N II/34-D 5.

HR 26. Unique bowl fragment of red ware with an incurved flattened rim and externally ledged neck to receive the lid or to rest on the rim of another pot and rounded profile. Of medium ochreous fabric, it is devoid of slip, though carries a terracotta wash. From layer 2 in N II/174-C 4.

Conical Bowls

HR 27. A wide mouthed red ware conical bowl with a featureless rim, mildly corrugated but narrowing profile and restricted disc base. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From trough in NK XXI/D 1. Analogues come from Arikamedu, Taxila (Sirkup), Ahichchhatra, Sisupalgarh and Chandravalli. It has got a number of variants which differ in size and the form of the rim. Variant 27a has a thickened rim and more tapering profile. Of coarse fabric, it is ashy in appearance. From layer 6 in NK XI/H 6.

HR 28. A shallow wide-mouthed bowl with flaring internally thickened rim, corrugated interior, and disc base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt greyish in section. From trough in NK XXI/D 1. Variant 28a is bigger than the above and has more obtuse side. From trough in NK XXI/D 1.

HR 29. A shallow wide-mouthed bowl with low tapering profile and rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is coated with lime on the mildly corrugated interior. From layer 2 NVIII/172-A 2.

HR 30. A wide-mouthed shallow bowl of medium to large size with externally thickened and internally collared rim, tapering sides to a rounded base. Of coarse and gritty fabric, it is treated with a light red slip on its weakly corrugated interior. It is also coated with lime on the exterior at the base. From layer 7 in N (v) II/D 20. Variant 30a has a broad collared rim and soot-stained exterior. From layer 4 in N (v) II/A 4.
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HR 31. Is similar to the above type but has a concave collared rim and thick base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a light slip on the interior. From layer 2 in N XII/A 2. Variant 31a has a smaller rim and the collar of the arche type turns into an internal carination on a meagre waist and tapering base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt greyish in section. Unstratified.

HR 32. Again a shallow bowl of red ware with flaring rim, concave side and rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with bright red slip on both the sides. From layer 2 in N VIII A/D 3.

HR 33. A freakish specimen irregularly potted with everted thickened rim, mildly carinated interior and thick saggar base. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip and coated with lime on the exterior. From layer 4 in NK XI/E 7. Variant 33a has thickened and externally cut rim. Of thick coarse section, it is coated with lime on the exterior. From layer 3 in N II/82-A 4. Variant 33b has an everted thickened rim, bluntly carinated waist and deep tapering body. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N II/150-D 2.

Deep Bowls

Thin sectioned deep bowls are of a better fabric and carrying glossy slips, whereas those of coarse or coarse to medium red ware are devoid of any slips and would indicate their frequent use and accordingly cheap production.

Pedestalled-cup types are also quite common and are represented in the contemporary sculptures at Nāgārjunakonda and Amarāvatī.

(fig. 86)

HR 34. A large-sized deep bowl of red ware with grooved and nail-headed rim, slightly narrowing, multi-grooved deep profile, blunted at the low waist to a tapering rounded bottom. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in S III/20-B 1 dump.

HR 35. A deep bowl of red ware with inturned and prominently beaked rim and multi-grooved interior and exterior. Of coarse gritty fabric, it carries a terracotta wash on both sides. From layer 2 in N (v) II/H 6. Variant 35a has a slightly inturned thickened rim, grooved exterior, and deep rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is coated with lime on the interior and is from layer 3 in N VII-A/E 3.

HR 36. A medium-sized bowl of thin red ware with grooved incurved rim and singly grooved body. Of medium fabric it is burnt black in section and slipped on the interior only. From layer 5 in N (v) I/A 4.

HR 37. Is red ware with a widening profile and thickened rim. It has a weakly grooved exterior and uniformly grey interior. Of coarse fabric, it carries a reddish brown slip on the exterior. From the top deposit of the Tr. B. XXI-XXVII (fortification). Variant 37a is a diminutive size of the above type. Of coarse fabric, it is unevenly fired and is black in section. Unstratified.

HR 38. A shallow bowl of pale red ware with everted sharpened rim and convex profile. Of medium fabric, it is devoid of any slip. From N (v) M/II 1.


HR 40. A red ware deep bowl fragment with an externally beaded rim and steep profile. Of coarse fabric. It is burnt black in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N I.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

HR 41. Is a large-sized deep bowl with closing internally cut and thickened rim. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt ashy black in section and has a lime coated exterior over a black slip carrying a decoration of incised festoon designs below grooves. From layer 2 in N XI/E 1.

HR 42. Is a typical deep bowl with an internally thickened rim. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a brownish slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N XI/B 3. Variant 42a is a medium to large-sized deep bowl of fine red ware with closing internally chamfered rim. Of fine fabric, it is treated on both sides with a pinkish brown glossy slip. From N XI. Variant 42b is also of fine fabric and has more sharply cut rim and treated with a bright rim. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a chocolate brown slip on both sides and coated with lime on the interior. From layer 2 in N XI/B 3.

HR 43. Is similar to above type with an internally thickened rim. Of coarse fabric and devoid of slip, it is distinguished by a perforation below the rim, apparently for suspension. From layer 1 in N XV/D 10. Variant 43a is a very small sherd of fine pale red ware, also distinguished by a perforation below the chamfered rim. From layer 2 in N VII/A.

HR 44. Is a red ware bowl with a featureless rim and has tapering sides to a deep flatish base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in gritty core-section and carries a light terracotta wash. From layer 2 in S II/86-E 2.

HR 45. A deep bowl of dull red ware with a featureless rim, bulging profile, tapering steeply to a heavy flattish disc base. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip and has striation marks on the exterior. From layer 3 in SII/140-44. The analogues come from Brahmagiri and Chandravalli.

HR 46. A medium to small-sized drinking vessel or a bowl of coarse red ware externally cut rim, sides tapering on a lower part to a deep narrow disc base. Devoid of slip, it is from layer 2 in N II/174-B 3. Variant 46a has also externally obliquely cut rim and deep tapering profile. Of coarse fabric, it is internally corrugated. From layer 3 in S II/243-A 3.

Carinated Bowls/Vessels

Quite a few of these bowls, which are slipped come from the monastic establishments, while unslipped and soot-stained from the habitation area, indicating their widely preferred domestic use (specially for cooking). HR 49a could have been used as a lid-cum-dish or bowl as well. Bowls from monasteries might have also been used as alms-bowl-cum-eating vessels. Most interesting is the one having perforated base (HR 52) perhaps suggesting that rice or cooked vegetable water was perhaps strained for drinking.
(fig. 87)

HR 47. A medium-sized shallow carinated vessel with internally carinated grooved rim and rounded body. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated inside and outside with bright red slip. From inside the stupa (N. VIII/A). Variant 47a. A medium-sized basin of red ware with sharply out-turned flaring thick rim and rounded body. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright reddish brown slip, which gives it a distinctive look. From layer 2 in N VIII A/62 (inside the stupa chambers). Variant 47b has a drooping rim, internally prominently ridged neck and hemispherical body. Of coarse and gritty fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a wash on both sides. From layer 2 in N. XIII/E 4.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

HR 48. A fragment of a red ware with horizontally grooved and clubbed rim, mildly ribbed below the neck, grooved shoulder and squattish profile. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is treated with a bright reddish brown slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From layer 4 in S IV/29-B 2.

HR 49. Has a flaring externally mildly cut rim, almost straight sides bluntly carinated to a saggar base. Of very coarse fabric, it is slipped on the interior and exterior up to the waist. The coating of lime is also traceable on the interior at the base. From layer 1 in N. XV/E 1. Variant 49a has a flaring rim and sharply carinated waist. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a wash on both sides. From layer 2 NII/172-D 4.

HR 50. Is a rare type of cooking vessel, having thin flaring rim, sloping shoulder with a band of decorative notches between two grooves at the lower and with a horizontally ledged waist, carrying incised strokes and rounded profile, the lower part of base being further decorated with reed pattern. It is treated with a dull red slip externally up to waist only and is soot-stained. From pit 6 in N III/384-B 4.

Carinated Vessels

HR 51. A medium-sized carinated vessel of red ware with flaring clubbed rim, grooved shoulder, carinated to a tapering rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior, which has a thin lime coating also. From layer 4 in N III/326 E 1. Analogues come from Arikamedu, Taxila (Sirkup), Ahichchhatra, Śiśupālgarh, Brahmagiri etc. Variant 51a has a splayed out rim, mildly ribbed shoulder and sharply carinated waist. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the ridged back. It has a soot-stained and patchy base on the outside. From layer 4 in NII/81-C 4. Variant 51b is also a fully preserved specimen of a cooking vessel as is indicated by the soot-stained exterior and interior. From layer 4 in N III/347-E 5. Variant 51c has a grooved and flanged rim and multi-grooved sloping shoulder. It is treated with bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the ridged neck. From layer 4 in N (v) II/A 1.

HR 52. Is again a rare type distinguished by a number of perforation at the base and perhaps used as a sieve. It is devoid of slip. From dump, sealed by layer 3 in N II/194.

HR 53. A fully preserved large-sized carinated vessel of red ware with flaring thickened rim, multi-grooved sloping shoulder, sharply carinated to a deep rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a red slip on the exterior and interior up to the ridged neck and coated with lime only on the exterior. From pit sealed by layer 1 in N II/157-C 2. Variant 53a has a pair of horizontal grooves on the rim and is treated with bright red slip. From layer 2 in N (v)/I A-4. Variant 53b is a medium to large-sized carinated vessel, akin to the arch type. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a chocolate brown slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. The exterior is coated with lime subsequently. From layer 2 in S IV/29-B 2.

Medium to large-sized carinated vessels are also likely to have been used for cooking, although the medium-sized shallow bowls could have been used as lid or for eating etc.

(fig. 88)

HR 54. Is a large-sized carinated vessel with an out-turned thickened rim, sloping multi and weakly grooved shoulders carinated to a tapering deep base. It carries a bright red slip on the exterior
upto the carination and is coated with the interior below the ridged neck. From layer 3 in N XV/A 3. Variant 54a is smaller and thinner than above with a grooved and horizontally flanged rim and short vertical neck. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N XI/H 3. Variant 54b has a drooping rim and multi-grooved shoulder, carinated to a deep rounded base. It is treated with a reddish brown slip on the exterior up to the neck. The interior is coated with lime and exterior below the waist is soot-stained. From layer 3 in N. XI/E 5. Variant 54c is smaller than above but has a prominently drooping rim and deeper sides. Of coarse to medium red ware fabric, it is slipped on the interior up to the carinated rim and comes from N. XXI/E6 4. Variant 54d is again a large-sized fragment with splayed out thickened rim and widening shoulder. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a glossy reddish brown slip. From layer 3 in N VIII/55-C 3.

HR 55. A wide-mouthed medium to large-sized bowl of red ware in fragment with an incurved and externally beaded rim and bulbous multi-grooved profile. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on both the sides. From layer 3 in N I/110-C 2. The analogues come from Arikamedu, Brahmagiri etc. Variant 55a has a prominently nail headed-rim and shallow rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in its gritty section and treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N. (v) II.

HR 56. Has incurved thickened and clubbed rim and thin coating of lime on the interior. From layer 1 in S II/140-B 4.

Globular Pots (fig. 89)

Medium-sized and 'loṭa' types for fetching water and other utilitarian purposes. Very few of the 'loṭa' types are slipped, though are available in plenty, thereby again showing the frequency of use and breakage and their easy production. Medium-sized pots are invariably slipped.

HR 57. A red ware with mouthed-jar of large-size with out-turned thickened rim, insignificant neck, grooved shoulder and almost spherical body. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From layer 3 in N III/101 E 4. Variant 57a is a medium to large-sized pot with a drooping rim and ellipsoidal body. Of slightly smaller size than the arche type, it is treated with a glossy red slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From layer 3 in N III/104-A 1. Variant 57b is fragmentary and has steeper profile. It carries a wash on the exterior and has a lime coated interior. From layer 1 in N (v) V/A 1.

HR 58. Is a decorated fragment of red ware with a clubbed and grooved rim and high expanding multi-grooved shoulder having wavy line between incised oblique strokes. It is also treated with bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the rim, below which, it carries a lime coating. From layer 2 in N II/54-B 5.

HR 60. Is almost similar to HR 59 but fully preserved and has a thickened rim, ribbed and grooved shoulder. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the ridged-neck. From layer 2 in N II/200 E 4. Variant 60a is of small to medium size with a featureless rim, ribbed below the neck and almost spherical body. Of thin section it is treated with a chocolate
brown slip and unevenly fired. From layer 2 in N (v) VI/B 4. Variant 60b is still smaller and of thicker section. It carries a light slip below the lime coating. From layer 3 in N XI/F 2.

**Wide-mouthed and Bellied water pots**

**HR 61.** Medium to large-sized wide-mouthed vase of red ware with everted, horizontally grooved shoulder and globular body. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt ashy black in section and is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior only. From layer 3 in N (v) VI/C 1. Variant 61a is fragmentary with out-turned horizontally grooved and nail head rim and widening grooved shoulder. It is treated with a chocolate brown slip and is unevenly fired. From layer 2 in N XVID 3. Variant 61b is a fragment of a globular jar with outcurved, externally thickened and internally collared rim and ribbed below the short concave neck. The rim and shoulder below the rib are decorated with incised oblique slashes and strokes. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From layer 3 in N XI/B 3. Variant 61c is thinner than above and has splayed out and sharply grooved rim and multi-grooved shoulder. Of medium to fine fabric, it is well burnt and treated with fine reddish brown slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck, below which it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N II/85-E 5.

**HR 62.** A medium-sized pot of red ware with out-turned, externally thickened and internally mildly grooved rim, short concave neck, grooved shoulder and rounded body. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a wash on the exterior below a thin lime coating. From layer 2 in N II/141-D 4.
(fig. 90)

Medium-sized globular pots, which are available in a very large number from religious establishments and habitation area, although most of them are found in the habitation area. Very few carry a bright slip, but have encrusted appearance.

**HR 63.** A narrow-mouthed, medium to large-sized red ware jar with externally collared rim, short concave grooved neck, well developed grooved shoulder, ovoid body and rounded base. It is treated with a chocolate brown slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From layer 3 in N XXIV/C 3. The analogues come from Arikamedu, Sisupalgarh, Maski etc. Variant 63a has a long collared rim and is treated with thin red slip on both the sides. The interior is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N VI/C 3. Variant 63b is smaller than the arche type and has a globular body. It is treated with a dull red slip. From layer 3 in N III/101/E 4.

**HR 64.** Is of medium size and spherical body. Of very coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 5 in N VIII/A 2. Variant 64a has an internally grooved rim and a red slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. Coating of lime is available on the lower half of the body. From layer 2 in N III/108-B 3. Variant 64b has externally prominently collared and internally sharply grooved heavy rim. It is treated with a bright red slip. Variant 64c is again a rim fragment with a mild horizontal groove on its interior. It has been treated with a chocolate brown slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N XXI/C 2.

**HR 65.** Medium-sized round bodied pot of red ware with a weakly collared rim, internally ledged neck, sloppy grooved shoulder and hemispherical body. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is indifferently fired with black patches here and there and is treated with a reddish wash on the
Fig. 91
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

exterior and interior upto the neck. From layer 3 in N II/40-B 5. Variant 65a is smaller and has a mildly ribbed rim and is grooved below the waist, where it is coated with lime. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a bright reddish brown slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N III/148-D 1. Variant 65c is a wide-mouthed rim fragment with incurved, elliptically collared and grooved rim and short concave neck. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N. VIII A/A 1. Variant 65d has pronounced incurving and a drooping grooved collar. It is treated with a dull red slip on the exterior only. From layer 2 N. X. Rough analogues come from Arikamedu, Taxila (Sirkap), Brahmagiri and Maski.

Small to Medium and Medium-Sized Pots (fig. 91)

HR 66. Is a narrow-mouthed red ware vase with a flaring grooved rim, corrugated high neck and globular body. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a reddish brown slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. Its realistic use is attested by incised ‘Srivatsa’ symbols at four places on the shoulder. From layer 2 in N VIII A/D 3. It has got a number of variants, which differ only in size and distinctive rims and have as a rule stamped ‘Triratna’ symbols, four on each pot, on their shoulders. Variant 66a has a more prominently ridged and obliquely neck and steep shoulder, mildly carinated. Variant 66b has a narrow neck and is slightly smaller in size. It is treated with a glossy reddish brown slip. Variant 66c is still smaller and with a clubbed rim and bright red slip. From layer 3 in N III/121 C 4. Variant 66d has a prominently clubbed rim and corrugated high neck. It carries an incised decoration (forming a rectangular plan, which is incomplete) on its widening shoulder. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck below a lime coating. From layer 2 in N XII/15-D 5. Variant 66e is a rimless globular pot. It is made distinctive by the occurrence of four sets of brushwork curved whitish strokes (comprising variously two, three and four strokes) on the shoulder, over the bright red slip. The stroke start from the top and end at the bottom. From layer 2a in N (v)/VI/E 3. Variant 66f has a mildly clubbed rim and this high neck. It carries a reddish brown slip below a lime coating and is of medium fabric. From layer 2 in N II/116-A 3.

HR 67. Is an unique fragment with horizontally flaring internally thickened and grooved rim, and narrow neck. Of coarse and thick fabric, it is coated with lime on both sides. From layer 3 in N II/82-C 2.

Again small to medium-sized vases mostly of daily use for various purposes. They are mostly slipped. Noteworthy are HR 70 and 70a with black patches, giving an impression of black and red ware pots (fig. 92).

HR 68. A sophisticated narrow-necked vase of ochreous red ware in fragment with horizontally flanged square cut rim, high vertical neck and possibly globular body. It carries a raised and incised bands below the neck, decorated with incised vertical strokes. Of medium to fine fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in N VIII/148-45. Variant 68a is also a neck fragment with horizontally flattened rim and high narrow neck. It is also of ochreous red ware and of medium thick fabric. From layer 2 in N VII/199-B 3. Variant 68b has horizontally splayed out rim. Of thin and distinctive fabric, it has been treated with a bright red slip. From layer 2 in S II/9-C 3.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

HR 69. Has an externally thickened rim and short vertical neck. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in N. XXII.

HR 70. Medium-sized narrow-necked pot with flaring, grooved and vertically cut rim, short straight neck, widening ribbed and grooved shoulder and spheroidal body. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and upto the neck on the interior. But the upper part of the shoulder zone displays a greyish black appearance in a sharply delimited way, so as to prove that stack firing has been employed is the kiln and as a result of which the zone covered by the saggars has burnt greyish black. From layer 2 in N III/304-B 4. Variant 70a is smaller than the above and is distinguished by a bluntly carinated waist. The blackening is also not uniform in this case and the interior is totally grey, because of reducing conditions of the fire in the kiln. It carries a reddish brown slip mostly, though not uniformly, below the carinated waist. From layer 2 in N II/64-B 5. Variant 70b has internally thickened and externally flanged rim, the flange carrying obliquely incised decorations and concave neck. It carries a dull red slip. From N VII/D 2.

HR 71. Has only a flaring featureless rim, mildly ridged neck and globularly profile. Of thin medium fabric it is treated with reddish brown slip below a coating of lime. From layer 2 in S XII/176-A 1.

HR 72. A red ware fragment of unique type with flaring featureless rim and prominently ledged shoulder. Of medium thin fabric, it is treated with a drab red slip on the exterior and coated with lime on the interior. From layer 2 in N XI. The analogues come from Arikamedu and Brahmagiri. Variant 72a is smaller with a horizontally flaring rim, short concave neck and ledged shoulder. Of thin medium fabric, it is treated with a brownish slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From Dump in N III/228 B 1. Variant 72b is still smaller in size with a less pronounced shoulder which is mildly carinated. It is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N XXI-D 1.

HR 73. It is a medium-sized vase of red ware having ribbed neck, and grooved shoulder developing into an elliptical profile. From layer 2 in N XVI/F 2. Variant 73a has a wider mouth with a flaring thickened and under cut rim and grooved shoulder. From layer 3 in N XVI/B 2.

HR 74. Has an everted obliquely cut rim, multi-ribbed neck, bulging profile and rounded base. It is treated with a chocolate brown slip. From layer 4 in N III/387. Variant 74a is similar to the arche type, though smaller and without grooves. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a dull red slip and coated with lime on the interior. From layer 3 in N XV/F 1.

HR 75. Is a medium to large-sized mildly carinated vase of red ware with multi-grooved interior. It is treated with bright red slip below lime coating on the exterior. From layer 2 in N IV/301-D 5.

HR 76. Is wide-mouthed fragment with a heavy, externally thickened and internally prominently grooved rim and very short concave neck. It is treated with a light chocolate brown slip on both sides and coated with lime. Variant 76a has externally clubbed rim and internally carinated neck. It is also treated with bright red slip on both sides and coated with lime on the interior. From layer 2 in N XI/K 4. Variant 76b is of grey ware with bluntly square cut rim. It is devoid of slip but coated with lime on the exterior. From N (v) III/C5 1.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

Small To Medium and Loṭā Types

They are mostly unslipped, though the carinated ones which might have been for boiling milk or making curd etc., are slipped. HR 83 is provided with a spout.

(fig. 93)

HR 77. Unique type of small to medium-sized pot with splayed out featureless rim, obliquely sloping ribbed and mildly grooved shoulder, carinated at the lower part to a tapering rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is treated with a dull red slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 3 in Trench B XLVIII-LII. Variant 77a is smaller and has ribbed shoulder. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior upto the neck. Variant 77b is mildly ledged below the neck and has a concave profile. Of the same fabric as above, it is treated with a brownish slip on the exterior only. From pit 3 sealed by layer 2 in E III/382-C 5. Variant 77c is a loṭā type with a prominently ledged shoulder and bluntly carinated profile. Of coarse fabric, it carries a wash on the exterior. From layer 3 in N II/150-D 2.

HR 78. Is a small to medium-sized loṭā type with an everted thickened rim and deep elliptical profile. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From 2 in N XIII/E 1. Variant 78a has externally beaked rim and elongated body. It is treated with a thick coating of lime on the interior and exterior and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in S XI/99-A 2.

HR 79. A small to medium-sized bowl of coarse red ware with flattened rim and almost vertical sides. It is devoid of slip and is very gritty in texture. From layer 2 in N XIV/B 3.

HR 80. Has slightly curved and almost flattened rim and deep profile. It is of coarse thin grey ware. From layer 2 in N XI/A 3.

HR 81. Is fully preserved and has an obliquely cut rim, roughly elliptical body and uneven disc base, where marks of the thread, cutting the base from the moving wheel are seen. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in Trench B V-VIII.

HR 82. Has a featureless flaring rim, well developed shoulder, ellipsoidal body and roughly flattened base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is internally corrugated. From layer 3 in S II/65-D 5.

HR 83. Is distinguished by a pinched spout on the multi-grooved shoulder, only a part of which is extant. It is treated with a dull red slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 2 in N XXI-C 2.

HR 84. Is complete and has a flaring featureless rim and is mildly ribbed below the neck. Of thin coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip below a subsequent coating of lime. From layer 2 in N IV/281-C 3. Variant 84a has a thickened rim, round body with an irregular groove on the exterior and rounded base. It is treated with a wash. From layer 3 in N III/121-A 2. Variant 84b also a loṭā shaped pot of common occurrence with grooved body and rounded base. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is burnt light grey in section and carries a wash. From layer 2 in N XV/E 1. Variant 84c has a bulging spheroidal body and internally corrugated thick base. It is coated with lime on both sides. From II/70D 2.

HR 85. Is fully preserved red ware squattish pot with nail head rim, low girth and rounded base. Of thin coarse red ware fabric, it is treated with a wash. From layer 1 in N VIII A/A 2.
Variant 85a is slightly thicker and with a concave grooved side carinated to a shallow base. It carries a wash on the exterior. From layer 2 in N XXI/C 1.

HR 86. A small to medium-sized vase of ochreous red ware with a beaded rim, no well defined neck and steep profile, having mild grooved on the shoulder zone. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N III/70-E 5. Variant 86a differs from the arche type in its externally rolled and slightly undercut rim. It is devoid of any slip, though exterior is coated with lime. From pit 2 in N VII/D 2.

Miniature vessels are of various types including lamps and stoppers. Most of them might have served as measured but they could have been used even for drinking. As a rule they are unslipped. Ritualistic use in case of slipped ones is also probable, although they are also likely to have been as toys in certain cases.

(fig. 94)

HR 87. Is a wide-mouthed miniature red ware pot with a square cut rim, squattish body, and thick base. It carries a dull red slip. From layer 2 in NK XXI/D 2. Variant 87a has obliquely cut rim, grooved thick shoulder and bulging rounded body. It is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N (v) I. Variant 87b is a wide-mouthed miniature vase of red ware with flaring rim, weakly ledged and grooved shoulder and rounded weakly ledged gritty fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 5 in Trench B-XIV-XVIII.

HR 88. A miniature vase with out-turned featureless rim, rounded body hanging a mild groove and rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is well fired and is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in Trench B-Eastern extension. Variant 88a is smaller than the arche type with sharpened rim, prominent median groove and disc base. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is treated with a wash. From layer 1 in N XVIIII/A 1. Variant 88b is bigger and thicker than the arche type and has a mildly carinated waist. Of thick coarse fabric, it carries a light red slip on the exterior and interior up to the rim. From layer 4 in N VIII/167-A 1. Variant 88c is the smallest of all with a sharpened rim, bluntly carinated waist and rounded base. It is treated with a light red slip on the exterior and interior up to the neck. From layer 3 in N III/316-A 2. Variant 88d is a small vase with a flaring featureless rim, steep undulating profile, bluntly carinated at the low waist, to a flattish base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N II/146-C 5. Variant 88e is a diminutive mug fragment of thin red ware with flaring externally thickened rim, mildly ribbed neck, restricted grooved shoulder and steep body blunted to a flattish base. It is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N III/110-E 1.

HR 89. Is a miniature carinated bowl of red ware with out-turned and externally cut rim, restricted shoulder carinated to a shallow rounded base. Of very coarse and gritty fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in N VIII/302. This along with its variant could have served as a lid as well. Variant 89a has splayed out rim, and sloping shoulder sharply carinated to a tapering rounded base. Of coarse fabric, it is indifferently fired. It is treated with a dull red slip on the exterior and interior. From N II/148-A 1.

HR 90. Is of diminutive size with an everted rim and disc base. The convex body is neatly perforated transversely at two points, presumably to insert a wooden handle to serve as a ladder. Of medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N II/81-D 4.
HR 91. Is a fragmentary miniature vase having a grooved and externally cut rim, short neck and widening shoulder. Of medium thin grey ware fabric, it is treated with light black slip. From layer 3 in N XXI/E 1. Variant 91a is a miniature bottle neck fragment with externally grooved and clubbed rim, short neck and globular profile. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and carries a red wash on the exterior. From layer 3 in N VII/F 4. Variant 91b whose rim is missing has a narrower mouth. Of medium thin grey ware, it is treated with a dull black slip on the exterior and indifferently fired. From layer 5 in N (v) V/B 4.

HR 92. Is an unique specimen of a lug handled receptacle probably a ritualistic lamp or dish type. The grip consists with flanged waist, which has been luted to the edge of the main vessel, presumably at diametric points for lifting and handling. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a chocolate brown slip. From layer 2 in N I/98-D 4. Variant 92a is a diminutive specimen of the arche type with a plain, top grooved and internally recessed receptacle. Of thin greyish fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N III/264-E 3.

HR 93. A tall necked small-sized vase with flaring externally cut rim, slopy shoulder and rounded body having median groove. Of coarse fabric, it carries a dull red slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 2 in N II/81-E 4. Variant 92a is typical bottle necked miniature flask of thin red ware with narrow neck, rounded body and flattish base. It is treated with dull red slip. From layer 2 in II/117-B 3. Variant 93b is a neck fragment, which is thicker than above and has an externally thickened rim and very narrow neck. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip outside and inside upto the neck. From layer 2 in N III/265-B 4.

HR 94. A miniature vessel of common occurrence with flaring featureless rim, high narrow neck, convex profile and prominent disc base. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is uniformly fired and is devoid of slip. From layer 4 in N VIII/149-B 2. Variant 94a is smaller than above and has a ledged-waist and irregular base. Of the same fabric as above, it is from layer 4 in Trench B.

HR 95. Is an ink-pot type with everted rim, convex neck, ledged shoulder and bulging body tapering to a disc base. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip.

HR 96. On the neck of an ink-pot (similar to HR 95) was found this terracotta stopper for obvious purpose. It is devoid of slip and comes from layer 2 in N II/66-C 3.

HR 97. A bottom knobbed-stopper, probably of bottle necked-sprinkler type, with moulded floral design on the top and flange. Of medium fabric, it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in S II/302-C 1.

HR 98. A miniature dish of red ware flat rim, short vertical sides, bluntly carinated to a thick flattened base. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a red slip on both sides. From trough in N XXI/D 1. This type could have served as lid of miniature vessels. Variant 98a is a miniature handmade dish of red ware with a featureless rim, vertical sides and flat base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is internally coated with lime. From layer 2 in N XXI/E 5. Variant 92b has incurved rim and short vertical sides mildly carinated to a tapering saggar base. Of medium thin red ware fabric, it is treated with a dull black slip over a chocolate brown wash. From layer 4 in N II/218-B 4.
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HR 99. Has incurved thickened, weakly ledged rim, convex sides with medium grooves. Of medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N XI/C 2.

HR 100. Is a small lid-cum-dish with almost flat rim and sides tapering to a deep rounded base. Of medium fabric, it is coated with lime on both sides over a reddish brown slip. From layer 4 in N XI/h 5.

HR 101. Is a lamp type of coarse red ware with a receptacle pinched lip and a coarse knob at the centre of the inner cavity. From layer 3 in N XI/C 2. Variant 101a is smaller and shallower. It is burnt grey in section and is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N XI/C 3. Variant 101b is similar to the arche type but has a corrugated interior. It is coated with lime on both sides. From layer 2 in N XI/A 4. Variant 101c does not have a pinched lip and is the smallest. Variant 101d is shallower and has again a pinched lip and disc base. It is having a lime wash on both sides. From layer 3 in Trench BtXLVIII-LII.

HR 102. Is distinguished by a perforation at the base, apparently for the wick. Ill fired, it is from layer 2 in N II/1-C 3.

HR 103. Is a lid-cum-dish of red ware with externally chamfered rim, shallow tapering profile and disc base. Of coarse fabric, it is coated with lime. From layer 3 in N I/96-A 5.

HR 104. This and its variant 104a are also lamp types in red ware but without pinched lips.

Medium to large-sized vases are mostly slipped and a few of them decorated too (fig. 95).

HR 105. Is a medium-sized water pot with an externally chamfered rim, multi-grooved shoulder and expanding profile. Of coarse grey thin fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N XIII. Variant 105a has a splayed out, and mildly collared rim. It is also of thin grey ware and devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N XI/C 4. Variant 105b has an internally thickened and externally collared rim and shooting weakly multi-grooved profile. Of coarse thin red ware fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 1 in N IX/E 3.

HR 106. Is a medium to large-sized vase fragment with a splayed out, thickened and multi-grooved rim and neck. Of coarse red ware, it is burnt grey in its gritty section. It is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N XXI/C 6. Variant 106a has a clubbed and multi-grooved rim and corrugated high narrow neck. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N III/221. Variant 106b is almost similar to the above but slightly bigger and with a light reddish brown slip, and sharply corrugated neck. Variant 106c is thinner and had horizontally splayed out and multi-grooved rim. It is treated with a reddish brown slip and is of coarse to medium fabric. From layer 3 in Trench B XIV-XVIII.

HR 107. Is a medium to large-sized vase fragment with a folded rim and grooved and deep sides. Of coarse and thin fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is devoid of slip, though internally coated with lime. From layer 4 in N XXI/E 6.

HR 108. Is a wide-mouthed shallow basin type with a prominently clubbed and internally grooved rim. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt ashy-grey in its gritty core section and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N II/175-D 5.
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HR 109. Is a medium to large-sized deep bowl with an externally thickened and grooved rim and multi-shoulder. It is treated with a red slip on both sides below a coating of lime. From layer 2 in S IV/7-B 3. Variant 109a has a nail head and square cut rim with top and sides decorated with a row of notches and steep profile, having oblique strokes over a row of notches. It is treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N VIII/195-C 1.

HR 110. Is a deep basin type with slightly everted and internally cut rim. It is distinguished by a row of four square cut perforations on the straight sides below grooves. Of course to medium fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N II/3-B 3. Rough analogues come from Arikamedu.

HR 111. Is a red ware basin fragment of medium to large size with an internally thickened and bluntly beaked rim and vertical, externally multi-grooved sides. It is coated with lime on the interior and has a soot-stained exterior. From layer 2 in S II/146-B 4. Variant 111a is shallower than the arche type and has a mildly carinated and grooved waist. It is treated with a light red slip on both sides. From filling sealed by layer 1 in N II/174.

HR 112. Is a unique large-sized but fragmentary vessel of red ware with broad, horizontally collared rim, carrying raised wavy band decoration on the edge and with acutely widening body, without any neck, carrying grooves on its widening shoulder and probably developing into a bulging hemispherical profile. Of course fabric, it is burnt black in the section and is treated with a red slip on the exterior and up to the boldly ribbed interior. From layer 2 in S III/84-B 2.

HR 113. Is a unique vase fragment of coarse red ware with incurved, externally flanged and cut heavy rim, internally recessed short neck and deep profile. The horizontal top is decorated with notches. It is burnt grey in section and treated with a dull red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N (v) I/B-4.

HR 114. Is a medium to large-sized vase of red ware with a thick nail head rim and widening shoulder. It has a chocolate brown slip. From layer 2 in N VII/D 2.

HR 115. Heavy neck fragment of a large-sized narrow necked pot with externally thickened, internally grooved and ledged rim and corrugated high neck. Of coarse red ware, it is treated with bright red slip on both sides but coated with lime on the interior only. From layer 2 in N II/200-E 4.

HR 116. Is a medium to large-sized pot with out-turned thickened rim and widening shoulder. Of course fabric, it has a thin red slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in N III/D 3.

HR 117. Has internally thickened and externally beaked rim. Of coarse thick fabric, it is treated with a light reddish brown slip below a lime coating on the exterior only. From layer 2 in N XI/C 7.

Wide-mouthed medium to large-sized jars, most of which are slipped and a few decorated (fig. 96).

HR 118. A jar fragment of red ware with out-turned horizontally grooved and thickened rim and widening ribbed shoulder. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and carries a pale red slip on the interior up to the rim. From layer 2 in N (v) V/D 1. Variant 118a has a multi-grooved rim and grooved shoulder. Of medium fabric, it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N XI/H 3. Variant 118b is thinner and has a weakly undercut rim. The expanding
shoulder is decorated with incised wavy lines between grooves. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. Variant 118c has an out-turned thickened rim, multi-grooved below the neck and widening profile. It is treated with a dull pale brown slip on the exterior only. From layer 2 in N II/122-E 4.

HR 119. Has a thick rolled rim and expanding shoulder, decorated with wavy lines below grooves. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 3 in N (v)/II-F 4. Variant 119a is bigger and has sharply ribbed shoulder. It carries a bright red slip on the exterior and interior upto the neck. From layer 2 in N VIII/351-D 5. Variant 119b is thicker than above, has a weakly ribbed shoulder and dull brown slip below a thick lime coating on both sides. Of very coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section. From cutting of the rampart (Tr. B)—unstratified. Variant 119c has a heavy band over-ribbings between the incised oblique strokes. Of thick coarse red ware fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a pale brown slip on the exterior and interior upto the neck. It is also having a lime coating on the exterior. From layer 2 in N VIII-303-B 2.

Medium to large-sized jars with closing rims are mostly slipped (Not illustrated).

HR 120. A jar fragment of red ware with closing thickened rim and expanding grooved profile. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt ashy grey in section and treated with a light red slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From dump sealed by layer 2 in N I/42-A 2. Variant 120a differs in its externally mildly collared rim and multi-grooved steep shoulder. It is treated with a red slip on the exterior only. From layer 3 in N III/361-A 1. Variant 120b has internally thickened and externally collared rim. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N III/227-E 2.

HR 121. Has a horizontally closing thickened and vertically cut rim. Of coarse grey ware, it is treated with a pinkish brown slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 2 in N II/45-B 3. Variant 121a is bigger than the arche type and has steep shoulders. Variant 121b has a closing, grooved and drooping rim presumably for a grip and internally recessed shoulder. Of coarse grey ware, it carries a dull black slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 2 in N II/102 E 1. Variant 121c has internally grooved and flanged rim. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a light reddish brown slip on the exterior and subsequently coated with lime. From layer 4 in N XXI/E 6.

HR 122. Has only a mildly flanged and almost vertical sides. Irregular incised strokes and an oblique line can be seen in the exterior. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a dark chocolate brown slip on the exterior only. From layer 2 in N/XXI/C 4. Variant 122a has an internally undercut and sharpened flanged rim. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a chocolate brown slip, on the exterior and interior upto the rim. The exterior is further decorated with vertical incised lines around the body. From layer 2 in N VIII/146 B 2. Variant 122b is again a storage-jar fragment of red ware with closing internally thickened and prominently flanged rim and ellipsoidal profile. Of medium to fine fabric and without any grit or sand particles, it is well burnt and treated with a dull pale red slip on the exterior only. From layer 1 in N II/275-D 2.
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HR 123. Is unique type of jar with closing thickened and internally recurved flanged rim presumably to receive a lid. Of coarse fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N XXI/F 7.


HR 125. Is a medium-sized red jar with a closing and externally mildly collared rim and chocolate brown slip in the exterior and interior upto the rim. It is burnt grey in its coarse section. From layer 2 in Trench B XXX-XXVI.

HR 126. Fragment of a wide-mouthed red ware jar with a closing externally thickened and internally obliquely cut rim, very steep shoulder and probably a deep globular profile. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and devoid of slip. It is ill-potted and carries a thin coating of lime on the exterior. From layer 3 in Trench B—Eastern extension. Variant 126a has a thickened and clubbed rim and is devoid of slip. From layer 5 in Trench B IV-VIII.

JR 127. Is a medium to large-sized vase with externally obliquely flanged and under cut rim and very steep sides. Of coarse grey ware fabric, it is treated with a wash. From layer 4 in N (v)/1g 5.

Large sized jars and troughs with collared and rolled rims (fig. 97)

HR 128. Is a red ware fragment of a trough type having a closing and externally mildly broad collared and internally cut rim, below which is a finger tip raised decoration. It is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N VI/D 3-2.

HR 129. Is a huge trough fragment with a very broad elliptically collared and internally cut rim. Below the collar is a raised thumb-tip ornament. It is treated with a red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N XI/G 1. Variant 129a is a large-sized basin type whose collar is decorated with incised wavy lines between two incised vertical lines. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a red slip on the exterior and interior upto the rim. From layer 3 in N (v) II/C 3.

HR 130. Is a trough having a small collared rim. The shoulder is decorated with incised notches below a rib. Of coarse and gritty fabric, it carries pale red slip on the exterior only. From layer 3 in N XV/A 2. Variant 130a is a jar fragment of red ware with inturned externally collared rim and steep shoulder. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a dull chocolate brown slip. From layer 3 in N III/C 4. Variant 130b has elliptically collared rim, decorated with incised slashes within grooves and deep shoulder carrying a wave line between another pair of grooves. It is treated with a pale reddish brown slip below a lime coating. From layer 3 in N XI/H 5.

HR 131. Is a jar fragment with a thick rolled and multi-grooved rim and slightly steep profile. The shoulder below the groove is decorated by a row of incised slashes over incised cheque pattern. It is coated with lime and is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N XIII/C 3.

HR 132. Is a rim fragment of a very huge jar having a thick elliptical collar. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N 1.
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Decorated trough types are available in a large number from all the sites (fig. 98).

HR 133. Is a jar fragment with an elliptically collared and grooved rim and multi-grooved shoulder and interior. It is treated with a dull pale red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in S II/143-A 3.

HR 134. Is again a trough type of thick red ware with flattened, grooved and collared rim and steep shoulder. The collar is decorated with a raised wavy line. It is burnt ashy black in section. From layer 1 in N (v) I/A 2.

HR 135. Is a large-sized basin fragment with a thick nail-head, grooved and internally recessed rim and grooved expanding shoulder. of coarse fabric, it carries a dull red slip on the exterior and lime coating on the interior. From layer 2 in N III.

HR 136. Is a wide mouthed, narrow-necked jar fragment with splayed out, internally collared and externally cordonned rim. Of thick coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip and subsequent lime coating. From layer 2 in N II/136-E 5. Variant 136a is smaller and thinner, carrying a chocolate brown slip below the lime coating on both sides and decorated with incised notches. From layer 2 in N VII D/A 1. Variant 136b is thinner than above and has incised slashes and notches respectively over and below the multiple row of grooves on the shoulder. It is treated with a reddish slip. From layer 3 in N XV/A 3. Variant 136c is of medium size and thinner. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and treated with a dull chocolate brown slip on both sides with a subsequent lime coating on the exterior. It is decorated with a finger-nail has internally ledged pattern. Variant 136d is internally ledged and broad-collared and externally cut, grooved and cordonned rim. It carries a dull red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in N XI/I 1. 136c is a richly decorated example. These are in the shoulder zone, representing a continuous festoon of bunches of bud with stylyzed full blossom shown in-between at regular intervals. The waist of the vessels carry the usual applique twisted cord pattern (fig. 99).

HR 137. A large hand-made fragmentary trough with nail head rim carrying raised wavy lines on the inner part, incised strokes in the middle and groove near the outer rim and a narrowing profile. The exterior is decorated below the rim successively with two wide rows of incised marks enclosing incised cheque pattern in between and followed below by a row of irregularly incised wavy line. Besides, the rim has a lug attachment, probably of a loop handle, the terminals of which have been well strengthened on both sides. Of coarse grey ware fabric, it is treated with a thin black slip on the interior and has received a lime coating subsequently. From layer 1 in N III/199-E 3.

HR 138. Is a unique shouldered jar fragment (rim missing) with an upturned oblique flange, apparently for resting a lid and with expanding profile. Its vertical flat topped flange rests below the multiple ribs. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt ashy-black in its thin section and treated with a dull slip on the exterior. From pit 1 by layer sealed 1 in N II/174-D 2. Variant 138a is smaller than above and has a smaller and oblique flange below a rib.

Finials (fig. 100)

HR 139. Intact finial of red ware of common occurrence with a flattened rim base and tapering neck, decorated with three successively diminishing sharpened flanges with a short cordon around
the constricted body between the first and the second flange, which is very near to the third and deep tapering pointed end. The interior has a recessing corresponding to the first flange and slopes to a central narrow depression. It has a reddish brown slip on the exterior and interior up to the thickened rim. From layer 1 in N II/81-D 1. Variant 139a has a double flange tapering to along the pointed top. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in N VII/A 3. Variant 139b is of small size with everted thickened and internally grooved rim base, short concave neck and three successive flanges, almost of the same size and tapering pointed top. Of coarse red ware, it carries a light reddish brown slip on the exterior. From layer 1 in N VII/303 A 3. Variant 139c has a prominent flange and is treated with a reddish brown slip. From layer 3 in N XV/B 7. Variant 139d has only a flattened rim base and two flanges closed to each other. It carries a reddish slip. From layer 2 in N XI/B 3. Variant 139e is a body fragment with a double flange. It is distinguished by its reddish green slip. From layer 2 in N VIII/302.

HR 140. Has slightly incurved externally beaded rim base, and convex neck. It has a short cordon around the constricted body and four perforations equi-distant from each, between the second and the third flange which, however, is missing. It is treated with a bright red slip. Unstratified.

HR 141. Fragment of a finial type having prominent ribbings and bluntly grooved flange. It is devoid of slip but has a lime coating on the exterior and is of coarse fabric. From layer 2 in N. XXI/B 2. Variant 141a is a body fragment of a finial type, having a blue glaze on both sides. It has a crackled appearance. From layer 2 in N II/86-B 1. Variant 141b is a ribbed and grooved narrow-necked fragment of 'stone ware' having a burnished exterior and light chocolate brown interior. From layer 2 in N II/102-C 1 (Avabhrita tank of Asvamedha site).

HR 142. Is a lower half of a finial having a set of four perforations pierced between the two heavy flanges. It is treated with a bright reddish slip. From layer 2 in N II/155.

HR 143. Has an outcurved thickened rim base and small flange. Of thick coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a dull red slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in N VIII/148-D 2.

(fig. 101)

HR 144. Thick and coarse fragment of a disc base, with a prominently ledged waist and correspondingly recessed interior. Probably part of a vessel of low girth. Of thick red ware, it is treated with a dull red slip on both sides. From layer 2 in S II/160-E 2.

HR 145. Is a base fragment of a wide-mouthed jar with grooved pedestal-base, which is shallow flattish on the interior and treated with a dull red slip. From layer 2 in N III/344 C 4. Variant 145a is a fragment of a sprinkler-type. Of local coarse red ware distinguished by its ring base and thick section, which is burnt grey. It carries a wash on the exterior. From layer 3 in S IV/7-C 1.

HR 146. Bottom fragment of a red ware globular jar of medium size with pedestal-base which, however, is damaged. Of medium fabric, it is well burnt and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N III/74-B 5. Variant 146a is a pedestal base fragment. It could also be a vessel with
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Fig. 101

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HR 147. And its variants represent the variety of the body and base fragments of bottle necked sprinkler-types. All of them have a corrugated interior. Variant 147a, which is of local coarse red ware, is distinguished from above in its globular body and a knobbed-base on the interior, which is corrugated. It is treated with a bright red slip. From layer 6 in Trench B LXIV-LXV. Variant 147b is a lower part of a round bodied pot with a rounded base and central button knob on the interior. It is devoid of slip and is of ochreous coarse red ware. From layer 2 in N VIII/125-B 2. Variant 147c is a flattish base fragment of coarse red ware with weakly corrugated and knobbled interior. It is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in E III/32-D 2.

HR 148. Is a fragment of a sprinkler-type of local and flat base. It is slipped on the exterior. From layer 4 in N XI/7-7, Variant 148a has an elliptical body and rounded base. Of medium to fine fabric, it is burnt grey in the section and is treated with light reddish brown slip on the exterior. From trough in N XXI/D 1. Variant 148c is also a sprinkler fragment with a dish base. It is of thin coarse to medium red ware fabric. Variant 148d is a flattened base fragment with a prominently corrugated and spiral knobbled interior. It has a red slip on the exterior and is burnt black in its coarse section. From layer 1 in N I/371.

HR 149. Hand-made fragment probably of a deep conical vase, whose truncated body alone is extant, has a badly potted and coarse interior but smooth exterior. It is devoid of slip and is burnt black in section. From layer 2 in N III/226-A 4.

HR 150. A fragmentary stem of conical profile with a narrow cavity at the centre above and mild depression below at the flattened base. The bottom edge is decorated with an incised zig-zag. Of thick coarse red ware, it is burnt black in section and is hand-made. From layer 5 in N XI/6 6.

HR 151. Is shorter than above but has a broader flat base, tapering towards the top which is broken. It is also hand-made. From layer 3 in N (v) II/C 6.

HR 152. Lower part of a huge storage-jar, which is fixed in the ground, having a long blunted base widening towards the upper side. Of thick coarse fabric, it is uniformly burnt and is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N II/42-B 3.

Handles of various types and attached to different vessels like amphorae, medium-sized pots, sprinklers, pans etc. (fig. 102).

HR 153. Unique large-sized specimen of a strap handle with a wide channelled upper surface and sharply curved body. The exact nature of the main vessel to which it is joined is not, however, known. It is likely to have been fairly heavy and in the nature of an amphorae-type. Of medium ochreous red ware, it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N III/265-E 5. Variant 153a is similar to the arche type and seems to be having a square body, which has an incised line instead of a channel and trimmed exterior. Of pale medium red ware fabric, it is uniformly fired. From layer 2 in N II/42-B 2. Variant 153b is comparatively smaller though similar to the above in form and fabric. From layer 3 in N II/105-E 3.

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FIG. 102
HR 154. Again a strap handle type. It is likely to belong to a transverse handle of a 'kundika' type. It has a mid-ribbed decorated top. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and carries a brownish slip, and is indifferently fired. From layer 4 in S III/358-B 1. Variant 154a is another handle fragment and has a solid bent form. Of coarse fragment, it is burnt black in section.

HR 155. Is a lug handle fragment belonging to a fairly huge cooking 'karshi' or pan. The circular hub for strengthening have been made artistically. Of circular cross section, it is treated with a chocolate brown slip. From layer 2 in N II/106-B 1.

HR 156. A tubular handle, presumably of a laddle type, with a nipple-like terminal knob. The manner in which the tube has a seam, it is apparent that it has been made by rolling the free ends into tube form and not by piercing. The knob terminal has been separately attached and the handle trimmed before firing. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has a reddish slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in N III/156-B 2. Variant 156a is bigger and is further strengthened by straps around the end where it is attached to the vessel. It has a narrow pierced opening. Of medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From dump sealed by layer 1 in Trench B XXI-XXVI.

HR 157. Is again a tubular handle but the grip end has a wide flattened opening. Of coarse red ware, it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N VIII/172-A 5.

HR 158. A strap fragment of triangular cross section and mid-rib, presumably attached to the handled and spouted sprinkler of imported variety. Of very fine fabric, it has a glossy polished red slip. From layer 4 in N VIII/176-A 3. Variant 158a is similar but bigger than the arche type and is from layer 4 in Trench B II-III. Variant 158b is similar to above. Of fine ochreous red ware, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N VIII/137-C 3. Variant 158c is a handle fragment having a trimmed and grooved exterior and pierced interior at both sides. Of medium fabric, it is burnt black in its roughly oval section and treated with a light black slip over a brownish wash. From the cutting of rampart (fortification).

HR 159. A damaged receptacle of an incense burner with the usual flaring upper part and narrow central depression and attachment remnants of lug handles and hollow pedestalled-base filled up with lug fragment. Of coarse to medium fabric, it carries a reddish brown slip on both sides, though the interior is blackened due to burning of incense etc. From layer 2 in N III/121-B 2.

HR 160. Neck and shoulder fragment with a strap handle attached to the neck and shoulder. It is likely that a similar handle might have been on the other side as well. Of friable stone-ware fabric, it has a light greenish pale flanged exterior. From layer 2 in N II/20-C I (near Asvamedha boundary wall).


HR 162. Is a loop handle type fixed to the rim of the vessel at two diminutive points with a ribbed end and lug (open mouthed?) attachment near the rib. It is devoid of slip. From layer 6 in N VIII/190-E 1.
HR 163. Is a loop handle type, luted to the edge of a pan type of vessel having a sharply curved and short loop and lug attachment at the rim. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a chocolate brown slip on both sides and has a blackened appearance presumably due to use. From pit 5 in N III/381-E 5. Variant 163a is almost similar to above but without slip on the interior. From layer 2 in S IV/9-B 3.

HR 164. A lug handle fragment apparently fixed on either side of a pan for grip. It has knob of circular cross section near it, perhaps symmetrical at the other end too. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a bright red slip. From N (v) V/C 1.

Sprinkler types of three varieties viz., bottle necked flask types, perforated (mostly imported) and receptacle types. Flask types are, as a rule, made of the local clay and do not have handles attached to them. The perforated types, most of which are of imported variety, have either conical or knobs at the top, with handles attached. Lastly, the receptacle types are so termed because they can receive a lid to rest on the rim and are provided with handles and spouts. All these types occur throughout the valley in a large number. (Not illustrated)

HR 165. A medium-sized funnel-necked vessel of red ware with a beaded rim, pear-shaped body and disc base. Of coarse red ware fabric, it is indifferently fired and carries a dull red slip on the exterior only. From layer 2 in N II/171-E 4. Variant 165a also seems to be a bottle necked fragment with top missing. It is profusely ribbed, has sloping shoulder and hemispherical profile. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior only. From layer 3 in N III/381-A

Variant 165b has an externally bulged and internally ledged upper section of the open mouth and flattened rim. Of coarse red ware fabric, it carries a reddish brown slip. From dump in N II/101-C 3. Variant 165c has an outcurved and grooved rim and corrugated long neck. Of medium to fine fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is slipped also. From layer 2 in N XV/E 7. Variant 165d has a flaring thickened rim. Of medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is coated with lime over a red slip. From layer 2 in N IIC 1. Variant 165e has an externally thickened rim and is of coarse gritty fabric with a dull red slip. From layer 2 in S XI/180-C 3. Variant 165f is the smallest and thinnest specimen of this variety and comes from N (v) I/A 4. Variant 165g has an externally collared rim and long widening neck towards the square shoulder. Of fine and thin red ware fabric, it is treated with a reddish brown slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in S XI/120-B.

HR 166. Is a red ware neck fragment of a sprinkler type, with a nail-headed-flanged rim, long, narrow neck, and perforated shoulder at the top. It is a local coarse red ware imitation of an imported variety of sprinkler provided with handles and spouts. From N VII-148 B4 3. Variant 166a is thinner than above and has a wider neck and limited nail-headed rim. Variant 166b is of kaolin paste and has narrow thick truncated knob like receptacle, which has been luted with a narrow flange. Of medium fabric, it is from layer 2 in N III/121-B 2.

HR 167. Is a sprinkler fragment with a slender tall neck, sharpened flange and small conical opening. Of fine fabric, it is treated with a light brown slip. From layer 3 in N XI/F 6. It belongs to the imported variety. Variant 167a is similar to arche type with low conical knob and damaged but thick narrow flange. It is treated with a chocolate brown slip, below lime
coating. From layer 2 in S III/338-A 5. Variant 167b is heavier and has a vertical short knob and light brown slip. Of fine fabric, it is burnt grey in section. From layer 2 in S XI/99-B 5. Variant 167c is a neck fragment having a high conical knobbed top, perforated through. Of fine fabric, and carefully fired, it has a reddish brown slip, which retains its polish on parts of its body. It seems to have been imported. From layer 2 in VIII/194-C 1. Variant 167d is locally manufactured and is similar to above but with a smaller knob. Of medium to fine fabric, it is coated with lime wash. From layer 2 in N II/156-B 2. Variant 167e is again a local imitation with slightly higher conical knob than above. Of medium slip and is not uniformly fired. From layer 2 in N II/142-E 4. Variant 167f is heavier than above with a vertical high and thick knob, rounded short flange and short concave neck. Of fine fabric, it is treated with a light brown slip. From layer 2 in S XI/70-B 5.

HR 168. Is a standard type of high-necked sprinkler with flaring, flanged heavy rim and perforated through. Of fine fabric, it carries a bright red slip. From layer 5 in N VIII/148-A 5. Variant 168a is a sprinkler fragment with flattish flaring rim and is a standard type of handled and spouted sprinkler variety—the latter aspect is evidenced by the lack of secondary perforation in the wall and the occurrence of a number of spout fragments which would go with them by way of fabric and form. The neck of this type is usually shorter and the handle which is of triangular cross section i.e., mid-ribbed strap handle, is joined at the flaring mouth and the shoulder and body would have roughly ellipsoidal in shape, with a limited flattish or disc base. The spout to this type would be represented by one of the types which has a rather narrow perforation, short stem with flattened and thickened terminal and a panchy bottom. It has a sharpened flange. The flaring top, where the handle is joined, is broken. Of fine imported variety, it is treated with a light reddish brown slip. From layer 7 in N (v) II/C 20. Variant 168d is akin to above but has an elongated neck and is of imported variety. Variant 168e has a distinctive look and slender high neck. Of very well levigated clay, it is treated with a glossy red slip. Which is superficially analogue to the red polished ware. From layer 3 in N II/157-C 2. Variant 168f has a smaller flanged top and carries a reddish necked sprinkler type with a sharpened flange enclosing within a shallow cavity top. The secondary perforation is along the wall of the neck. Of fine imported variety it is treated with a glossy reddish brown slip. From layer 1 in N XVI/E 1.

HR 169. A neck fragment with a shallow receptacle mouth, and small thick flange. The secondary perforation appears to have been inside the ridge below the neck, which is broken. Of fine imported variety, it has a light brown slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in N VIII/303-A 3. Variant 169a has a slightly wider mouth and a sharply cut flange. It is coated with lime over a light reddish brown slip. Of fine red ware fabric, it comes from layer 2 in N XI/H 2. Variant 169b has a thick multi-grooved flange and wider opening. Of coarse local fabric, it is treated with a red slip. From layer 3 in N VIII. Variant 169c is also of local red ware with a very wide opening and deeper receptacle and correspondingly recessed interior. It is treated with a red slip on the exterior. From filling sealed by layer 2 in N II/62-C 2.

HR 170. Has a prominently deep receptacle, ridged and grooved flange and vertically high ridged neck, below which incised strokes are partly extant. It is burnt black in section and is treated with a dull red slip outside and inside up to the upper part of the receptacle. From pit A in
N VIII/D 2. Variant 170a has a wide-mouthed deep receptacle and multi-ribbed and drooping flange. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a red slip on the exterior and interior up to the rim. From layer 2 in N III/212-B 4. Variant 170b has a narrower mouth with weakly ribbed wall mildly and grooved flange. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a thin red slip. From layer 3 in N VIII/349-B 2. Variant 170c is thinner and slightly smaller than above with externally multi-grooved receptacle and sharpened flange. Of medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior and interior is coated with lime. From layer 3 in N XII/F 7. Variant 170d has a short and grooved receptacle, prominently wide and obliquely cut flange and short concave neck. Of medium to fine fabric, it carries a glossy reddish brown slip. From layer 5 in N VIII/148-A 5.

Receptacle type of sprinklers carrying mostly incised decorations (fig. 103).

HR. 171. Fragment of a bottle necked sprinkler with a shallow cylindrical, externally multi-grooved mouth, a prominent and decorated flange below it, a pronouncedly ridged shoulder, which is decorated with conventional blossomed lotus petals in incised designs and a twisted cord applique band in the lower part. The secondary perforation in this type is located on the thickest wall of the shoulder within the prominent ridge. Of fine red ware fabric and evenly fired, it is treated with a glossy red slip and subsequently coated with lime. From layer 2 in N VIII/194-D 3. Variant 171a is an ellipsoidal body part, similar to the arche type, with incised decoration on the shoulder and in three zones on the body between grooves, mainly of slashes and wavy lines respectively. It has a narrow rim base. Of extremely coarse and gritty texture, it is burnt black in section and slipped only near the shoulder and base. It seems to be a local imitation of the imported variety. This is the only specimen of this type, where a complete body is available. From N II/117-B 4. Variant 171b is similar to the arche type but with a grooved decorated top carrying stamped circlets and sharpened flange with incised oblique strokes. The shoulder below the rib is also having incised decorations. Of fine imported variety, it has a glossy red slip. From layer 3 in N VIII/147-B 2. Variant 171c is again of very fine fabric, having incised herring bone design of the vertical rim and blossomed lotus on the flange. It is also slipped and is from layer 3 in XXI/69-B 1. Variant 171d has a profusely decorated receptacle and flange, chiefly of incised pattern, variously of herring bone, circlet and vertical slashes etc. It is of ochreous red ware fabric and devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N VIII/139-C 3. Variant 171e is heavier and has a taller receptacle, lower part of which is having incised vertical strokes within irregular grooves and a thick decorated flange. It is slipped only on the decorated part and inside the receptacle. From N VIII/140-B 3. Variant 171f which has a vertically ridged shoulder, carries oblique slashes on the wall of the receptacle and shoulder and flange has a blossomed lotus design. From N (v) I. Variant 171g has a taller receptacle with oblique strokes and decorated on top with dots and on the wall alternately with oblique strokes and dots within grooves and prominently drooping flange further decorated with an oblique row of dots within mildly raised bands. It is devoid of slip but has an over burnt texture and patchy exterior. From layer 5 in N VIII/148-A 3. Variant 171h is only a neck fragment of fine red ware with a small receptacle and incised lines on the flange. It carries a light red slip. From layer 2 in N II/82-C 2.
HR 172. Is a shoulder fragment with ridge broken and perforation in section with a horizontal zone—below the ridge from which has been provided a projecting, scalloped wavy flounces, apparently by pinching and finger work. Of medium fabric, it has a shiny red polished slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in N II/101-B 2. Variant 172a has a very high vertical ridge and profusely decorated and sharply sloping zone consisting of circlets alternated by vertical slashes above ribbing and succeeded by a wide band of oblique (in clock-wise direction) slashes with circlets at the bottom, followed further by a neat oblique band comprising herring bone within ribs and with a row of stamped circlets under it. The decoration below the applique band is not fully extant but would seem to be of arched design with leaf pattern in the intervening zones. Of medium fabric, it is smooth on the surface and has a thin slip. From layer 2 in N II/450-B 2. Variant 172b is again a shoulder fragment with thick uneven sloppy prominent ridge (enclosing a secondary perforation) above the decoration, comprising twin vertical incised strokes at intervals. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is from layer 2 in N VIII/115-A 4.

(fig. 104)

HR 173. Is a very ornate type of receptacle-mouthed flanged necked, shoulder ridged and secondary perforation variety, which is made further unique by the occurrence of a very ornate arched short handle on the shoulder with open 'nakara' mouth at the two joining ends, besides a decorated short spout type on the corresponding opposite side on the shoulder. The neck and mouth are missing. The decorated shoulder zone of this roughly ellipsoidal bodied vessel has variously incised notches, large incised petals with hatched intervening sections, criss-crossed incised zone above and applique band carrying obliquely stamped rows of stud, from which hang arch festoons with tassels and incised stroke pattern within ribs. The lower part, below the shoulder ridge is hand-made and had been luted to the upper part in the same way as the handle and spout have been luted. The elaborate ornamentation may indicate its ritualistic use. Of medium fabric, it is from N III/109-C 5. Variant 173a has a slightly narrowing receptacle, thicker at the base outside and a slightly drooping flange with decorations of circlets within vertical strokes on the side wall and incised keyhole design on the flange. Of medium to fine red ware fabric, it is slipped only on the upper decorated zone and interior up to the narrow perforation. From layer 4 in N II/34-E 5.

HR 174. Is only a neck fragment of fine fabric with a drooping flange decorated with a keyhole pattern. It has a light red slip on the exterior. From layer 5 in N VIII/142-A 3. Variant 174a is distinguished by a prominence drooping flange decorated with three tiers of blossomed lotus petals by applique loops with a band of incised slashes within two ribnings on the narrow neck below the flange. From layer 2 in N III/265-D 3. Variant 174b is a neck fragment of local ochreous red ware from which the luted receptacle is missing revealing the jointed zone and having a six-petalled blossomed lotus design with intervening multi-grooved zones, incised on the flange. From layer 1 in VIII/199-A 7.

HR 175. A multi-spouted, high-necked fragment with ribbings instead of the usual ridge and without any secondary perforation. It has two spout openings, one more or less extant on the body and the other deducible mainly from the evidence of visible luting. It appears that there must have been more spout opening all around the body. The exact purpose is not apparent but
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Fig. 105
may have a nāga cult association (?). Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a reddish brown slip on the exterior. From pit N III/108-B 5.

Various types of lids, wine cups and spouts (fig. 105).

HR 176. A knobbed lid type of red ware with flaring externally grooved and flanged rim base, convex ledged and ridged profile with a knob at the top which, however, is missing. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is treated with a dull light brown slip on both sides, interior having a subsequent lime coating. From N VII/179-D 1. Variant 176a is similar to above but has a thinner rim base and is ribbed below the knob, which is missing. Of the same fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a dull black slip over a reddish brown wash. From layer 3 in N VII/342-E 5.

HR 177. Is a hollow conical knobbed top of HR 176 type of lid. It is treated with dull brownish slip below a thin lime coating on the exterior. From layer 3 in N II/113-E 2. Variant 177a is an unique knob of a lid having a thick flange tapering to a thick knobbed terminal. From layer 1 in N IV-126 C 1. Variant 177b has a convex topped terminal and is hollow. Externally treated with a dull red slip, it is from layer 2 in S II/66-A 4.

HR 178. Has a flanged and broad terminal. Devoid of slip, it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N II/156-D 5.

HR 179. Is of diminutive size and complete by itself, having a very low conical knob and sharpened flange over the rim base. From layer 2 in N II/160 D 4.

HR 180. Is a corrugated hollow knob, very narrow neck, widening towards the flattish end. From layer 1 in N II/157-C 2.

HR 181. A red ware lid with a solid button knob within a shallow cup-like receptacle at the centre and flattened base. Of coarse gritty fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a bright red slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in N XIII/A 3. Variant 181a is a fragmentary knob, having a broad rib on the exterior. Of medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in Trench BtXXIX-XXXIV.

HR 182. Unique conical lid with an internally sharply flanged and recessed rim base and deep hollow receptacle. On the exterior there are decoration, mainly comprising zig-zag lines in two zones with a terminal conventional blossomed lotus loops below the flat button knob. Of thick coarse fabric, it is coated with lime. From layer 2 in N III/306-C 4. Variant 182a is similar to above but is burnt grey in section and has a lotus pattern. From layer 3 in N II/118-B 1.

HR 183. A knobbed lid of red ware with prominently grooved and internally thickened rim base, enclosing a shallow recessed receptacle, short receding sides, carinated to a solid convex button knob. Of medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N XI/ 4. It has got a number of variants differing mainly red ware having a mildly concave profile. This type could have been used as a drinking cup also.

HR 184. Conical lid of red ware with a flat rim base tapering to a button knob with a corresponding depression at the interior. Of coarse red fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is devoid of slip. From N II/102-B 1. Variant 184a is a fragmentary lid of red ware with an elongated
stem and button knob. The interior has also the corresponding narrow depression. Of medium fabric, it is well fired but is devoid of slip. From N II/96-B 5. Unstratified (silt).

HR 185. Is a conical goblet type of lid with a flattened rim base tapering profile and short stem. Of medium to fine fabric, it is coated with lime. From layer 3 in S II/191-B 1.

HR 186. Is a drinking cup type having a featureless rim and a flat knobbled base. Its inner cavity is filled. Of medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section. From layer 3 in S II-65/D 5. Variant 186a is only a rim fragment carrying a stamped decoration consisting of petalled flowers repeated in a row above the ribs enclosing embossed row of dots. From layer 3 in N III/381-C 5.

HR 187. A cup type, probably used as lid also, of ochreous red ware whose rim is not available but has a widened receptacle, short stamp widening into a pedestalled base. The cavity at the inner base is not completely filled. Interior is devoid of slip, while the exterior is treated with a wash.

HR 188. A drinking cup with a flaring rim, tapering corrugated body ending in a thicker flat knob with corresponding narrow depression in the inner base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt grey in section and is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in VIII/223-B 2.

HR 189. Originally similar to types 186 and 187 but the broken rim base has been ribbed to a flattened short stem, it is also burnt black in section. From layer 2 in N II/62-B 3.

HR 190. Unique type, probably used as drinking cup, with a pointed button base and elliptical profile (rim missing). The inner base is carefully wet, smoothed to a rounded surface, while the exterior carries an incised decoration. This type is very often represented in the sculptures at Nāgārjunakonda and Amaravati as cups. From layer 4 in NK (v) II/C 5.

HR 191. Has flattened rim and almost vertical sides. Of fine ochreous red ware fabric, it is treated with a wash on both sides. It might have served as a lid as well. From layer 5 in N VIII/148-D 4.

HR 192. Is a simple truncated low conical lug spout attached to the shoulder of the pierced perforation on the main vessel. Of coarse red fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 3 in N III/70-E 5. Variant 192a is similar to above but with a conical shape. Of thin coarse grey fabric, it has a red wash on the exterior. From layer 2 in N XV/C 2. Variant 192b is of diminutive size with a fine slender perforation. Of medium ochreous fabric, it is from layer 3 in N XI/F 6. Variant 192c is a simplified short spout with thickened and depressed terminal, mainly of lug variety, though neatly joined to the main vessel. Of coarse fabric, it has reddish slip. From layer 4 in N III/394-C 1. Variant 192d is a lug spout of irregular shape on the expanding shoulders. From layer 2 in N XI/C 1.

HR 193. Is an unique zoomorphic type with a 'bull' device for the head infused into the spout, complete with horns, hump, ears and nostrils. This is a highly realistic specimen. The perforation is fitted to the forehead and has a corresponding narrow piercing at the body end. Of medium to fine ochreous fabric, it has a shiny brownish slip. From layer 2 in N VIII/172-A 5. Its occurrence in the ghāṭ area with Brāhmanical (Śiva) temple may answer for the animal motif.
HR 194. Has less deeper punched end. At its flattened rim, there is a pierced narrow opening, which widens towards the other end. Of coarse red fabric, it is burnt grey in section and treated with a dull red slip. From layer 4 in N VIII/172-A 5.

HR 195. Is smaller but has a pouch beneath the opening. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section and treated with a red slip. From layer 5 in N (v) I/B 4.

HR 196. A spout fragment, belonging to the sprinkler type of imported variety comprising a narrow stem turned at about 45 angle with deeper body near the main vessel and button type perforated terminal. It is luted to the body of the main vessel with corresponding narrow perforation and has a mid ribbed underside. Of medium to fine red ware fabric, it carries a glossy red slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in N VIII/241-E 3. Variant 196a is shorter than the arche type and has a glossy pale red slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in S III/149-A 3. Variant 196b is similar to above but with a plain beaded and bigger opening at the inner and outer end. Of medium to fine ochreous red fabric, it is coated with lime. From layer 3 in S III/149. Variant 196c has a small beaded rim with a narrow opening widening towards the other end. Of coarse red ware fabric, it is burnt grey in section and carries a brown wash. From layer 2 in N (v) II/d 4.

Large sized jars for storing purpose and decorated ones for ritualistic use. (Not illustrated)

HR 197. A remarkably large storage-jar with a narrow mouth, nail-head and internally grooved rim, bulging out into a regular ellipsoidal body. Of coarse fabric, largely hand-made but for the rim, it has been treated with a thin dull red slip and subsequently coated with lime on the exterior. From layer 2 in N II/155 D 5. Variant 197a is akin to the arche type but smaller and with an externally rolled rim and the shoulder zone carrying an incised wavy line in between two pairs of grooves. The exterior is treated with a red slip and subsequently coated with lime. The luting of all the three parts, in which such huge jars were made, can be felt in the middle of the interior and below the rim. Black patches due to indifferent firing can also be notched on the exterior. From layer 2 in N VI/B 4. Variant 197b is still smaller than above and carries a bright red slip. The shoulder is decorated with incised wavy lines between grooves and the interior coated with lime. From layer 2 in N VIII/168.

HR 198. Is a large-sized wide-mouthed trough type with inturned externally, elliptically collared rim and deep bulging profile. Of coarse fabric, it carries finger nail decoration on the exterior below the neck.

HR 199. Is a typical profusely decorated large-sized jar of very common occurrence, with splayed out internally collared and externally cordoned rim. Its spheroidal body carries incised, stamped and applique designs comprising variously of oblique strokes on the rim, multi-grooved at the junction of neck and shoulder, even petalled lotus with shooting stalks in between the criss-cross patterns followed by herring-bone design over a pair of finger nail bands, themselves enclosing raised lotus bud at intervals. It has a bright red slip on the exterior and is coated with lime.
B-I—(ii) DECORATED SHERDS (figs. 106-107)

As stated earlier, pottery profusely decorated carrying incised, stamped, moulded and in applique designs have been common at this site. Most of the decorations are found on wine jars and cups for domestic purposes, while on medium-sized pots, miniature vessels and also large-sized jars, depicting religious themes.

The subjects mainly comprise floral and geometric designs, human figures, both male and female and animals. While the floral designs are naturalistic, a few of the remaining figures appear to be symbolic, although many human and animal figurines also give a naturalistic view. All the decorations are confined to the upper half of the pots.

The floral designs consist of lotus, petals, buds, creepers, leaves, twisted cord, thumb and herringbone patterns. The geometric designs are mostly circles, criss-cross, chequer, triangles and zig-zag, although rhombuses, rectangles, dots and semi-circles are also depicted.

Dancing and musical scenes with musical instruments shown on some pottery is very interesting. Both male and female figures occur in these decoration. In one case, a female figure serves as a handle. Besides, a sherd depicting Krishna (?) playing on flute, or a figure of Buddha can also be identified on some sherds. Other auspicious symbols are nandipāda, mythical makara (fish), svastika, trirātha, chakra etc.

Animals like lion, bull, monkey and elephant are also beautifully executed. Other decorations are simple grooves around the body, strokes, loops, ladder, honey-comb, scaley designs like pine-apple fruit etc.

Some of the selected sherds are described below (fig. 106)

I

Is a red ware fragment of a small to medium-sized vase, carrying a female figure with her left hand uplifted. The face has been very skillfully executed and the wavy hair-do is quite attractive. Palm has got three major lines and the four extant figures are uniformly divided. The wrist is full of ornaments. It could have been a scene depicting a 'Śālabhāṇjikā' variety. The vase appears to be meant for serving wine. Such representations are very common in the sculptures of Nāgarjunakonda. From N II/86-2.

II

Unique body fragment of coarse hand-made large-sized trough or jar whose otherwise insignificant make-up is highlighted by the occurrence in panels of what would be a singing and dancing party, of which only three figures are extant, though in a worn-out state due to the poor fabric. The figures comprise from left to right hand raised across the body, and third a standing figure with legs bent inwards and playing on a harp held in the hands across the waist. The exterior is decorated with a greyish slip. From layer 1 in N II/22-B 4.

III

Sherds with impressed cameos in panel:
Hand-made deep bowl on good quality ochreous ware, fired evenly to a light brown hue with a featureless rim internally slightly ledged, externally ribbed and carrying incised slashes in two rows above and below the ridge. The body is decorated with impressed cameos in
panels, mainly of Vrikshika or Salabhanjika type of Nayika. The details indicate careful preparation of the mould. The exterior carries a light brownish wash. From layer 1 in N VIII/199-A 3.

IV Is a jar fragment (top missing) with multi-ribbed expanding shoulder, carrying face of a male figure in applique. Only two eyes below the forehead and the prominently protruding nose are extant. Of coarse and thick red ware fabric, it is slipped on the exterior. From layer 3 in S IV/7-C 1.

V Another hand-made deep bowl with rim damaged but roughly similar to IV, an incised nail slash below the rim within grooves and with impressed panels, probably depicting a seated female figure whose features are not clearly noticeable. Of medium fabric, it is from layer 2 in N IV/122-E 4.

VI Is a body fragment carrying an embossed design in two apartments, separated by stamped criss-cross within vertical grooves. In one of these has been depicted a mithuna couple, of which only the male, holding the hand of female is extant. The other side shows another male figure, possibly some God (?) having arrows at the back. Of medium red ware fabric, it is unslipped. From layer 2 in N III/270-B 2.

VII Fragment of a hand-made big bowl with the rim part missing and the zone below rim decorated with stamped figure in bold relief, probably of a repetitive nature. The figure is that of seated female and with hands resting on the lap akin to Hariti (?). Of medium fabric. From layer 3 in N III/101-A 5.

VIII Is a neck fragment of a receptacle type of sprinkler without the ridge and mouth. It is distinguished by its neck decorated in applique with a seated female deity on the four sides which are trimmed. Only one deity is completely available, two are partly extant and the fourth is missing. Its ritualistic use cannot be ruled out. From layer 2 in N II/116-A 3.

IX Is a red ware fragment with impressed cameo decoration, displaying a seated male playing in flute. It is likely to be one of the scenes of Krishna playing on flute. From N II/81-2.

X Body fragment probably of a sprinkler type having a band of long oblique (clock-wise) incised slashed terminal row of dots, above panels of animals, of which only two are extant in a mutilated way, namely the maned lion and the bull, facing each other though in different panels and stamped in bold relief, of a medium fabric, it is from layer 2 in N III/101/A 5.

XI Is a body fragment having stamped or embossed lion in relief and stamped circles within a wavy band in applique above and incised vertical short strokes within grooves below, possibly depicting some more animals on all sides. Of medium fabric, it is unslipped. From layer 3 in S II/223-C 5.

XII A shallow soap-stone ware container, possibly for toilet purposes, having a featureless rim and flat base. The exterior is distinguished by an ornamental decoration of lion face holding a curved band in applique, possibly to serve as a handle for gripping. Of thin section, it is smoothened on both sides. From layer 3 in N II/398-B 1 (NK XI).

1 These three (1-3) specimens, all from layer 1, show how the art was still at a high point and not on decline, when Ikshvaku power ceased to be.
XIII Fragment of a decorated globular pot with a hand modelled hollow female figure in applique on its sides. The body of the figure is prominently stamped with circllets and navel is pinched. As the figure is not inter-connected with the body, it might have served as a decorated handle. Of medium fabric, the pot together with the female figure is treated with a reddish slip. From layer 5 in N VII D/1-2.

XIV Is a body fragment decorated with incised criss-cross over a raised band of twisted cord pattern. Further below are depicted in impressed design, a bull on one side and only a hand of human figure, on the other. It is slipped on the exterior upto the band. From layer 2 in N II/106-A 4.

XV Depicts below a raised band of twisted cord pattern, an embossed or stamped monkey figure and fan-shaped loops inside and outside the stamped semicircle. Surface find.

XVI Is a red ware lid fragment with impressed decorations of an elephant and a lion in bold relief, in-between the blossomed lotus and wavy design. We do not know if it had anything to do with Simhala (Sri Lanka) residents in the valley. Unstratified.

XVII Is a jar fragment of red ware carrying a ten-petalled lotus, of which only seven are extant and finger-nail design on a raised band in applique.

XVIII Shoulder fragment of a jar showing a panel of stamped rosette design with a central medallion and ten petals with attached buds of stamped circllets alternately shooting above and below, while a wavy line and oblique slashes are above them, a band of herring-bone pattern and raised band in finger nail cordon pattern near the waist. Of coarse fabric, it has a slipped exterior and lime coated interior. From layer 2 in XXI/C 2.

XIX Having a design of rosette pattern with weakly impressed petals and a bunch of similar buds attached to it by grooved stems. Slipped exterior. From layer 2 in N XI/G 3.

XX to XXV Are the body fragment of different jars representing varieties of stamped, raised-impressed or sunk-impressed medallions usually by raised band of finger-nail cordon pattern. All of them are of coarse red ware and slipped on the exterior.

XXVI A body fragment carrying a band of lozenges with foliage among loops both above and below in embossed style. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip. From layer 2 in N III/121-E 4.

XXVII Body fragment probably of a jar type showing decoration of intertwined and locked twin creepers with flower in the form of fan-shaped loops in the corner zones and with a band of loops in a row above them. Of medium fabric, it is from layer 2 in N II/86-D 1.

XXVIII Shoulder fragment carrying a design of impressed medallion stalks themselves brought together by an impressed medallion terminal. The whole design is above a row of incised wavy lines enclosed within rows of incised slashes. It is slipped on the exterior. From layer 2 in N XI/B 3.

(FIG. 107)

XXIX Hand-made decorated ritualistic vessel (Buddhist, rim damaged) with a closing narrow mouth, well developed high flattish shoulder, tapering body and limited disc base. The shoulder zone is decorated in two bands, the upper of continuous closely laid loops—
conventionally depicting a blossomed flower and with a lower band of auspicious symbols in panels like svastika, triratna, dharmachakras, twin fish, lotus, ankuśa, tree of life (of kalpataru) symbol, pūrṇaghāta etc. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is devoid of slip. From pit 3 sealed by layer 2 in N IV/387-C 3. Variant XXIXa is just the shoulder fragment depicting below closely laid loops, the auspicious symbols in panels of which only three are extant, namely twin fish, dharmachakra and svastika. Of coarse fabric, it is hand-made. From layer 2 in N II/101-B 1. Variant XXIXb is a similar fragment of above type depicting only a svastika and possibly dharmachakra, which is partly extant. From layer 2 in N II/2-A 4.

XXX Has horizontally splayed out and vertically cut rim, which carries on its top stamped triangles in relief and sides were provided with lug handles. It is treated with a bright red slip. From layer 3 in S XI/99-C 3.

XXXI Unique rim fragment of a basin with horizontally flaring square cut and grooved rim, prominently ridged on the top carrying twisted cord pattern and with a series of perforation in panels under the rim. Multiple perforated body indicates its use as ‘incense burner’ (?) Of coarse to medium fabric, it has a dull red slip. From layer 4 in N II/296-A 5.

XXXII Small to medium-sized vase fragment with a grooved and flanged rim, having twisted cord design on the flanged edge and multi-ribbed shoulder, decorated with incised slashes. Of medium fabric, it is burnt grey in section and carries light slip on the exterior. From layer 3 in N (v) II/D 1.

XXXIII Is a drinking cup fragment with flattish thickened rim and tapering sides, decorated with stamped triangles, hatched with loops inside and outside. From layer 2 in Tr. BXXI-XXVI.

XXXIV Is a shallow dish (complete) carrying stamped decoration of herring bone, crosses and blossomed lotus on the exterior. From layer 3 in S III/18-I.

XXXV Has a flattish and thickened rim carrying panelled band of alternating eight loop petalled flower design with a central weak boss and six miniature four loop petalled flowers in zones within a panel. From layer 2 in S II. Varaint XXXVa is slightly bigger than above and has roughly a flattish rim and sides blunted to a flattish base. The side zone is decorated with eight loop petalled flower and zig-zag hatched vertically stamped lines alternately within two rows of stamped small and slightly bigger dots. The base has a looped petalled blossomed lotus pattern. Of coarse red ware fabric, it is from layer 2 in Tr. B XXI-XXVI.

XXXVI Has a row of stamped circlets enclosed within two rows of incised herring bone pattern. Of fine ochreous fabric, it is from layer 2 in N (v) II/A 4.

XXXVII Very shallow lid-cum-dish or platter with weakly grooved flattish rim carving to a flattish base. The exterior is decorated with stamped design mainly of circlets between rows of vertical strokes and succeeded by rows of dots. The design on the bottom which is perhaps of a lotus flower is damaged. From layer 2 in N II/180- 3.

XXXVIII Is an unique flat-based (upper part damaged) vase, sides decorated with stamped quadriloop flower design repeated in panels above a ribbing and projecting edge of the base. It is
distinguished by a perforation in the centre of a flower apparently for suspension. It must have been a narrow-mouthed vase as is indicated by the right interior. It carries a pale red-slipped exterior. From layer 2 in N II/302-C 2.

XXXIX Miniature moulded mug type vessel having bands of oblique herring bones within lines and fan-like closely laid loops below it. From layer 2 in N VIII/194-C 1. Variant XXXIXa is again a miniature moulded mug of light ochreous red ware with an everted and externally thickened and cut rim and internally ledged with a short sloping neck, prominent ledge shoulder and hemispherical body. The decorated zones comprise above high and narrow loops variously succeeded by the conventional blossomed lotus on the base. From layer 2 in N VII/197/D 4. Variant XXXIXb very small thick miniature shouldered-mug with flattened and thickened rim. The design on the body comprises successively zones of closely laid loops above long oblique herring bone designs alternating with plain slashes with the wheel design on the base. From layer 3 in N VIII/108-B 4.

XL A shallow bowl or chalice fragment with an out-turned square-cut rim and tapering sides. The sides are decorated with continuous row of long loops. Of medium fabric, it is treated with a reddish slip on both sides. From layer 3 in N II/95 D 4. Variant XLa whose base is missing differs in its bigger size. The design is almost same but for a lower zone of decoration probably comprising wavy ribbing. It has a deeper base. From layer 3 in N II/81-E 1. Variant XLb has an everted grooved rim and vertical sides. The rim and sides are decorated with incised strokes within the grooves. Of medium ochreous fabric, it is from layer 2 in S II/344.

XLI Is a knobbled-stopper with a flange carrying a blossomed lotus design on the top and flange. It might have served as a stopper for sprinkler types. From layer 3 in S II.

XLII A fragmentary conical lid, carrying a decoration of floral design on the exterior. Unstratified.

XLIII (Not described)

XLIV Shoulder fragment probably of a sprinkler type showing decoration in two bands, the upper of conventional petals of flowers in angular zig-zag hatched lines and a very large row of impressed blossomed lotus petal motif below. Of medium to coarse fabric and pale red ochreous clay, it is from layer 2 in N VIII/137-D 4.

XLV A shallow lid fragment with thick flattened-rim base, vertical sides carinated to a tapering conical top carrying a petal of impressed blossomed lotus motif on its exterior. Of medium ochreous red ware, it is from layer 2 in N II/194-E 4.

XLVI A small sherd carrying on its exterior an incised honey-comb scaly design resembling that of pineapple fruit. Of medium to fine fabric, it has a polished red slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in N II/157-C 4.

XLVII Has wavy line within incised oblique below two leaves in sunk-embossed design. From layer 3 in S IV/9-B 2.
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XLVII Unique type of short lug handle attached to the body of a globular jar, decorated with incised lines and grooves respectively. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is burnt black in section and is treated with a slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in N II/2-B 4.

XLIX Fragment of a squattish straight-sided vase with incised slashes in relief within grooves enclosing a band of incised double zig-zag. Of coarse fabric, it is slipped on the exterior. From layer 2 in N XIII/A 3.

L Carries three successive bands of decoration within oblique incised strokes, namely, incised cheque pattern, stamped flower of six looped petals alternately with a wavy band within grooves; and a row of a pair of strokes with incised oblique slashes around. Of medium to fine fabric, it is from layer 2 in N (v) IV/A 4.

LI Has slightly obliquely cut rim base and sides carinated to a flattish top. The sides and tops are decorated with loops and zig-zag hatchings respectively with a row of stamped dots at the carination. Of medium buff-coloured kaolin paste, it is coated with lime on both sides. From layer 3 in S II/243.

LII Body fragment of a sprinkler type pottery having decorated design comprising arched concentric bands with incised row of slashes between them in continuous loops, each pair being joined by an impressed knobbed studs and having a fan-shaped loop floral design between the arches. The lower zones comprise horizontal applique band of incised ornament with broad loops and tassels handing from the junction of each pair. Of medium to fine fabric, it is of creamy whitish clay with a slip of the same material and has polished exterior. From layer 2 in N II/155-A 3. Variant LIIa is similar to the arche type in decoration but does not have any design below the twisted cord applique band and the upper part has only three arches below grooves instead of four. It is of white kaolin paste of medium fabric and carries a slip of the same solution. From pit sealed by layer 3 in N II/144-C 3. Variant LIIb has leaf-shaped oblique loops over a row of incised herring bone pattern within grooves and overlying an applique band with embossed studs. The decoration below the band is the same as of the arched type. Of medium red ware fabric, it is slipped on the exterior. From layer 3 in N VIII/147-C 3. Variant LIIc is thinner and finer than above with stamped row of semi circles and circlets within grooves and below conventional petals of flowers in angular zig-zag and vertical lines. From layer 2 in N XI/D 2.

LIII Is a fragment probably of a squat-bodied pot with sunk impressed flower medallion among loops and within the grooves. It is treated with a bright red slip. From layer 3 in N XXI/H 5.

LIV A shoulder fragment with incised design of vertical strokes on groove above almond shaped marks. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a bright red slip on both sides. From layer 5 in N XI/G-7.

LV Body fragment with dividing parallel lines incised like a ladder pattern enclosing within row of circlets. Coarse red, it is slipped on both sides. From layer 2 in N XXI.

LVI Has two bands of incised criss-cross pattern below alternating hatched triangles and rhombuses. Externally slipped and internally lime coated. From layer 3 in XXI/D 5.

LVII Showing incised criss-cross and rows of circles enclosed within oblique parallel grooves. Of coarse grey ware, it is devoid of slip. Variant LVIIa is a body fragment of hand-made
jar with bands of decorated designs plainly of incised and stamped nature, comprising from top to bottom, incised triangles, stamped studs and conventional twisted cord pattern over another stamped design of mythical makara (fish) over a bottom of embossed studs. Of medium fabric. From layer 2 in N I/86-A 3.

LVIII Has successively grooved, incised leaf design stamped circles and oblique stokes over the raised band of twisted cord pattern. Of medium red ware fabric, it carries a wash. From layer 3 in S II/71.

LIX A shoulder fragment of a round bodied pot carrying twin nandipāla design above a groove, treated with a red slip on the exterior, it is of coarse fabric. From layer 3 in N II/34-E 5.

LX Is a jar fragment carrying finger-tip design on a raised band and moulded nandipādas (?)

LXI Has incised vertical rectangle each enclosing a pair of convex groove away from each other. Slipped exterior and lime coated interior. From N XIII.

LXII Has incised design of two rows of criss-cross pattern below a partly extended encircled lotus. Slipped on the exterior. From layer 1 in N (v) VI/D 1.

LXIII Has incised wavy line within herring bone pattern and oblique slashes. Chocolate brown slipped exterior. From trough in N XXI/D 1.

(īg, 108)

LXIV Has an applique band with twisted cord design and stamped row of dots below a row of incised strokes and grooves. Of medium to fine fabric, it is from layer 2 in N (v) IV/A 4.

LXV Shoulder fragment showing stamped circlets above a row of wavy nail slashes within grooves with central design of stamped rosette pattern with attached stalks. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a dull pale red slip. From layer 2 in N XI.

LXVI Has narrow diamond bands out in relief, within grooves above a row of notches. Slipped exterior. From layer 2 in N (v) IV/A 4.

LXVII Has prominent band of criss-cross pattern within grooves. Of coarse thick red ware fabric, it is devoid of slip. Variant LXVIIa is having incised bands of check pattern and double zigzag enclosed within short incised slashes. Of coarse grey ware, it is devoid of slip but internally coated with lime. From layer 2 in N XII/A 3. Variant LXVIIb has diamond cut pattern and a row of oblique strokes within grooves. Slipped exterior. From layer 2 in N XIII. Variant LXVIIc is a jar fragment with incised ornament comprising conventionalised foliage and bud below a band of criss-cross pattern enclosed by a row of short incised slashes. The whole of it is topped by a row of deeply notched pattern. Of coarse thick red ware fabric, it is devoid of slip. From layer 2 in N XIII/D 3.

LXVIII Has a rectangular scratch. From layer 2 in N XV/B 1.

LXIX Has a bisected rectangle within grooves over a reddish brown surface. From layer 2 in S III/84-B 5.

LXX Fragment of a dish with slightly incurved featureless rim and flattish base, carrying an incised graffiti mark of rectangle divided into squares only one of which is fully extant. From layer 2 in N XI.
LXXI Representing perhaps a plan of some monastery. From layer 2 in N XVI/A 2.
LXXII Has a triangular scratch, which is also not fully extant. From layer 2 in N X/C 3.
LXXIII A shoulder fragment having incised ‘śvastika’ graffiti over a slipped exterior. From layer 3 N IV/23-D 5.
LXXIV Neck fragment of a vessel with out-turned clubbed form having an incised ‘dāmaru’ mark over double grooves. Of coarse fabric, it is treated with a red slip. From dump sealed by layer 1 in N II/28-E 3. Its occurrence from within the citadel area, along with the ritual ‘dāmaru’ design engraved could indicate the affiliation of royalty in religion.

INSCRIBED SHERDS

(fig. 109)

H (a) Fragment of a trough type in red ware with slightly inturned thickened and externally elliptically collared rim and widening shoulder, carrying incised slashes below grooves. Further below are three post-firing inscribed letters HA RE JA (?) (not fully extant) in Brāhmī script. Palaeographically it may pertain to late third century A.D. From layer 2 in N XV/A 4.

H (b) A body fragment of a huge jar with two letters which are not fully extant. May be ‘RāKA’ (?) early to middle of third century A.D. From layer 4 in S IV/4 (Stupa No. 9).

H (c) Shoulder fragment of a funnel necked Kājā type with two inscribed letters ‘BUDDHA’ may be dated to third century A.D. From A in S IV/47 (Stupa No. 9).

H (d) A fragment of a black-slipped deep bowl with incurved vertically cut rim and expanding profile. It has two inscribed letters “BUSA”. Middle of third century A.D. From layer 2 in N XII/133-D 5 (University).

H (e) Body fragment of a black-slipped bowl having an inscribed letter “BO”. From layer 2 in S IV/47 (Stūpa No. 9), third century A.D.

H (f) Rim fragment of a black-slipped ware with internally mildly chamfered rim, on the exterior of which is inscribed "AGABUTT", obviously a proper name in prakrit for its Sanskrit equivalent ‘Agrahūtri’—may be the name of one of the monks in the monastery from where the sherd comes. Later half of the third century A.D. From layer 2 in N IV/122 E 4.

H (g) Rim fragment of a black-slipped bowl with incurved featureless rim and shoulder, having an inscription ‘MARAKAJUSA’, probably an incomplete proper name. Late third century A.D. From layer 2 in N III/B 4.

H (h) Small fragment of a black-and-red ware bowl with one inscribed letter ‘MA’. From layer 2 in S IV/47 (Stūpa No. 9). Early to middle of third century A.D.

H (i) Body fragment of a huge jar of red ware carrying three inscribed letters "A KA DA" below a fingertip decoration which is partly extant and over a single letter, which is damaged. It also appears to be a proper name. From layer 1 in NK XI/E 2.

1Most of the good number of black-slipped or black-and-red sherds carrying inscribed names could belong to individual monks. While the red ware vessel records may belong to the monastery or temple.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS.

H (j) Shoulder fragment of red ware vase with two letters "BUDA". Middle of third century A.D. From layer 2 in N XII/133 (University).

H (k) Fragment of a black-and-red shallow dish with incurved featureless rim and straight side, carrying an inscribed letter (?). From layer 2 in N VII/302 (Ghätt area). Early mid third century A.D.

H (l) Shoulder fragment of a round pot of red ware carrying two letters "GOMA", probably forming the part of a proper name, the first half of which is missing on the sherd. May be dated to the late third century A.D. From layer 2 in N II/158-B 4.

H (m) Body fragment of a decorated red ware jar type having incised criss-cross and lotus designs over a post-firing inscription "NAKATARAR VÍHĀRA" (VÍHĀRA better than heaven) within bands, enclosed on two sides by incised oblique strokes, themselves with two grooves. It is treated with a bright red slip on the exterior. The inscription may be dated roughly to the late third century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. From layer 2 in NK III/B4-2.

H (n) Shoulder fragment of a medium-sized pot of red ware having one letter "KO" may be dated to late third century or early fourth century A.D. From layer 2 in NK VII/D 2.

H (o) A black-and-red ware dish fragment with incurved thickened rim and having some irregular and illegible marks on the exterior. From layer 4 in Tr. B I-III.

H (p) Rim fragment of a black-slipped ware bowl having an inscribed letter "DHA", possible part of Budha (BUDHA). From layer 2 in NK XXIV.

H (q) Fragment of a black-slipped deep bowl with internally chamfered rim and side having one inscribed letter "SA". From layer 2 NK III/B 3.

H (r) A large-sized carinated vessel fragment of red ware with an out-turned clubbed rim and steep shoulder, which carries two post-firing inscribed letters "MAKA", probably a proper name (in dialect form). It may also be dated to be same period as above. From layer 2 in S III/84-A 2.

(c) Pottery from the Excavations - Early Medieval Period

As mentioned elsewhere the sites and structures belonging to this period have yielded a particular type of pottery which is altogether different in form and fabric from the preceding periods. The majority consists of coarse grey ware, though a few sherds of dull red ware also also found in its association. The fabric as a rule, is coarse and in very few cases, coarse to medium. Here again, sand particles and other gritty material have been mixed in the paste. The entire pottery seems to be wheel made and is fired under the reducing conditions in the kiln. It is interesting to note that their provenance is mostly from the hill fort or river bank sectors from one end to the other (SXXI-NXXXIII), which had been frequently in the medieval times for ceremonial use.

The surface treatment is very poor. Different types of slips have not been used in the pots. The commonest slip is light grey and in a few cases black. The decorations are also conventional and stereotyped. Incised oblique strokes, leaf design, wavy lines simple and raised band in applique are the only decorations.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

The analogous types occur at Elleshwaram, Hampi, Maski, Hastinapura etc. Quite a few types of the preceding period seem to continue to be in use, although some new ones also emerge. Earlier types are lamps, lota types, dishes, lid-cum-bowls, carinated vessels etc. New variety of lamp and cooking vessels are noteworthy.

A few of the selected sherds are described below (fig. 110).

Md. 1: Fragment of a medium-sized bowl with a sharpened rim and tapering sides. Of thin and coarse grey ware fabric, it is from NK XIV.

Md. 2: A shallow lamp of grey ware with an obliquely-cut rim and flattened base. Soot stained, oily interior and a part of exterior indicate its use as lamp. From layer 2 in S IV/347 (Śiva temple). Variant 2a has a sharpened and externally cut rim and is shallower and wider than above. The exterior is lime coated. It might have served as a lid also. From layer 1 in NK XXIII/A 1.

Md. 3: A lid-cum-dish fragment of grey ware with incurved externally collared rim, ledged waist and shallow base. Of coarse fabric, it is burnt black in section. From layer 4 in NK XIV/71. Rough analogues come from Maski. Variant 3a is almost similar to the above but is unevenly fired. From layer 4 in NK XIV/71, Variant 3b has externally thickened rim and weakly ridged waist and deeper sides. From layer 4 in NK XIV/2. Variant 3c is of smaller size and shallower with an externally cut rim and carinated waist. It is internally coated with lime. From layer 3 in NK XIV/A 3. This type of lid-cum-dishes are being used even to this day in this area1.

Md. 4: Fragment of lid-cum-dish of grey ware with externally thickened and mildly oval collared rim and shallow flattish base. Of thick coarse fabric, it is from layer 1 in NK XXIII/55.

Md. 5: Fragment of a lid-cum-bowl type with a vertical and thickened rim and flanged waist tapering to a rounded base. Of coarse grey ware fabric, it is burnt black in section. From layer 2 in S XII/26-D 2. Variant 5a has externally collared rim. It is of the same ware as above, but has less prominent flange. It is coated with lime on the interior and exterior. Variant 5b has a flattish thickened rim and is shallower. From pit 2 in S XII/6-E 1.

Md. 6: Fragment of small to medium-sized ‘lota type’ in grey ware with externally thickened and internally mildly grooved rim and ellipsoidal body. Of coarse fabric, it is coated with lime on the interior. From pit 7 in S II/26-5. Rough analogues come from Maski2. Variant 6a has everted externally thickened rim and double grooved shoulder. Of dark grey ware, it is from pit 16 in S XII/6 D 3.

Md. 7: Unique type of ritualistic lamp of dark grey ware. It is a double pot combination of a miniature pot with everted thickened rim and globular profile, an oil container and a shallow dish rounded thickened rim, having perforation around, interconnected with the oil container on one side and conical spout opening on the other side. The shallow dish was probably meant for putting some incense (?) Both the pot and the dish are joined together in such a fashion so as to provide an easy grip for holding. The spout and the joint are decorated with incised strokes. Of coarse fabric, it is from layer 2 in S XII/6 C 1.

1 Ancient India, No. 13, p. 84, fig. 28, 2.
2 Ibid., fig. 28, 4.
POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

Md. 8: A miniature spouted pot with out-turned mildly cut and thickened rim sloping grooved shoulder and flattish base. It has got a small conical spout with a pierced narrow opening. Of coarse grey ware, it is from layer 2 in S XII/77-A 5.

Md. 9: Celadon ware

There is only one solitary specimen of Chinese celadon ware in the whole collection. It is a miniature vase with a narrow featureless rim, bulging sides and disc base. It seems that it was provided with a loop handle on the top and carries stalk (scroll pattern—by embossed stamping). This goes by the classification Marco Polo type in East Asia.

Md. 10: A conical lid of grey ware with flattened, flang and internally recessed rim base and hollow knobbled terminal. Of coarse fabric, it is from layer 2 in S XXI/1-8 B 1. Variant 10a is bigger than the above and has a hollow conical top and multi-grooved exterior. From layer 2 in S II/347-C 2.

Md. 11: Is a rim fragment of a medium-sized jar having incised oblique strokes below groove on the exterior. Of dark grey ware, it is from S II/847-2.

Md. 12: Fragment of a dark grey ware jar with a flaring sharpened internally multi-grooved and externally flanged rim, the flange being decorated by finger nail incised ornament. Of coarse fabric, it is from layer 1 in NI XIV/B 2.

Md. 13: Shoulder fragment of a grey ware jar decorated with incised strokes between the bold rib and grooves and again oblique slashes and incised loops. Of coarse to medium fabric, it is treated with a black slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in S XII/26.

Md. 14: Shoulder fragment of a red ware jar with a row of incised zig-zag below three ribbings, the middle one having incised row of small notches. Of coarse fabric, it carries a dull brown slip on the exterior, which has grey patches here and there due to indifferent firing. It is internally coated with lime. From layer 2 in S XII/6-C 4.

(fig. 111)

Md. 15: A fragmentary pan of dark grey ware with splayed out externally thickened and grooved rim, almost straight bluntly carinated to a shallow rounded base. Interior of the rim and the sides on the exterior carry a row of incised slashes within ribs. Of coarse to medium fabric, it has red patches here and there. From pit 16 in S XII/6-D 2. Variant 15a is smaller and thinner in section and differs from the arche type in its out-turned thickened and internally ledged rim and sharply carinated mildly flanged waist decorated with incised strokes. Of coarse fabric, it is from layer 3 in S XII/6-C 5.

Md. 16: Fragment of a medium-sized basin with horizontally splayed out, thickened and grooved rim and mildly grooved sides bluntly carinated to a tapering concave base. Of coarse dark grey ware fabric, it is thin in section. Its soot-stained exterior and blackish interior indicated its use as cooking utensil. From layer 2 in Tr. B LX-LXIII.
Md. 17: Fragment of a grey ware jar with splayed out internally mildly collared rim and ridged below the neck both inside and outside. Of coarse fabric, it is from pit in S XII/25-E 2. Variant 17a is narrower, has internally grooved rim and prominently ledged neck on the interior. It is coated with lime on both sides. From S XII/6-B 5, Pit 7.

Md. 18: Is a medium-sized jar of coarse grey ware with externally clubbed and internally grooved rim and mildly multi-grooved shoulder. Of medium to coarse fabric, it carries a wash of the same solution and is subsequently coated with lime on the exterior. From layer 2 in S XII/26-B 4. Variant 18a has a nail-head rim and multi-grooved shoulder. Of coarse red ware, it carries a dull greyish brown slip on the exterior. From layer 2 in S XII/6-C 4.

Md. 19: Neck fragment of a dark grey ware narrow-necked jar with out-turned, multi-grooved rim and prominently grooved rib below it. Of coarse fabric, it is thick in section. From layer 3 in S IV/6.

Md. 20: Medium to large-sized jar fragment of grey ware with splayed out externally collared and slightly undercut rim and sloping grooved shoulder. Of coarse fabric, it is internally coated with lime. From layer 2 in S XII/25-C 3. Rough analogues come from Maski. Variant 20a is large-sized and of dark grey ware with expanding ribbed shoulder. Of coarse fabric, it has a smoothened and grey slipped exterior and lime coated interior. From layer 2 in S XII/26-B 1.

Md. 21: Fragmentary small to medium-sized pot of grey ware with splayed out rim, ribbed below the internally ledged neck and bluntly carinated sides, widening towards the lower half. Of coarse fabric, it is from pit 7 in S XII/6-A 5.


Md. 23: A solitary fragmentary trough type with closing internally cut and externally weakly collared rim and vertical sides. Of coarse grey ware fabric, it is from layer 3 in NK XVIII/F 3.

1Ancient India, No. 13, p. 54, fig. 28, 5.
PART C
CHAPTER VII

EXCAVATED ANTIQUITIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

No terracotta objects were forthcoming from the Buddhist sites. Of the copper objects, antimony rods were discovered only from Buddhist sites, suggesting that monks might have been in the habit of applying collyrium to their eyes, as a cooling agent, unless the antimony rod was for some medicinal application. Surprisingly, one brooch of bronze was found also in a Buddhist site (Sector XI), Site 21, upper level. It was an eight-spoked stupa and Vihāra site (the stūpa yielding relics also). Only one wing of the Vihāra contained seven cells, the other two having been hopelessly ruined. Whether the brooch was used by one of the monks, it is difficult to say, if not, it is problematic as to how a female ornament happened to be there. More than that cannot be guessed.

By and large, the antiquities had come from the habitation sites—which is as it should be and from the citadel and the Brāhmaṇical temple sites. The exception was the Hāriti Temple from where a large quantity of bangles had been noted, going to show how, perhaps, without a distinction of religious affiliations, the common people especially women and maiden had been seeking the grace of Hāriti who is closely linked with children by these offerings.

It must also be said that in comparison to the area of the valley and the high ideals which had enthused the people who lived there, the total number of antiquities from the excavations were rather on the lower side. This perhaps want to show that, notwithstanding the availability of some gold and silver objects, the city life had its accent on value-based life; rather than material opulence, and the craze for the comforts of life. Indeed, the royalty and their kin, along with the two religionists who co-existed side-by-side in the valley, had all inculcated ethical—moral life rather than highly urbanised material convenience. This, one may also say, had been the common factor in most of the early historic towns and cities of south India, and changes into richer life only by the early medieval times from the tenth century A.D.

(i) RELIC CASKETS
(pls. CIII-CXVIII B)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The early Buddhist canonical texts inform that when the Buddha was about to enter the Mahāparinibhāna at Kusinara, Ānanda expressed his sole desire to worship his corporal remains (bhagavato sarirāni) later on. The Buddha strongly disapproved the idea and warned Ānanda to desist.

1 This note is from the Editor
from any such hasty action\(^1\) because the Tathāgata’s material body was also subject to decay and the ultimate disappearance\(^2\) and that the dhamma alone stood supreme and abiding. But when the Buddha lay on his last bed between the two mahasāla trees, the heavens showered the mandara flowers and the sandalwood powder on his body and played music and songs\(^3\) as a mark of his supernormal attainments and towering personality; and when he actually passed away, the Mallas of Kuśināra worshiped his corporal remains with incense, flowers etc., profusely.\(^4\) After the cremation, the remains were divided in ten parts (vihirtānī bhagavato sarirāni) and distributed amongst king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Lichchhavīs of Vaiśāli, the Sākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrama, the Brāhmanas of Vetthadipaka, the Mallas of Paveyyaka, the Mallas of Kuśinara, Brāhmaṇa Drona and the Moriys of Pippalivana.\(^5\) At Kuśināra itself, the Buddha had told the Bhikshus the way in which stūpas were to be erected and worshipped to such stūpas ensured immense happiness, welfare and high spiritual attainments to the worshippers.\(^6\) And the recipients of the relics erected stūpas over them (sarirathāpā) with great reverence and ceremony (bhagavato sarirānām thūpam cha maham cha ākāṃstu).\(^7\) Thus, the veneration of the Buddha’s relics during the sixth century B.C. paved the way for the traditional relic-worship through the succeeding ages to the present day.

These stūpas were erected at Rājagriha, Vaiśāli, Kapilavastu, Rāmagrama, Pava, Kuśinara, Gandharapura, Kalinga etc.\(^8\)

After the Kaliṅga war Aśoka was greatly inclined towards Buddhism as is evident from his minor rock-edict at Bairat.\(^9\) He visited the Lumbinīgama in Kapilavastu and erected an inscribed pillar there (i.e., the minor pillar-edict at Rummindei, near Nautanwa (N.E.R.).) Napalese Tarai\(^10\). Aśoka had a keen desire to erect 84,000 relic stūpas all over his empire. First, he collected the Buddha’s relics (sariradhātu) from the Ajātaśatru’s Drona stūpa at Rājagriha. Thus, he collected the relics from at least seven stūpas and lastly he went to collect the same from the Rāmagrama stūpa. The nāgas protected this stūpa with great reverence. Aśoka, therefore, gave up the idea of collecting the relics from this

\(^1\)Dighanikāya (2 Mahāvagga), General Editor Bhikkhu J. Kashyap (Pali publication Board), 1958, Nalanda-Devanagari-Pali-Series, Bihar Government, pp. 109, 3/23/77 “abyavata tumbe, Ananda, hota tathāgatassa sarirapūjayya”.

\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 111, 3/23/80 “Yam tam jatam bhūtam samkhāram palokadharmam rūm. Vata tathāgatassa ni sariram mà paluji ti netam thānam vijjati”.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 107, 3/23/71 — “dabbāṇi pi mandaravapupphāni antikkhā pāpattantī, dabbāṇi pi chandenačchāmānāni antikkhā pāpattantī, dabbāṇi pi tāriyāni antikkhā vajjantī tathāgatassa pujaya, dabbāṇi pi sāgittāni antikkhā vartamāni tathāgatassa pujaya”.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 122, 3/24/100 — “atthi kho kosīnāraka mahāgandhamatani cha subhām cha bhagavato sariram nāchchelit gireh yaditahī malāhi ganehel sakkaratā karunā pujanto cēlavitañā kaontā mandalamālī pratiyākṣita ekādhisam vittanēsam”.


\(^7\)Ibid., pp. 128, 3/26/115.

\(^8\)Ibid., pp. 128-29, 3/26/115-16.


\(^10\)Ibid., p. 39.
NAGARJUNAKONDA VALLEY
SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE RELIC-STUPAS
stūpa. Thereafter, he got 84,000 relic-caskets (karanda) prepared out of gold, silver, crystal and other precious stones and 84,000 earthenware pots (kumba) and enshrined the pots containing the caskets in 84,000 Dharmarajika stūpas at one time in one day. Thus, Asoka who was known earlier as Chaṇḍasoka became known as Dharmāsoka.\(^\text{1}\) His visit to Rāmagrama is variously depicted at Sānchi\(^\text{2}\).

The caskets were used as receptacles, containers, chest, cases, baskets, or boxes for various purposes. The Nāgarjunakonda caskets were reliquaries for enshrining the remains, ashes or belongings of the holy personage preserved, after their passing away, as objects of veneration. Similar relic-caskets have been found at Taxila, Charsada, Shahjī-ki-Dheri, Mirpur Khas, Kasia, Sarnath, Vaiśāli, Sahet-Mahet, Sānchi (pl. CXVIII A), Amarāvatī, Sālibundam (pl. CXVIII B), Bhāṭṭiprolu, Ghanasāla etc. The Bhita and Tripuri sites have yielded some tastefully designed containers of ointments, antimony, powder, essence of fragrant flowers, roots etc.

**DISCOVERY OF THE RELIC CASKETS**

The excavations at Nāgarjunakonda have yielded twenty relic-caskets excluding the earthenware pots in which most of them were found preserved. To this number may be added a gold tube containing pearls and ashes, a stone vessel preserving tooth-relics and eighteen earthenware water-pots filled with ashes. These antiquities were unearthed at nine different sites in the valley (fig. 112).

None of the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions refer to the relic-caskets, although an ḍīyaka-pillar inscription from the Site I mentions the Buddha's relics as enshrined at the Mahāchaitya "Sammasambuddhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasah Mahāchātiye."\(^\text{3}\)

During 1927-31 Longhurst excavated a number of sites in the Nāgarjunakonda valley and brought to light the majority of the caskets.

In one of the outer chambers\(^\text{4}\) (pl. CIII), on the northwestern side of the Mahāchātiya, was found a small broken earthenware pot in which were placed three crystal beads, ear-ornament\(^\text{5}\) (pl. CIV-A) and a silver casket containing a gold reliquary,\(^\text{6}\) gold flowers, pearls, garnets, crystals, etc. (pl. CIV-B). The gold reliquary preserved a bone-fragment in it.

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\(^2\)Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

\(^3\)Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, 1929-30 (1933), p. 16; (I) J. Ph. Vogel translates the term “dhātuvāra-parīgaḥitā” as absorbed by the best of elements (dhiḥ ..), i.e. by Nirvāṇa” (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 29). K. Gopalachari supports this interpretation (cf. *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras University Historical Series, No. 16, 1941, p. 139 F.N. 64); Hiranananda Sastri thinks that the terms possibly mean that the Mahāchaitya was protected by the corporal remains of the Buddha (Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, 1929-30, p. 29, F.N. 1). A.H. Longhurst follows Sastri (The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunakonda, Madras Presidency, 1938 (M.A.S.I., No. 54, p. 19); *The Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (1926-27), serial No. 196, p. 42, also records that the Mahāchaitya enshrined the relics of the Buddha.

\(^4\)Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 17, pl. XXIII and c.

\(^5\)This crystal ear-ornament was placed in the pot and not in the reliquary as stated by M.G. Dixit in his "Tripuri", 1952. (Nagpur, 1955), p. III.

\(^6\)Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIXId. The two caskets are now with the Mahābodhi Society of India, Sarnath, District Varanasi, U.P. (cf. T. N. Ramachandran, Delhi, Nāgarjunakonda (M.A.S.I. No. 71) 1953, p. 7.
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Silver (pl. CV-A) and gold caskets and their contents (pl. CVI-A) from the Stūpa No. 2 are not reported by Longhurst but the records and the collections do confirm their discovery, although they remain unpublished so far.

The Stūpa No. 31 (Now Site 3) yielded a smashed earthenware pot in which was found a silver (or copper?) casket (pl. CVII-B) containing a gold reliquary (pl. CVII-B), the latter accommodating another gold casket (pl. CVIIIA) with contents. An earthenware pot, with a red earthenware saucer and mounted by an inverted earthenware food-bowl as its lid and found from the Stūpa 4 (pl. CVIIIA), contained a silver casket, which itself housed a gold reliquary (pl. CVIIB)2 with contents (pl. CIXA).

At the Stūpa No. 5, Longhurst found the ashes of at least six personages collected in separate earthenware water-pots which were also covered with inverted food-bowls.3 Their precious contents are, however, available (pl. CIXB). At the Stūpa No. 64 he did not find the earthenware pot and says that the silver casket (pl. CXA) containing a gold chest (pl. CXB), It was placed on the floor of the northern chamber and then buried in earth and brick debris, the latter crushing the casket in the process. They have yielded two gold medallions (pl. CXIA) and other precious objects (pl. CXIB). Longhurst found five relic-caskets from the Stūpa No. 85 in one of its sectors. The innermost piece was a gold chest containing several relics. It was placed in a silver reliquary which itself went into a copper casket. The latter with all its precious contents was housed in a terracotta stūpa (pl. CXIIIA) which was itself preserved in a stone casket (pl. CXII A and B).6

A gold tube containing pearls and bone-ash was discovered in 1938-40 by Ramachandran in a cylindrical socket, which was sealed with a close-fitting stone-stopper, between the legs of a full-sized stone Buddha figure in the northern monastery chairiya of the Site 6 (Now Site 3)7. He discovered also a limestone vessel containing human teeth from the Cell No. 1 of the same monastery (now Site 3)8 during the same time.9

A silver and a gold casket were discovered with some contents (pl. CXIVA) from the brick-stūpa at the Site VIIIa during 1955-56.10 The Stūpa No. 9 yielded the silver and gold caskets (pl. CXIV B) containing a number of precious objects.

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1Longhurst, loc. cit., p. 20, pl. XVla. the silver casket appears to be of copper or bronze because the fragments are covered with dark-green patina.
2Ibid., p. 20, pl. XVIIb
3Ibid., pp. 20-21
4Longhurst, op. cit., pp. 21-22, pl. XVlc and d; ARASI 1929-30.
5Ibid., p. 22, pls. XVII c, d, e, f. The stone casket is now in the State Government Museum, Madras.
6Ibid., pl. XVIIb
7Ibid.
8Ramachandran, op. cit., 13-14, pls. XIVA and b.
9Ibid., pp. 16-17. XXII a and b, XXIV a and b. This vessel is now in the National Museum, New Delhi.
10Indian Archaeology 1955-56: A Review, p. 24, pl. XXXIX b. After chemical treatment the copper casket has been found to be of gold.
LOCATION OF RELIC-CASKETS IN THE STŪPA AT SOME OTHER SITES

At Nāgārjunakonda the caskets were generally found in the sectors of the stūpas (pl. XIII). At Charsada, the caskets were found exactly in the centre of the stūpa. The bronze casket of Kanishka was found in the south-west corner of a little chamber of the stūpa at Shahji-ki-Dheri. At Amaravati, the southern platform of the Mahāchaitya contained the caskets in the slots cut in the urdhvapatha of the railing. At the Ghantasala brick-stūpa an earthenware vessel containing a stone-casket was found in the centre of the stūpa.

THE TRADITION OF CASKETS-WITHIN-CASKETS

Nearly in all cases, except the gold tube and the limestone vessel, at Nāgārjunakonda the caskets were found preserved within caskets. The stone, terracotta, copper, silver and gold caskets from the Stūpa No. 8 illustrate the system well (pl. CXIII A). This tradition appears to have been uniformly followed at certain other Indian sites also.

A gold casket, containing bone-fragment, was found in a stone casket and the latter was placed in an earthenware pot in a stūpa at Charsada. The bronze casket of Kanishka contained a hexagonal crystal reliquary. At Amaravati, a globular terracotta casket accommodated a gold reliquary surmounted by an umbrella. At the Ghantasāla brick-stūpa an earthenware pot contained a stone casket. The Boria-Lakka Medi stūpa also yielded a stone vessel containing a small stone casket, the latter housing a copper casket. The copper casket contained a silver reliquary which itself accommodated a gold chest.

At the Stūpa No. 4 of the Dharmarājika stūpa adjuncts, Taxila was found a square block of kanjur containing two steatite caskets, one within the other. In the inner casket was preserved a gold chest.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASKETS

A. CASKETS FROM THE STŪPA NO. 1 (MAHĀ-CHAITYA)

1. Silver casket

Longhurst found this casket in a badly crushed and broken condition, so he got its replica prepared which appears in the photography. Probably, its flat-based receptacle contains a low circular drum.

1Unpublished.
2For example, at the Stūpa Nos. 1 and 2 (cf. Longhurst, op. cit., pls. XIIIb and XVIIIb).
3ARASI (1902-03), pp. 175.
4Ibid. (1908-09), pp. 50-51.
7ARASI (1902-03), p. 175.
8Ibid. (1908-09), p. 51, pls. XII and XIII.
9Ibid., pp. 88-89, pl. XXVII, figs. a and b.
10Rea, op. cit., p. 2.
11J.A.S.B., Vol. LX, 1892—“Relics from the Boria or Lakka Medi Stūpa near Junagadh” by Henry Cousens.
12ARASI (1934-35), pp. 29-30, pl. VIII (a).
13Longhurst, op. cit., pl. XIIIb.
EXCAVATED ANTIQUITIES

with cylindrical sides and a recessed vertical rim-on-flange. Its heavy lid expands into a hemispherical dome. Its crowning handle consists of a flat circular base, a knob in the centre and a conical top. The casket as whole represents a miniature stūpa.

According to Longhurst it was 2½" in height.¹

(2) Gold reliquary

This reliquary is shown, although not clearly, just in the form of the silver casket, in the photography.² Probably, its receptacle is a shallow dish with rounded base. Its bow-shaped high inturned lid is larger than its receptacle. According to Longhurst it was ¾" in diameter.³

B. Caskets from the Stūpa No. 2

(1) Silver casket (pl. CV A)

Its receptacle is altogether absent. The thin and corroded remnants, present only its stūpa-shaped lid. As its base is a projected vertical rim forming terraced space around (medhi). Above this terrace rises the cupola attaining somewhat a hemispherical shape. The upverted fragments at its top are probably suggestive of its neck. Its photograph shows two rings interspersing each other. Probably, they formed the mouth of the casket. Probable height of the lid, 2.7 cm; probable diameter at the mouth, 5.6 cm.

(2) Gold reliquary

The flat-based high receptacle of this chest is cylindrical with its slightly tapering sides, with a depression at its bottom. It has a featureless vertical rim encased by the rim of the lid. With a terraced space around, its lid looks like badly crushed bowl without giving an idea of its top. The terraced space (medhi) is finished in two planes. This reliquary might also have been kept originally in the silver casket as mentioned above. Height about 2.5 cm; diameter at the base about 4.4 cm.

C. Casket from the Stūpa No. 3

(1) Silver/copper casket ? (pl. CVI B)

Its corroded fragments give a very rough idea of its original shape. Its receptacle is a rounded deep bowl with recessed rim-on-flange to receive the stūpa shaped high lid. The casket as a whole resembles a roundish pot with narrow neck and a ring-and-knob handle. According to Longhurst⁴ it was 3" in diameter, height about 6.7 cm.

(2) Gold casket (pl. CVII A)

The receptacle of this casket is a high drum with flat base and with a depression at its bottom, slightly tapering sides and its featureless rim encased by the rim of the lid. The terrace at the base of the dome is created by its vertical rim. The damaged summit of the hemispherical dome is somewhat impressed and bears a tiny conical knob on a railing.

¹Longhurst, op. cit., p. 17.
²Ibid., pl. XLIId.
³Ibid., p. 17.
⁴Longhurst, op. cit., p. 20.
The bottom of the receptacle is embossed with a full blown lotus possessing a spacious navel and placed within two concentric rings.

Height about 3.6 cm; diameter at the base about 3.7 cm.

(3) Gold reliquary (pl. CVII B)

The bowl-shaped receptacle of this flat, globular casket has a footed base. The projecting vertical rim leaves a narrow terrace at the base of its stūpa-shaped hollow lid and fits on to the recessed vertical rim-on-flange of the receptacle. The lid presents an ogee or funnel-type of shape with its weakly cordoned shoulder. The conical knob on the apex of the cupola is encircled by two alto relievo concentric rings. Height about 2.7 cm; diameter at the base about 1.8 cm.

D. Casket from the Stūpa No. 4

(1) Silver casket (pl. CVIII B)

Its very thin, corroded and broken fragments present a low flat-based receptacle with high recessed vertical rim-on-flange and a huge hemispherical dome, on which is seen a damaged railing with a conical knob. According to Longhurst it was $2\frac{1}{2}''$ or about 4.3 cm high.

(2) Gold casket

The receptacle of this casket has a recessed vertical rim-on-flange. It is a circular drum with vertical sides. Its lid is almost a globular cupola crowned by a railing with conical knob. According to Longhurst it was $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter; $\frac{3}{2}$ $2.3$ cm in height and diameter at the base about 2.3 cm.

E. Caskets from the Stūpa No. 6

(1) Silver casket (pl. CX A)

The fragments of this hopelessly corroded and crushed casket present a bowl-shaped receptacle with a recessed vertical rim-on-flange, an ogee or funnel-shaped dome with its weakly cordoned shoulder and a high crowning knob placed within three concentric and diminishing rings. Longhurst maintains that it was stūpa-shaped originally. According to him it was about 2'' high.

(2) Gold reliquary (pl. CX-B)

The receptacle of this flat, globular or elliptical chest has a recessed vertical rim-on-flange on which the lid with its weakly cordoned shoulder rests. It resembles a deep bowl with a footed base. The lid presents the shape of almost an ogee or funnel-shaped stūpa, crowned by a cylindrical cork-shaped knob placed within three concentric rings in alto-relievo. According to Longhurst it was $\frac{3}{4}''$ high and 1'' in diameter; $\frac{3}{2}$ $2.1$ cm and diameter at the base about 1.4 cm.

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1. Longhurst, op. cit., p. 20.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
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(F) Casket from the Stūpa No. 8 (pl. CXV)

(1) Stone casket (pl. CXII-A-B)

According to Longhurst this casket was shaped like a miniature stūpa with tee and umbrella complete. The tiny umbrella-canopy was of stone fixed to the tee with a small iron rod. The casket is made of four separate pieces of stone and the dome is ornamented in relief with the usual garland device.¹

In fact, there are at least seven constituents of the casket—the base made of Cuddapah stone and the remaining six parts of limestone.

The base is a solid circular disc with vertical sides and supports a ring whose lower half slightly projects out. The dado or the main receptacle is high, cylindrical vessel with a prominent horizontal line incised below its vertical featureless rim. The inner half of the rim is cut to receive the vertical rim of the lid. The cavity of the dado becomes one with the cavity of the ring on which it actually rests. The lid is a globular hemisphere with a truncated top on which appears a square groove. The stucco work of the actual-sized Nāgarjunakonda stūpa is reflected in this dome also. The floral squares and circular medallions issue forth garlands and festoons in a conventional manner on the upper half of the dome. The flat apex of the lid carries on it a neck or harmika with three bands supporting a capital of four square tablets, each lower one of which being smaller than its upper counterpart. The pavilion is also a separate part in the whole scheme. Its uppermost tablet has a hole which received the iron-stick supporting the umbrella. According to Longhurst² it was 1'4" high (40 cm) and diameter at the base about 22.6 cm.

(2) Terracotta casket (pl. CXIII-A)

With its moulded base and moulded flange with a recessed vertical rim the receptacle, it looks like a high cylindrical container. The lid presents a globule of considerable volume. It is mounted by a low platform supporting a square railing of three tablets, the latter crowned by a prominent conical knob.

To start with the bottom of the casket, it is coated with emerald green paste, about ¼th of which is disturbed. Its original texture shows Indian red all over and dark red applied later in a curved line over it. Maximum paste is still present at the lower moulding and a little above it and the upper moulding and a little below it. In other places it is peeled off in layers. A considerable part of its upper moulding is broken, showing an Indian red tinge. The rim is also broken at one place and damaged elsewhere. It appears to have been coated with white colour on both of its sides. There are some six cracks noticed on the body of the receptacle which appear to have been covered with similar green-glazey paste, suggesting that it was probably mended at some stage. Three irregular impressions are also noticed on it just above the lower moulding.

The edge of the lid is damaged at one place. Its interior is painted cream white and the exterior with the same emerald green paste. Full paste is still present at the bottom of the railing. The paste on the railing and the cone is almost gone, thus exhibiting their red colour. The cone on the railing appears to have been fixed on to it. The lid is hollow up to the railing and shows on its inner surface some raised circular rings indicating that it was hand-made.

¹Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
²Ibid., p. 22.
According to Longhurst its height was about 15.7 cm and diameter at the base about 11 cm.

(3) **Copper casket** (pl. CXIII-A)

The receptacle of this casket was found stuck into the terracotta casket and has not been separated till now for reasons of safety of the latter.

The base of the cylindrical body of the receptacle is moulded. The interior of the receptacle shows dark-green patina with black and white spots. Its side-walls and the bottom-plate are comparatively thicker.

The funnel-like lid sits exactly on the vertical featureless rim of the receptacle and its truncated top is mounted by a low platform supporting a cylindrical square railing with two projected bands on it and carrying the conical rod of the umbrella. The lid is also covered with patina in and outside. It is hollow upto the railing. The rod is square in plan with a slight depression at its base.

According to Longhurst it was 4" high; approximate height about 11.2 cm; diameter at the mouth of its receptacle about 8 cm.

(4) **Silver casket** (pl. CXIII A)

The flat-bottomed high cylindrical receptacle of this casket with its vertical sides follows the usual pattern of a recessed vertical rim-on-flange. Its bottom has a depression in the centre. Its lid is a spacious dome with flat top but narrow mouth. The top carries a railing consisting of two square tablets placed on a platform of two diminishing tablets and surrounded by a conical but bent knob. The interior of the lid is hollow upto its knob. The base of the lid has a terraced space (medhi) around it.

The casket shows black patina on its body; but effect of the copper casket's patina is also traceable on its bottom. Its interior is clear silvery.

According to Longhurst it was 2" high (about 5.5 cm); diameter at the base about 5.4 cm.

(5) **Gold reliquary** (pl. CXIII A)

The receptacle of this casket is flat-based with a rolled edge at its bottom. It also has a recessed vertical rim-on-a rolled flange. The bulbous dome is crowned by a railing of three tablets and a slightly bent conical knob. The lid is hollow upto its cone.

According to Longhurst it was 1½" high; height about 4.2 cm; diameter at the base about 3.9 cm.

C. **Casket from the Stūpa No. 8-A**

(1) **Silver-alloyed casket** (pl. CXIV-A)

This casket is also in a very fragmentary condition. Its flat-based receptacle is tapering high, container consisting of a double-rolled edge at its base and a recessed vertical rim, also on a double rolled flange. The upper part of the dome is broken but a cylindrical railing with square projections, both at its base and top, crowns it. Above the railing is a thick high rod with umbrella, the latter having four holes along its edge, probably for suspension of miniature string-garlands.²

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¹Longhurst, op. cit., p. 22.
²Indian Archaeology 1955-56—A Review, p. 24, pl. XXXIX B.
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Probable height about 6.3 cm; diameter at the base about 3.7 cm.

(2) Gold reliquary (pl. CXIV-B)

The receptacle of this chest has a flat base and vertical sides and shows inside a circular depression in its centre. It has a featureless vertical rim. Its lid is low, bow-shaped dome with a terraced space (medhi), at its base. Its vertical rim sits right on the inside-bottom of the receptacle.¹

Height about 0.8 cm; diameter at the base about 1.4 cm.

(H) Caskets from the Stūpa No. 9

(1) Silver casket (pl. CXIV-B)

This roundish casket is in a very fragmentary condition. Its receptacle is deep, bowl-shaped and has a recessed vertical rim-on-flange. The lid is a flat-topped tumulus carrying a disc with a ball-shaped knob.

Height about 3.1 cm; diameter at the central line about 2.6 cm.

(2) Gold reliquary (pl. CXIV-B)

This chest consists of two bowls, upper one covering the lower one on the latter’s featureless rim. Its receptacle has a footed base. The dome-like low lid carries a thick knob within an incised ring.

Height about 1.4 cm; diameter at the central line about 1.7 cm.

(I) Limestone vessel² from the Site 6 (now Site 3)

This vessel consists of four parts—bottom, narrow belt, upper part of the body with neck and rim and lastly a close-fitting stopper.

The base of the vessel is a cylindrical ring which supports the heavy globular body with its flat bottom and truncated top. The latter indicates its various parts in clear lines. The neck of the pot is concave or hour-glass type in form with splayed rim and ledged shoulder. The vertical rim also bears two parallel incised lines. The lotus of the close-fitting stopper shows two layers of its petals, upper layer of upturned petals being smaller than the lower one of down-turned petals.

The lid of the pot has a flat bottom and splayed rim. Its inner surface shows a nail-head within three incised concentric lines—then placed within a large circular line. There was a single bowl-shaped umbrella with a nail-head in its centre which touched the central seed-vessel of the double lotus in which there was a hole to hold it.

According to Ramachandran it was 15'' high with a 10'' diameter at its body and a 4'' diameter at its mouth.³

(J) Gold tube from the Site 6 (now Site 3)

This tube is of a high cylindrical tumbler-pattern with its bottom open and mouth closed by hand-pressure. According to Ramachandran it was 3/4'' high with a 1/13'' diameter.⁴

¹Ibid.
²Ramachandran, op. cit., pp. 16-17; pls. XXIII a & b.
³Ramachandran op. cit., p. 16.
⁴Ibid., p. 14.
Classification of Caskets

Earth, stone, gold, silver and copper were the materials used by the people at Nāgarjunakonda for shaping their vessels, pots and caskets.

The Stūpa Nos. 4 and 5 have yielded water-pots with food-bowls containing ashes. But in certain cases the earthenware pot housed the silver/copper caskets also so as to ensure better preservation of the relics as would be evident from the finds at the Stūpa Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 9. The stone and earthenware caskets from the Stūpa No. 8, the stone vessel and the gold tube from the Site 6 are singular art objects. Pure or debased silver casket was generally meant for preserving the gold caskets at the Stūpa Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 8A and 9. The reported silver casket from the Stūpa No. 3 appears to be of copper (?). At the Stūpa No. 8, the silver casket containing the gold reliquary was itself preserved in a copper casket. Gold was used for the innermost casket which contained honoured relics.

The walls of the stone, copper and terracotta caskets are naturally much thicker than those of the silver and gold caskets. The silver caskets were obviously stronger as a whole because they had to resist the pressure of the crushed earthenware pots, the moisture and the weight of the structural masonry. Most of them are, therefore, found crushed or decayed beyond repairs. The gold caskets being the innermost contents, however, survived in a better condition, although the surfaces of most of them, and tops in some of them, have been badly affected.

In eleven cases (copper) and smaller gold casket from the Stūpa No. 3, silver and gold casket from the Stūpa No. 4, silver and gold caskets from the Stūpa No. 6, terracotta, silver and gold caskets from the Stūpa No. 8 and silver caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 8A and 9, the mouth of the lids encases the recessed vertical rim-on-flange of the receptacles. Similar rims have been already reported in various pottery-types. The Ancient India (No. 7), pp. 76-77, fig. 5 refers to the pottery-types 31 and 34, each of which has a vertical rim-on-flange, which was probably intended for receiving a lid. The Ancient India (No. 13), pp. 84-85, fig. 28 illustrates the pottery-type 14 with a short vertical flanged lip. In the Ancient India (No. 3), pp. 112 and 115, fig. 20 the pottery-type XXXVIII has a recessed flange at the neck to receive a lid of the pottery-type XXXIX C which has an externally hollow knob-handle. The Bhattiprolu crystal-casket also illustrates the same rim-on-flange method (pl. CXVI - CXVII A). The exceptional cases are the copper and stone caskets from the Stūpa No. 8 where the lid sits on the featureless vertical rim of the receptacle itself (pl. CXII B and CXIII A). The Amarāvati stone casket (pl. CXVII B) also belongs to this type.

As for their contents, the caskets can be classified into various categories. The bone-relics have been found in the gold caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 1, 3, 6 and 8. The pūrṇagāha from the Site 6 has yielded two tooth-relics. The gold caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 8A and 9 contain bone-ash. The ashes of twelve monks\(^1\) were found preserved in their water-pots at the Stūpa No. 4. Similarly, six pots containing ashes of monks were unearthed at the Stūpa No. 5. The caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 8, 4, 3, 6, 1, 8A and 9 have given gold flowers. The caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 8, 3, and 9 preserve in them silver flowers also. Pearls are contained in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 4, 5, 2, 3, 6, 1 and 8A. Corals in the caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 4, 5, 1; pearl-beads in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 2, 3, 6; crystals in the casket from the Stūpa No. 4; crystal-beads in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 9 and 1; coloured

\(^1\) Longhurst, op. cit., p. 20.
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stone-beads or stones in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 4, 5, 2, 3, 1, 8A and 9; glass-fragments or beads in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 4 and 3; garnets in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 4, 5, and 1 are reported. Among other objects gold leaves are found in the caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 8 and 6, gold-thread in the caskets from the Stūpa No. 2, hold hollow balls in the caskets from the Stūpa Nos. 8 and 3, two gold medallions in the caskets form the Stūpa No. 6 and jade and ivory pieces in the caskets from the Stūpa No. 6. Rings are found in the caskets of the Stūpa Nos. 3 and 8 A. The caskets have also yielded rusted metallic flowers and gold coil. The casket from the Stūpa No. 9 preserves a ring-like thin gold sheet, semiprecious blue or dark-green bead, hemispherical crystal dome, conical crystal finial, silver talisman containing a bone-piece and two copper beads.

CONTENTS OF THE CASKETS

A. From the Stūpa No. 1

Longhurst says that the pot containing the relic-caskets and other objects was crushed when the chamber in which it was kept, was filled up with earth and on the surface were found a few white crystal beads and a miniature gold box. The gold reliquary contained a bone fragment. This casket was placed in a silver casket together with a few gold flowers, pearls, garnets and crystals.1

(1) Stones and beads— Black, glazed, drum-shaped bead in two pieces; greenish crystal bead; flat black bead; flat circular blue bead; green pyramidal object with a hole in the bottom \((0.7 \times 0.7 \times 0.5)\) cm; two blue pyramidal objects; dull white pyramidal object; pale yellowish crystal piece; and two crystal pieces.

(2) Garnets— Large drum-shaped bead; three garnets; seven small flat circular beads; rose-coloured flat circular bead (broken, \(1.3 \times 0.8\) cm).

(3) Pearls— Three pearl beads.

(4) Corals— Half of a coral bead, \(0.8 \times 0.6\) cm.

(5) Crystals— Drum or pulley-shaped weight or ear-ornament, about \(1.6\) cm in height and about \(2.6\) cm in diameter; two crystal pieces, one of them circular and carved, \(1.4 \times 1.1 \times 0.7\) cm; three drum-shaped hexagonal beads \(5.3 \times 3\) cm, \(3 \times 1.8\) cm., \(4 \times 2\) cm.

(6) Gold flowers— Three circular flowers with radiating straight lines, diameter \(0.9\) cm each; two fan-shaped flowers, \(1.5 \times 1.6 \times 0.3\) cm; eleven flowers with or without sticks or handles, diameter \(1.7\) cm and \(1.1\) cm.

B. From the Stūpa No. 2 (pl. CVI A)

(1) Stone pieces— Pinkish crystal piece, diameter \(1.4\) cm greenish flat circular bead, \(1.2 \times 0.8\) cm; greenish crystal fragment \(0.8 \times 0.8\) cm; greenish circular crystal piece with flat bottom, diameter \(0.9\) cm; greenish glossy crystal piece, \(1.4 \times 0.5 \times 0.6\) cm.

(2) Gold flowers (pl. CVI-A)— Three of them are almost intact. Another one is a fragment. Two flowers are four-petalled. One flower has six leaves. As usual, their handles are hollow, size \(1.3 \times 1.9\) cm.

1Longhurst, op. cit., p. 17.

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(3) **Pearls**—There is one silver-coloured bead.

(4) **Pearl-beads**—Three beads, 0.3 cm to 0.6 cm.

(5) **Beads**—Blue-coloured flat bead, $0.4 \times 0.5 \times 0.1$ cm.

(6) **Shell objects**—One fragment.

(7) **Coral beads** (0.2 cm to 1.4 cm)—large cylindrical bead (broken); large drum-shaped bead; four large, flat, circular beads; two large cylindrical beads; two small cylindrical beads; twenty small flat beads.

(8) **Gold thread**—Four very thin pieces, 1.3 cm to 1.8 cm.

C. **From the Stūpa No. 3 (now Site 3)**

Longhurst remarks that a tiny bone-relic was placed in a small gold reliquary which was itself kept in another Stūpa-shaped reliquary, the latter contained in a silver casket together with a few gold leaf jasmine flowers, pearl and coral beads.¹

(1) **Coral beads**—Forty-two beads, twenty-five of them are cylindrical; seven are medium-sized and flat; nine are small and flat, one is a triangular flat bead, $0.2 \times 0.2$ cm to $0.3 \times 0.4$ cm.

(2) **Pearl beads**—Eight beads, $0.5 \times 0.7$ cm to $0.6 \times 0.8$ cm.

(3) **Gold ball**—Half of a hollow tiny ball, $0.3 \times 0.3$ cm.

(4) **Glass piece**—A round object with flat base, $2 \times 2$ and $3 \times 1.4$ cm.

(5) **Bronze ring**—Floral designs appear on it within a circular beaded border with triangular decorations below. Its handle is somewhat vessel-shaped or else it shows a peacock on either side of its high flap, diameter 1.4 cm and size $0.5 \times 0.7$ cm.

(6) **Beads**—Glossy, blue-coloured bead with a flat circular body and narrow circular groove right through its length, $1.4 \times 1 \times 0.5$ cm; dark red coloured garnet bead $0.5 \times 0.4$ cm; half of a dull blue coloured beads, $0.6 \times 0.4 \times 0.4$ cm; dark red coloured small circular garnet bead $0.3 \times 0.3$ cm; dark red coloured circular garnet bead, $0.6 \times 0.9$ cm.

(7) **Bone pieces**—Two pale glossy fragments, one large and another small, $0.7 \times 0.7 \times 0.4$ cm and $0.4 \times 1.3 \times 1$ cm respectively.

(8) **Stones**—Pale yellow crystal piece, $1.1 \times 0.9 \times 0.6$ cm oval-shaped black piece, $1 \times 0.7 \times 0.6$ cm, blue piece, $0.8 \times 0.5 \times 0.5$ cm.

(9) **Silver flowers** Six flowers with leaves showing green patina. The vertical hollow handles carry four leaves each, except in one case which has five leaves, 1.9 cm to 2.3 cm.

(10) **Gold flowers** About thirty-three pieces, six small flowers with ten petals; others larger having five intact petals. Handles of three flowers are quite large, 0.6 cm to 2.7 cm.

¹Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 20
EXCAVATED ANTIQUITIES

D. From the Stūpa No. 4

According to Longhurst the "silver casket contained gold-leaf flowers, a square cut white crystal pendant, a few decayed pearl and coral beads and also a tiny gold reliquary." ¹

(1) Gold flowers (pl. CIX A)—In shape, these five flowers resemble those from the Stūpa 8. Some flowers are four-petalled while others have five petals; height from 0.5 to 1.3 cm.

(2) Glass fragments—One fragment is of dark red colour while two others are greenish. One square glass object is with flat bottom.

The top corners have circular depressions. In-between three depressions there is rhombus-type of decoration in relief in the centre of which is again a circular depression. In its thickness it has two holes right through its length.

(3) Crystal piece (pl. CIX A)—This fragment of greenish crystal shows four-faced āmalaka or lotus-decorations with flat base, 1.5 × 0.7 cm.

(4) Beads—Greyish brown cylindrical stone bead in two parts, 1.4 × 1 cm; greenish brown stone bead, 0.9 × 0.7 cm, small cylindrical greenish stone bead, 0.6 × 0.8 cm.

(5) Garnet—It is dark glossy red in colour, 0.6 × 0.3 cm.

(6) Pearl beads—Three tiny pearl beads, 0.3 × 0.2 cm to 0.5 × 0.4 cm.

(7) Corals—Three larger and eleven smaller beads.

E. From the Stūpa No. 5 (pl. CIX B)

According to Longhurst no reliquaries were found from this site. He is, therefore, silent about the following antiquities that were found at the stūpa.²

(1) Pearl beads—Five beads, 0.2 × 0.1 cm to 0.2 × 0.4 cm; seven beads, one large and six small crushed ones, 0.5 × 0.6 cm to 0.6 × 0.8 cm,

(2) Corals—Twelve coral beads—drum-shaped large bead; two large cylindrical beads; large flat circular bead; medium-sized circular beads, medium-sized elongated lead, six small cylindrical beads. 0.2 × 0.4 cm to 0.4 × 0.3 cm.

(3) Garnet—Dark red coloured piece, 0.6 × 0.5 × 0.3 cm.

(4) Stones—Ovalish large crystal piece, 1.5 × 1.9 cm; crystal ball, 1 × 0.9 cm; crystal or glass fragment; triangular greenish piece, 0.3 × 1.2 cm; two crimson-coloured crystal stones, 1.1 × 0.7 cm to 1.1 × 1.4 cm; half of a dark blue cylindrical hollow bead, 0.9 × 0.4 cm.

F. From the Stūpa No. 6 (pl. CXI B)

Longhurst informs that from this Stūpa a gold reliquary containing a tiny bone piece, gold leaf flowers, a decayed coral and pearl beads and two tiny gold medallions were found, besides a crushed silver casket.³

¹ Op. cit., p. 20
² Ibid.,
³ Ibid., p. 21.
(1) **Gold flowers** (pl. CXIB): Thirteen circular flowers bearing a cross-mark were reported. Five of them are eight-petalled; diameter from 0.6 cm to 1.1 cm.

(2) **Gold leaf**—It is square in shape

(3) **Gold medallions** (pl. CXI A): These are, in fact, two pendants to a necklace, each having two holes just above the heads of the figures. The pendant, showing the queen, is about 1.5 cm in diameter and that showing the king is about 1.6 cm in dia. Longhurst suggests that the king represents some ruling king of the Andhra country in the third century AD and the lady probably represents Chāntīśī. Further, he notices Greek influence in them.¹

(4) **Pearl-beads**—Two heads

(5) **Beads** (noted as jade in the collection)²—Large green bead, 0.8 × 0.7 × 0.6 cm.

(6) **Coral-beads**—Three flat beads, 0.5 × 0.4 × 0.3 cm. each

(7) **Stone pieces** (noted as jade in the collection) Four green fragments; dark-blue piece.

(8) **Ivory pieces**³—Three pieces, showing four beads of decoration, appear to be parts of some ivory objects.

(9) **Bone piece**—Tiny pale-cream glossy piece, 1.2 × 0.9 × 0.6 cm.

**G. From the Stūpa No. 8** (pl. CXIII B)

The gold reliquary from this stupa contained, according to Longhurst, bone-relic, gold, lotus and jasmine flowers and a few decayed pearl and coral beads".⁴

(1) **Bone piece** : Pale-cream glossy fragment, 1.1 × 0.7 × 0.4 cm.

(2) **Gold flowers** : Eleven flowers—some completely crushed and some in good condition. The handle and the petals of flowers are prepared out of single hollow stick. The rectangular blades or petals of flowers forming almost a circle, are five in each case; height (.6 cm to 0.8 cm).

(3) **Silver flowers**—Nine flowers resembling the gold flowers. They also consist of a hollow handle with five petals each⁵; height from 0.9 cm to 1.1 cm.

(4) **Gold leaves**—One resembles a pipal tree leaf with a double book (single wire coiled twice) on top and a bent pointed edge below, 1.2 × 0.7 cm; another circular gold leaf very thin in texture and embossed with cross-marks, diameter 0.9 cm; In its very thin and fragmentary condition a third leaf appears to be part of a larger gold leaf. It is embossed with lotuses. Two of them contain thirteen petals each and the third one has fourteen petals, arranged around a thickly conceived intricate navel or being of seeds in each case. In-between each two flowers there is a lotus petal which adds much to the pattern as a whole. 2.9 × 3 cm.

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¹Ibid., ARASI (1929-30), pp. 147-48; P.R. Rao thinks that the male figure probably represents Sīrī Vīrapurushadatta (cf. P.R. Ramachandra Rao, The Art of Nāgārjunakonda, Madras, 1956, p. 27, f.n.17; According to K. Gopalachari these figures do not represent king and queen as they have no crowns (op. cit., pp. 143-44, f.n. 89)
²A few broken jades are mentioned in the ARASI (1929-30), p. 147.
³These ivory pieces are neither mentioned by the Longhurst, op. cit., nor in the ARASI (1929-30), p. 147.
⁴Longhurst, op. cit., p. 22.
⁵Ibid., where Longhurst does not mention the silver flowers, gold leaves and gold balls.
EXCAVATED ANTIQUITIES

H. From the Stūpa No. 8 A (pl. CXIV A)

In the silver-alloyed casket were found a gold reliquary surrounded by the following objects:

1. **Gold flowers**—Six flowers. One flower with six and five flowers with eight petals each, diameter 1.2 cm each; eight flowers, each four-petalled 0.5 × 0.5 cm.

2. **Metallic flowers**—Four rusted flowers, one damaged, each four-petalled, 1.1 × 0.9 cm.

3. **Gold coil**—Small irregular gold coil, 0.5 × 0.3 cm.

4. **Gold beads**—Cylindrical ornate gold bead, 1.3 × 0.4 cm; gold bead with gold coil-lining, 0.3 × 0.2 cm.

5. **Pearls**—Fourteen pearls of irregular shape, 0.2 × 0.2 cm to 0.2 × 0.4 cm.

6. **Beads**—Violet-coloured, multifaced, barrel-shaped bead, 1 × 1.1 × 0.8 cm; blue fragment of a flat bead; two blue cylindrical beads, 0.6 × 0.2 cm and 0.8 × 0.6 cm respectively; brown cylindrical bead, 0.6 × 0.4 × 0.5 cm.

7. **Stones**—Oval-shaped green stone, 1.5 × 1.3 × 0.6 cm.

8. **Bone beads and fragments**—Fragment, 1.9 × 1.1 cm; eight small beads, 0.3 × 0.3 cm to 0.6 × 0.8 cm; fragment of a bead.

**Contents of the gold casket**

9. **Pearls**—Three pearls, 0.2 × 0.2 cm to 0.3 × 0.3 cm.

10. **Bone fragments**—Bone ash

I. From the Stūpa No. 9

The earthenware pot contained

1. **Silver casket**.

2. **Gold rim**—It is a ring-like thin gold sheet.

3. **Gold casket**.

4. **Bone fragments**—Very fragmentary and dusty fragments; microscopic bone-piece (?) wrapped in a gold-coated thin silver sheet (Talisman?)

5. **Stones**—Blue stone having a solid rectangular body and square at the two tips (probably Nilam).

6. **Crystal beads**—Bead with two perforations and square base; spheroidal crystal bead with a perforation at the centre with geometrical pattern.

7. **Coral beads**—Two beads
(8) Beads—Five crystal, spheroïdal and perforated beads, diameters 1.17 cm, 1.10 cm, 1.29 cm; 1.14 cm respectively.

(9) Crystal object—Hemispherical crystal dome.

(10) Finial—Conical crystal finial with a groove for the screw.

(11) Copper beads—Two tiny circular beads.

The gold casket contained

(1) Flowers—Ten-petalled, gold-alloyed, circular lotus flower with perforation in the centre, diameter 0.85 cm.

(2) Gold-flowers—Fragments of a gold-coated circular, silver flower, gold flower with bent handle; four-petalled square gold flower; two small gold flowers with gold wire lining.

(3) Beads—Semiprecious cylindrical corundrum bead, blue or dark-green in colour, diameter 0.42 cm.

J. From the monastery (Site 3)

The limestone vessel discovered at this monastery yielded one wisdom-tooth and one front-tooth comparatively of small size, measuring 1/4” in diameter and 1/8” wide respectively.¹

K. From the Buddha-Chaitya (Site 3)

The gold tube obtained from between the legs of the Buddha figure, which stood in this Chaitya, contained bone-ash and ninety-five pearls, one of them measuring 1/8” in diameter and the rest smaller than the mustard seeds.²

Contents of the Caskets from Some Other Sites

The stone casket from the Ghantasala brick-stūpa contained bones, beads, pearls, gold leaf, gold flowers, with eight petals.³ The gold chest from the Boria-lakka Medī stūpa contained bead, ruby, sapphire, emerald, white coral etc.⁴ A steatite casket from a stūpa at the Dharmarājika, Taxila, contained a miniature gold casket, safety-pins of gold, beads of ruby, garnet, amethyst and rock-crystals.⁵ This shows that the function of the caskets, discovered from other sites also, was the same, i.e., to preserve the relics along with the other precious items.

¹Ramachandran, op. cit., pl. XXIV A. The two white dots below the vessel represent the relics.
²Ramachandran op. cit., p. 14, pl. XIV B.
³Rea, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
⁴Cousens, op. cit., pp. 19-20, pl. V.
⁵ARASI (1915-16), p. 5; pl. IV, item nos. 1, 23, 24, 26, 27.
Human Figurines of Terracotta from Vijayapuri

In the examination of the antiquities that form part of the Ikshvāku period of Nāgārjunakonda, we find that the terracotta figurines have a distinctive place. This factor derives out of both its technological and artistic features. It is appropriate to say here that the terracotta industry is a direct continuation of the Sātavāhana terracottas, especially those of Kaolín and of cream-coloured paste. Although, there are only very meagre examples of this kaolin terracottas in Nāgārjunakonda excavations (as noticed below in the chapter) which itself would reinforce the idea that it was a devolutionary and not linear continuing stage of the Sātavāhana culture as such, which was only in decline in the valley at the time Chāndamāla initiated his efforts for wrestling power for himself as an independent chieftain—the technology is akin to the predecessor mode. But the fabric was in common clay, burning into a reddish or pinkish red exterior and core fired evenly in the kiln. Obviously, the reason was that kaolin clay was not easily got in good supply within the ambit of the Ikshvāku capital and if sought from elsewhere may take the product also uneconomically costly for the average citizen of Nāgārjunakonda. But its imitation in common clay made it quite cheap, but that is not to say that its workmanship was of an inferior order. In fact, the terracotta figurines in the valley show excellent craft and aesthetics in their fabrication by double or hollow mould and in the careful detail in the modelling of the mould. Further, it would seem that it was in great demand, in the standard forms and patterns which were created out of it, so much so, they had seemingly to be mass-produced. This made them both of high skill and at same time of stereotyped general format. The chief themes are those of yakṣas and yakṣīs and since temples to the yakṣa, Kubera and others were themselves seen in the valley and since these figurines assumed a talismanic value, they were very much sought after. The standard pattern was of a squatting standing yakṣa (rarely also seated) with his arms stretched out, or bent upwards, or in akimbo. It is in the workmanship of surface details like drapery and ornaments that much skill was evinced, and the face was always one of a beaming countenance, with bulging wonder-filled eyes and full lips. The yakṣīs were even more dexterously moulded with interesting headgear, hair style etc., which were also paralleled in stone sculpture with similar facial features. In fact, the yakṣī figurines became almost the fashion—parade of the coiffure style and jewellery which were the preferred vogue among the women in the valley, in retrospect, art motifs like makara-clasps and talismanic auspicious pendent symbols, strung on the necklace also were in vogue. These have a commonality with the Sunga and Kushan traditions of upper India, and jewellery was often of stone-studded type. The Sātavāhana promoted trade in silk and gem stones as the classical foreign chroniclers of the times reveal; and the Nagarjunakonda types continued to reveal this penchant. Since Hāriti became a favourite Buddhist female warden of children and fecundity symbol for maidens and since Hāriti images and temples also exist, some part of the terracottas reveal this seated type, with heavy body, hips and thighs and pendent legs. These figurines appear to have continued in use till the very end of Ikshvāku rule and go to show the considerable impregnation of the folk element of Buddhism as fully imbibed by the common man.

It would also seem that they were found in originals or in parallels in the terracotta figurines of many

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1 This introductory note and the section on the terracotta figurines of human/animal/bird (selected representations only) from the excavation has been contributed by the editor.
areas outside the Ikshvākus kingdom, as in Tamil Nadu and other parts of Andhradeśa. It also indicated the changes which were taking place in Mahāyāna Buddhism, where monastic life, far from being a secluded exercise for the monks of the several denomination of scholastic Buddhism, as in the earlier stages, was perhaps acquiring sizeable parishes in the valley and were helped in this by these terracotta figurines. But since they were made of hollow, double mould luted along the joints, of local clay, and in rather small sizes, they were liable to break and get damaged easily—which in turn kept replacements seemingly in good supply.

Among these terracotta figurines are also a good percentage of examples where the facial mould, hair-do and general decorative range seem to have not the usual type of an 'Ikshvāku' face—similar to those on sculptures also—but 'classic' and ethnically different and exotic character (e.g., A.C. No. 334 N-57 (1902) S. XXI; A.C. No. 383 (536) N.I; A.C. No. 434 (1114) NK 59/199/N. II; A.C. No. 452, N. II/24/300). Some of these may, even by their very provenance in sites other than Buddhist, be representing the exotic people living also in the valley like the Scythians and Kushans, Sakas etc., and depict a 'classical' facial feature, besides attempts at integration of the curly clipped hair type (pl. CXIV A) and distanced ears of the Buddha himself (536-N.I. above) though in female types as shown by their prominent hips.

Some of these are seated, with heavy thighs and pendent legs, and hands brought around the belly, were surely Hariti replicas while those where the hands are flexed at the elbow and raised vertically up in their forearm, with the palm opened out, should surely be the prototypes of 'satt' women, seen in different parts of India in stone reliefs and in the round, in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka in the later periods up to the medieval times. Those which are males, generally extend their arms straight at the sides but also sometimes like the 'satt' type above, or rarely in akimbo. We have the Pātalhāra yakṣa (inscribed) type in the second kind, and here the import is of wonder (Vismaya) and not necessarily the 'satt' counterpart. Since these three or four types recur, again and again, we are justified in thinking that yakshas, yakṣis, Hariti 'Sati' women and other such were the favourite demi-gods and ideals variously in the Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist usage in the valley, and even exotics were involved in showing a partiality for them.

They definitely become a type-fossil of the folk preferences in popular worship, talismanic and auspicious keep-sakes, by the people of the Vijayapuri city. We generally find them more in the later phases of life and thus we may concede that Buddhism in the valley itself had approved their usage, though it is possible that some of these, like the 'satt' type, will surely be non-Buddhistic. The assiduity and constancy with which the facial mould is generally maintained similar to sculptural types of men and women, though in a yaksha they are secondary features here, would show that these folk-artists were hand in hand with sculptural artists in the valley. Notwithstanding the fact that they would have been churned out in large quantities through master-moulds, their variety is also interesting and gives credibility to the capacity of the artists and artisans who had created them, who used a wide variety of animal, figural, vegetal and other motifs to enrich the body ornamentation of these terracottas. The considerably thin character in some of the fabric would clearly also go to underscore their technological expertise. There was, however, no firm slip applied to these terracottas and often only a wash of the same material was provided for them. This would further go to show that they were intended for the ordinary citizens mostly.

Notwithstanding the fact that there were several other categories of terracotta antiquities, mostly
of secular nature, these figurines form a class by themselves and are complementary to the others. In fact, there are no other separate types of human figurines other than this special class. We may thus hold also that human figures for purely secular purposes or themes had not occurred in the Vijayapuri site and period, and these were all of the special, most probably religious, talismanic of fetishistic category, besides being distinctively Buddhist in character. This might tend to suggest that Buddhism also had its contributions to the day-to-day life of the people in the capital city, as contrasted with carvings in limestone for divinities (apart from the Buddha) for Brahmancial Hinduism. No Brahmancial type of terracotta is generally known in the assemblages of the Nāgarjunakonda valley.

**TERRACOTTA FIGURINES** (pls. CXIXA - CXXVA; figs. 113 to 119)

Terracotta figurines from Nāgarjunakonda reveal a medley of interesting contemporary impacts from outside, in their repertory, suggestive of an active role that the Ikshvāku dynasty played in its times in the region. They also supplement in a significant way the icono-religious range revealed among the residents of Vijayapuri, which is, otherwise, not too richly seen in the regular temple sites of the valley, on stone sculptures. Thus, they contribute fruitfully to and enrich the socio-cultural role they were expected to play.

Cult terracottas, of course, are pointedly present, as for instance the yaksha-yakshi figurines in very large number, seemingly as talisman or personal keepsakes, or the 'fertility' figurines of the nāga-nayikā or Lajjā-Gaurī types—as they were at a later stage called—prototype of which is seen in the inscribed stone sculpture, of Khanduvula, of 'avidhavāya' and 'Jivotaputāya' consummation, in the royal burning ghāṭ site.

The terracotta figurine types can be divided into human and animal bird (pl. CXXIV B) categories. They represent, variously the yaksha-yakshi, cult figures in standing or seated position (in the worship stance), with legs in pralambapadā in the later, and with hands either clasped around the belly, or stretched out and bent upwards at the elbows, or in anjali pose, with a few instances clutching money bag (Kaubherti) or crook or mirror (Devi) held in one of the hands, the Mithuna figures which correspond to the dampati figurines of upper India and which are richly depicted in stone panel schemes of Nāgarjunakonda, some rare pricked or dotted 'grey' fabric figurines which are also part of the pre-Kushan ensemble of upper Indian excavated sites; some very good red-polished and buff-polished as well as 'kaolin ware' types (latter typical in Sātavahāna sites, as at Kondapur); a few rare examples of regular cult divinities like Vishnu (ashtabhuja ?); 'mother-and-child' types; and what appears to be a representation of the monkey, demi-god Hanumān, in several poses which anticipate the position of the later bronze figures and often of 'single-mould' plaques, unlike the preponderant 'double-mould' hollow types characteristic of the Nāgarjunakonda specimens, in some latter of which flattish and pressed double wall, without the usual hollow interior, is also noted. These are of several sizes (from very small to reasonably large) indicating the economically sound users or the common folk respectively.

The animal figurines have, again, a wide range in the form of bull, elephant, horse, tiger, buffalo, ram etc. besides parrot, Garuda and other birds. The bulls are of the standing (like Sātavahāna nandi) type, as well as small plaques of seated temple-bull types. They also are in large numbers.

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1The women with raised hand may recall 'Satt' stone symbolism. If so, it was a special talismatic keepsake to ward off widow-hood (also see p. 416, Chapter VIII).
elephants are shown with trunks in normal dropped position, or trunks raised—in which they are sometimes shown with the rider also, or with trunks holding the foliage or thrusting them into their mouth. The horses are fully harnessed, almost ceremonially like the Asvamedha horse. The ram figures, in some cases, are of fine clay, thin section and good workmanship.

The fabrics vary from ochreous yellow or red, of fine paste, firing and polish in some cases, very occasionally coated with a wash or thin slip but otherwise generally of unslipped matt surface.

The general trend is to show, in quite a few cases, the Kushan ‘torque’ necklace, padded tunic or skirt, with well coiffured, headgeared or turbaned types. A few rare instances show hand-modelled types, with schematic rendering of the eyes, ears etc. by slash-strokes, as in some of the upper Indian examples, also in this period. Some classic ‘exotic’ faces with wreath decorations on the forehead and ornaments, are also seen (pl. CXXXIII C).

They show, thus, the considerable influence of the Scytho-Kushan inter-actions in the valley. The ‘mithuna’ figures represent the lover offering the wine cup to the beloved who is shown often as languourously resting on his left thigh. These repeat thus the stone carvings of the ‘Mithunas’ in the panelled sculptures—as in the Kumāranandī vihāra panel. The ‘mother-and-child’ figures are also drawn from upper Indian provenance, but their occurrence in Vijayapurī was obviously also part of the cult usages connected with women which are seemingly varied, ethnically, in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Some architectural samples showing pillar schemes with decorations also exist.

On the whole, it may be stated that these specimens in terracotta which, in their animal types, apparently depict the ritual ‘mount’ animal or birds associated with divinities like Śiva, Vishnu, Kārttikeya, Durgā, Devī etc. in their bull, Garuḍa, elephant or ram, lion, buffalo etc., clearly supplement the comparative scarcity of ritual sculptures in stone from the valley, besides indicating that the common folk took much enthusiastic interest in their personal approach to religion and promoted it by the usage of these terracotta models.

The select categories of these types, fifty-nine in number are described below, while the plates include more, to show their frequency. Some of them seem to belong, by their loci, to the very initial stage of occupation in the valley, in the transitional late Sātavāhana-to-early Ikshvāku phases and continue later also.

**Basic Types and Their Description**

**Type A—Male/Female Cult Figurines**

(i) Seated with hands clasped around the belly (S-II, Reg. No. 236), fig. 113/6

(ii) Hands raised above elbow (N-III, Reg. No. 315), fig. 113/2

(iii) Hands as in (ii) but with Yajnopavita, in standing pose (N-VII, Site I, Reg. No. 302), fig. 113/5

(iv) ‘Slipped’ variety on the above, with Buddha-like clipped hair (N-III, Site 48, layer 2, Reg. No. 207), fig. 113/8

**B. Female Figurines**

(i) Seated with hands clasped around the belly, with ‘torque’ necklace (Kushan) (N-III, Site 27, Reg. No. 1108), fig. 113/3
TERRACOTA OBJECTS

(pls. CXIX D)

(iii) Hands at the sides
(S-II, Reg. No. 237)

(iv) In anjali pose
N-II, Site-85, layer 3, Reg. No. 403 and N-VIII,
(Layer 2, Reg. No. 252), fig. 113/4

(v) ‘Tunic’ type - N-II; Site 24
(Reg. no. 476), fig. 113/9

(vi) Bow-knot on head-gear
(N-II, Reg. No. 296), fig. 113/7

(vii) Nicely moulded, fine fabric, with Yajnopavita (Reg. No. 139)

C. Mithuna type

All the specimens almost uniform in character, with male offering wine cup to the female and having his left hand around her shoulder or female with her right hand around his shoulder (fig. 114/4). The female is shown partly resting on the left lap of the male, in cases where fully preserved
(Reg. No. 273; N-III, Reg. No. 190; N-II, Site 54, Layer 2,
Reg. No. 361), figs. 114/1-3

(pls. CXXI A)

D. Fertility Cult

on quadroid plaques
(pl. CXXIV C)

(i) With four ‘lotus’ studs on the four corners. fig. 114/6

(ii) Smallest finished sample, but without the ‘lotus studs

(iii) Largest example

(i) N-II, Site 105, Layer 2, (Reg. No. 633), fig. 114/5

(ii) N-VIII, Site 90, Layer 6, (Reg. No. 642)

(iii) N-I, Site 5, Layer 3, (Reg. No. 630), fig. 114/7

E—Mother and Child figurines (fig. 117)

(N-V, Site 42
Layer 3, Reg. No. 848)
(N-III, Reg. No. 627)
(N-IV, Site 27, Reg. c 378).
(N-II, Reg. No. 582)

(i) In all cases, with child against the bosom and upper body of the mother, in a fondling pose. The varieties are of ardhaparyanka for the mother’s legs or pralambapada or on a pedestalled seat in some cases.

A variant type also shows animal (monkey) mother and child.

F. (a) Kaolin paste examples of terracotta (Sātāvāhana)

(N-II, Site 61, Layer 2, Reg. No. 385)
(N-II; Site 116, Layer 2,
Reg. No. 228)
(N-II; Site 105, Layer 2,
Reg. No. 288)

(i) Female with forehead band

Seated torso, female with Yajnopavita (fig. 118/2)

Medium-sized leg of a seated divinity (Hārīti?) fig. 118/3

367
(b) Fine red ware
(N-II, Site 116, Layer 2 - Reg. No. 391)
(pl. CXXIII C)

Exotic 'Yavana' face with acuiline nose, large eyes, elaborate forehead decoration of floral wreath and side clasp, also floral design. Multipetalled ear ornament of similar design. Dimpled cheek and tapering chin. fig. 118/4

(G) Divinity types
(i) Seated Kubera's consort (Kauberî?) with money bag held in right hand, of white to buff fabric (N-II, Reg. No. 444) fig. 115/4
(ii) Seated Devî with a spiral crook (or mirror) held in left hand (red wash given) exactly similar to the mirror in Mathura image of the third century AD (N-I, Layer 2; Reg. No. 339) fig. 115/5

(pl. CXXI C)
(iii) Hanumān (?) seated on a pedestal, tail shown upwards on the back side, left hand horizontally taken across the body and right hand angularly fixed upwards to the face, against the lips (a bhakta pose of the later bronze types of this demi-god in Rāma group) variants of Hanumān

(N-II, Site 126, Reg. No. 553)

Figures show seated, with legs brought together and hands resting on knees (N-II, Site 48, Layer 2, Reg. No. 535) fig. 115/1, Another variant in añjali pose against the chest (S-II, Site 112, Layer 2, Reg. No. 578). fig. 115/6

(pl. CXXI B)
(iv) Vishnu (incomplete)—Single mould with a ring-like Chakra (?) or Khetaka, gadā and bow on the left hands—the corresponding right hands ought to have carried appropriate weapons like sword, arrow and conch—standing in ābhangā Greyish terracotta, modelled rather indifferently and in a non-Ikshvāku tradition (S-II, Reg. No. 397), fig. 115/8, Kneeling and saluting devotee—(N-II, Site 105, Layer 3, Reg. No. 390)

H. Animal/bird/figurines
(i) Animal (pl. CXXIII A)

Couchant lion with fore paws raised, comparable with the central figure of the stone plaque of Pañchavīra in Hyderabad Museum from Yellesvaram (S XI, Layer 2, Site 26) fig. 119/2

(pl. CXXII B)
(b) Tiger, stylized, vyāla-like with a socket underneath for tenon-and-mortice fixation—perhaps a toy (N-VIII, Site 60, Layer 2, Reg. No. 529)

(pl. CXXII B)
(c) Buffalo with a stippled or pierced dotted bead-strand across the forehead, sensitively-made nostrils and wide thick horn type similar to the buffalo-head in Vishnu-Durgā sculptures of south India (Reg. No. 233). fig. 119/3
(d) Bull Standing (as in Sātavāhana sculptural example from Amaravati and early Kadamba example from Talagunda), sometimes also on a pedestal (Reg. No. 610). figs. 119/5-9

(e) Horse, largest number, fully harnessed for ceremonial, as in Asvamedha
(N-III, Site 56, Layer 2, Reg. No. 537). fig. 119/11
(N-II, Site 122, Layer 2, Reg. No. 533). fig. 115/3
(N-III, Site 51, Layer 3, Reg. No. 561). fig. 119/10

(f) Elephant (cognizance of Kumāra?) in several variant types—trunk lowered in normal position. figs. 119/12-13, 16-17
(N-II, Site 58, Reg. No. 609). fig. 119/17
Trunk raised above the head, with elephant-rider on back
(N-II, Site 105, Layer 2, Reg. No. 618). fig. 119/16
Trunk clasping foliage, while eating (S-III, Site 119, Layer 3, Reg. No. 567). fig. 119/12
Trunk taken into the mouth
(S-IV, Site 4, Layer 4, 2, Reg. No. 580)

(g) Ram in several sizes, (associated with Agni and Kārttikeya or Kumāra) on good thin red fabric of excellent clay and workmanship. figs. 119/14-15, 18
(N-VIII, Site 58, Reg. No. 606)

(h) Parrot—Sportive parrot of Durgā or Devī (?) (līlasūka) or toy Coarse red fabric but well executed in detail (N-VII, Site 36, Layer 2, Reg. No. 628). fig. 119/4

(i) Architectural specimen-oblong pillar model with kalāśa part and foliage nicely rendered and the oblong side face available with floral details
(N-I, Site 98, Layer 2, Reg. No. 638). fig. 116/7

Among the yaksha type of figures, we have one example of what is probably a naked, loin part of the body (broken) with a charming facial mould and yajñopavita—probably represents Kumāra. The number of standing 'yaksha' figurines with outstretched hands or seated yakshis with clasped around the belly is quite large, indicative of the typical talismanic religious objects used by common people in Nāgārjunakonda—not generally seen in any other site of south India in this period, excepting in areas where Buddhism had its link, as for instance, at Kāveripattinam, the fort city in the Kaveri delta of Thanjavur district where a few—seemingly of this type fossil of Nāgārjunakonda Ikshvāku period links—had come up in excavations.
TERRACOTTA OBJECTS

TERRACOTTA OBJECTS (pls. CXXV B - CXXVIII C)

Introduction

Earthenware articles naturally formed a decisive bulk among the utilitarian products of the Ikshvāku period. The special necessity of producing a large quantity of utensils and other articles of short durability, perhaps resulted in the development of most simple and severely austere methods of production in the earthenware industry.

The terracotta objects discovered during the excavation are varied and include human and animal forms besides other minor objects such as moulds, dabbers, net sinkers, etc.

Methods of Preparation: Hand-made objects among the terracotta are very few and particularly in the case of figurines, such specimens dwindle into insignificance. Two typical specimens which are examples of crude and indifferent workmanship are illustrated. One among them may be compared to Type 13, sub-type (iii) and the other to Type 3 of the Terracotta figurines from Ahichchhatra.¹ These exceptions in view of the fact that they number less than half a dozen in a collection of two thousand and six hundred.

Preparation of conventionalized types of images was also evidenced by two heads preserving perfect symmetry in form.

These were solid casts and belong to a different school of art in the sense that these were fashioned with special regard for symmetry and their forms emanate partially from the artist’s imagination. This variety appears to be less in frequency and number as compared to the usual double or hollow types.

Some of the less frequent items like the ear ornaments, pendants, toy carts, votive tanks, etc., belong to the hand-made class in which sub-divisions also exist in so far as certain of them were partly hand-made and partly cast. But no particular emphasis need be laid on such minute divisions, owing to the low frequency of occurrence of such types.

The most usual or common process in the manufacture of figurines was double-casting by two-piece moulds and the core would be roughly for hollowed even firing helping before joining the components at the seam to form the full figurine. The finished specimen exhibits a clear contour of the seam, which being its weakness, is susceptible to easy separation. A number of fragments broken along the joining seam are in the collection. In some of the stray examples the component pieces were slightly displaced from their proper position during the joining process, resulting in a distortion in the finished figurine. The discovery of a fragment of a piece mould from Site 24, Sector NXX, obtained a frieze slab, substantiates the occasional practice of casting clay replicas of sculptured images.

Occasional casting in applique mode, with the images in relief was also prevalent, primarily to decorate the exterior surface of some of the pots, by springing the casted plaques; but a few isolated specimens of plaques also are found in the collection.

Clay: The source of clay for terracotta and pottery manufacture was the river bed. No primary clay deposits were available in the plain area of the valley, and in view of this reason the centres of production

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of earthen raw material may be expected to exist not far from the river bank areas. But clear traces of a tile kiln were discovered near Site 3, Sector NXXI, situated at a distance of about a mile from the river bank in the northern direction. The necessity of a large number of tiles for the buildings of the Mahāvihāra and the adjoining monasteries, perhaps counted in favour of erection of a tile kiln on the spot. Transportation of large quantities of tiles from the river bed regions was possibly less economical, compared to the installation of a kiln nearby primary clay deposits, as available outside the valley in the fields of nearby villages, Nagulavaram, Bellamkondavaripalem, etc., and it was not improbable that bricks and tiles and certain varieties of pottery were manufactured outside the valley also.

The presence of iron compounds in the clay was advantageously utilised in the production of terracottas. Generally no colouring slip was applied to the exterior of terracottas. The unslipped objects when fired in open kilns, acquired burnished colours ranging from bright red to dull pink, owing to the oxidation of ferruginous minerals.

But less frequently fragments of terracottas with a bright pinkish slip found in the collection, which are occasional and may be classified as exceptions.

Kaolin of any appreciable purity was not locally available. China clay terracottas are very few in the collection, indicating that it was possibly imported from other regions for special purposes.

**Firing:** The process of firing was confined to open kiln baking in the production of terracottas. The open kiln admits free access to the atmospheric air and burnished red colours of different grades result, owing to the oxidation of iron compounds present in the clay. The burnished red is sufficient indication of the presence of iron minerals between 4 to 7 percent in the clay.¹

Two tile kilns, one at Site 3, Sector NXX and another in the northeastern region of Site 23, Sector NIX, suggest one of the most simplified methods of firing prevalent in the third century AD at Nāgarjunakonda. The tiles were stacked in a circular pot which was initially filled with dead wood, bark etc.. The temperatures attained by different kinds of wood while burning not being identical, the potter perhaps had an empirical idea of the relative temperatures attained by various types of fuel material which would enable him to select the wood in any particular kiln. The terracottas without exception are porous absorbing considerable quantities of water, indicating that the possible temperature reached in firing them normally did not exceed eight hundred centigrade at the extreme and was, infact, very much less in the present case.²

**Distribution**³: The number of terracotta objects recovered during the excavations exceeded two thousand and six hundred. Most of them were fragmentary owing to the inherent fragility of all common clay products. The bulk of this collection comprised human and animal figurines. Apart from these, toy carts (pls. CXXV B–C), beads, bangles, plaques, inscribed seals and sealings were described in other chapters in one context or the other. The objects selected for this chapter number one hundred and twelve, which form about 4.3% of the total collections.

Ignoring sub-divisions in each group, these consisted of twenty-nine ear ornaments, seventeen

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²Ibid., pp. 67-68.
³The introductory note and description of terracotta figurines have been added by the editor. The rest of the objects are described by Shri Vidyadhar Rao.
PENDENTS, EIGHT FISHER'S NET SINKERS (PL. CXXVI D), THREE MOULDS, FOUR DABBERS, SIX PLAYING MARBLES AND GAME COUNTERS, FIVE STAMPING SEALS AND ONE SEALING, SEVEN NUMBERED TABLETS, EIGHT CRUCIBLES, TWO MINIATURE TUBES, THREE VOTIVE TANKS, TWO MODEL SHRINES AND SEVENTEEN OTHER MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

Nine items of this collection were surface finds and four appeared in strata of uncertain dating, but all of them may be almost identical in the examples, as were recovered from Site 17, Sector VII and were not paralleled in the entire collection.

Of the twenty-eight ear ornaments, five were recovered at Site 77, Sector SXI; four from Site 89-A Sector NVIII; two from each of the Sites 36, 70 and 92, Sectors NII, SII and NII; and one each from fourteen other sites. Curiously none of them were unearthed in monastic complex, their provenance being confined only to the habitational areas and Brahmansical shrine spots.

Among the seventeen pendants, four were found in Site 89-A, Sector NIII, from Sites 58, 109-A, and 122, Sectors SII, NII and NVIII variously. Solitary examples were from seven other sites. But for two specimens from Sites 9 and 106, Sectors SIV and NVII, which were Buddhist monasteries, all the rest were distributed either in habitational or Brahmansical structural remains.

In the case of fisher man's net sinkers, no special inference is possible by the details of distribution. The utility of these objects bears no plausible relationship with the site of recovery in all the eight cases.

One of the piece-moulds was found near Site 36, Sector NII and another, a negative, obtained from a frieze slab sculpture, was recovered in Site 24, Sector NXXI; a third was found in Site 89-A, Sector NIII.

Site 29, Sector NXXIV, yielded two of the dabbers (PL. CXXVII A), Sectors SIV and SXI. Site 29 was situated close to the river bank in the northeastern region of the valley. A tile kiln was also exposed in this area. It is, therefore, possible that potter's establishment was located in the region around Site 29.

All the six game counters and marbles were recovered at Site 89-A, Sector NIII.

Two of the stamping seals were found at Site 34, Sector NVIII and isolated examples were picked up at three other sites. It may be noted in this connection that a cluster of potter's artefacts of stone were found around Site 34. These stamping devices being part of potter's equipment, the existence of a potter's workshop in Sector NVIII is clearly more probable in view of this further evidence.

Small tablets, roughly square in shape with parallel strokes (PL. CXXVII B), possible to represent numerals, were found at Sites 121, 122 and 34, all in Sector NVIII. The purpose of such tablets is not clear. Possibly some of them served as votive offerings in temples or might even be weights.

Six of the crucibles were found in one cluster in Site 89-A, Sector NIII, the workshop of the goldsmith. They served to melt small quantities of gold in the course of the preparation of jewellery. The other two are larger examples recovered from the core of the fortification mound and at Site 93, both in Sector NII. Possibly these were employed for smelting and for the extractions of metals.

Two fragments of votive tanks were available in Sites 91 and 123, Sectors NIX and NVIII and a complete specimen in Site 102, Sector NVIII. Considering the provenance, these were unconnected with Buddhist structures.
Fragments of votive shrines were found in Sites 38 and 91, Sectors NVII and NII. The extant portions do not clearly indicate the full shape and the identification of these items is difficult.

As the total number of objects in any of the classes was not large, no definite inference can be based on distribution alone, unless it is supported by other considerations also. But broadly, it can be seen that, out of a collection of one hundred and twelve objects, only eight were connected with Buddhist monuments. Slightly more than two thirds of the collection was concentrated in habitational structures, indicating that these objects were essentially utilitarian, not too closely associated with religious usages. Barring the votive tanks and shrines, the rest of the objects may not even have any religious affiliation for their origin.

Classification

The minor terracottas may be divided into four groups viz., (A) ornamental, (B) utilitarian, (C) ritualistic and (D) miscellaneous objects.

(A) Ornaments

Ear ornaments and pendants are grouped in this category. Bangles were excluded here, as their study appears elsewhere in this Report. Possibly ornaments of terracotta originated as clay copies of similar metallic types, for the use of commoners who could not afford costly jewellery. This was common everywhere in early historic sites of India. Though the available samples do not bear any traces of gilding, it was not improbable that some of them were coated with thin layers of gold-gilt, silver-gilt, white lead, etc.

(i) Ear Ornaments (pl. CXXVI A-D)

A total of twenty-nine objects in this class are sub-divided into three types viz., I. Crescents or lunelae II. Kundalas or leaf designed variety and III. Reels. Analogues for Types I and III are numerous at Sisupalgrah.\(^1\) In sculpture, specimens similar to type I exist at Amaravati\(^2\) and Mathura.\(^3\) Type III occurred at Rairh\(^4\) and Kosam (Allahabad). Numerous examples of the later two types exist at Nāgārjunakonda itself.

Type I (four examples). All the objects in this type are identical in form, with slight variations in size. Crescentic in shape with their wire in coil design below the clasps extending towards the central bulky region containing flowery circlets on either side. The shape of the leach-like earrings of gold found at Taxila\(^5\) compares fairly with this type.

Type II. (Twelve examples): This pattern appears to have been inspired by the palm or coconut fonds. The filigree work on the gold kundalas of Nāgārjunakonda suggests the head of a ‘Makara’ or crocodile by two circlet windings to represent the eyes of a crocodile. Quite possibly this was known as

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\(^1\) Ancient India, No. 5, pp. 90-91.
\(^3\) V.S. Agrawala (1939).
\(^4\) K.N. Puri, Excavations at Rairh (Jaipur), pp. 41-42 and pl. XII. F.
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'Makara Kundala' (pl. CXXVI A). This type was imitated in other metals, terracotta (fig. 115/2) and stucco here, indicating its popularity. The design of leaf is discernible on two of the samples.

Type III (Thirteen examples): The shape is similar in all cases with a greater degree of variation in size. Reel-shaped, grooved button-type earring ornaments of lead were found simultaneously in many of the sites. The surface of the button on either side was concave in all the lead samples, but concavity of sides was not observed as a rigid rule in the terracotta examples. Lead being much heavier than terracotta, such concavity in the sides was possibly necessary to reduced weight of the ornament which had to be suspended in the ear lobes.

The following are described:

1. Type I: Lunula or Crescent shaped earring (pl. CXXVI B), symmetric wire coil design below the two cusps, circlet with granulated periphery in the central bulging portion (dia. 2.6 cm); Site 91, Sector NIII, Ikshvaku level.

2. Type II: Similar to the one above (dia. 2.8 cm); Site 70, Sector SII; Ikshvaku level.

3. Type II: For ornament similar to the gold 'Makara Kundala' of Nagarpunjanka; beaded central rib, the stem wound upwards in clock-wise direction; slightly constricted middle, resulting in scallop-edging, leaf pattern on the body with aperture at the narrow suspending terminal (2.70 cm x 4.00); Site 36, Sector NII, Ikshvaku level.

4 Type II: Similar to the one above, but made of finer clay with no leaf design; the stem wound upwards in anticlock-wise direction; slightly damaged at the suspending terminal (4.00 cm x 5.10 cm) Site 77, Sector SXI, post-Ikshvaku level.

5 Type II: Similar to the one above, but burnt under reducing conditions resulting in dark grey colours; stem found upwards in clock-wise direction. Slightly damaged at the suspending terminal (4.10 cm x 5.20 cm). Site 77, Sector SXI, surface.

6 Type III: Reel-shaped ear ornaments with deep and narrow groove (pl. CXXVIII A), small concavity at the button of square-cut periphery (dia 2.5 cm, length 1.5 cm), Site 76, Sector SXII, post-Ikshvaku level.

7 Type III: Crude sample of a symmetric buttons with bent periphery, elongated groove (dia. of larger button 3.0 cm, length 3.0 cm), Fortification cutting, Sector NI.

8. Type III: Reel-shaped ear ornament with elongated groove and buttons of square-cut periphery, (dia of button 3.0 cm, length 3.0 cm) Site 89-A, Ikshvaku level.

9. Type III: Similar to (6) above, but slightly enlarged (dia. 3.2 cm, length 1.8 cm), Site 22, Sector NVIII, post-Ikshvaku level.

Pendents

Three sub-divisions exist in this comparatively smaller collection of seventeen objects viz., (I), Bullae, (II) rectangular or square pendants and (III) large circular pendants.

Type I (pl. CXXVIII B, Five examples): These are small circular discs with human heads in low relief; clay bullae with human heads were most common in the early historic period and similar varieties
occur at sites which include Kondapur, Chandravalli, Rājgara, Śīsupālgarh etc. These human heads appear to be cast out from Roman coins as it was a concurrent Roman usage, though it is not possible to establish a clear identification of any of the heads with that depicted on a Roman coin. The reverse of these bullae is plain with traces of finger prints indicating that these were cast from single moulds. Four examples were provided with a perforated cylindrical hood at the top, but the fifth contains two perforations just above the human head representation. The head over the double-perforated specimen is identical with a head on one of hooded examples and also makara spacers.

Type II (Two examples): The square specimen among these contains a humped bull in reining posture. Fragments of larger plaques with similar bull, rectangular, are in the collection, but it is doubtful whether there was originally a suspending device in these cases. Seated bull appears on some of the plaques discovered at Śīsupālgarh, but these are either circular or elliptical.

The rectangular specimen roughly resembles the upper part of a human little finger. In certain cases when the dimensions tend to diminish considerably, it is difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between the features of pendants and beads, and this example compares with some of the rectangular beads from Nāgārjunakonda. The decorative feature over this comprises a leaf pattern with a granulated inter-turning in-between two pairs of parallel bands.

Type III (Ten examples): These circular pendants are fairly larger compared to the bullae with human heads (pl. CXXVIII C). It appears probable that these were used as waist band pendants for female children. The girdle around the waist was known as “Kaṭi Bandha”, Śrīnkhalā, “Mekhalā” etc., with slight shades of difference in the meaning.

(iii) GOLD AND SILVER OBJECTS
(pls. CXXIX A-CXXXI E)

I. INTRODUCTION

The yield of gold and silver articles from Nāgārjunakonda, compared to the vastness of digs, is too small. Most of them are fragments, but they may be classified into three types, namely ornaments, gold and silver vessels and embossed plate. In the first group may also be included coin-pendants but they have been discussed at a length in the Chapter on Coins. Gold and silver objects recovered from the reliquaries are not described here since they have been discussed separately in the section dealing with relic caskets. The chapter on ‘Beads’ also refers briefly to gold and silver flowers, confined exclusively within the relic casket. There is one tiny fragment of gold flowers from the citadel area; it does not, however, bear reliquaries.

4*Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 10 ff. and pl. L-B.
5*op. cit.* , pl. L-A.
7This chapter has been contributed by H. Sarkar and K. Krishnamurthy.
GOLD AND SILVER OBJECTS

Apart from gold and silver articles, which were lodged inside the relic caskets, the main concentration of these precious metals was found to have been in the areas occupied by the citadel and its surroundings, inclusive of the rubble structures to the immediate east of the citadel. There are about eleven find-spots which account for twenty pieces. The number is quite meagre in comparison to Taxila. Only on two occasions, they formed some sort of a hoard, buried underground. All the gold and silver vessels were recovered from near a pedestal to the east of the Sarvadeva Temple. They were found in an earthenware pot and possibly belonged to temple paraphernalia. The hoard was possibly hastily left behind when the edifice caught fire. The other important site that yielded one necklace and a pair of earrings, was one of the rubble houses in Sector IV. They were also recovered from a miniature carinated earthenware vessel. In all likelihood it was a secret hoard kept beneath the floor of a house by some partician lady. Unlike Taxila or Harappa, the hoards from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa do not present assorted articles; they are not examples of any "ancient burglary". The practice of keeping the treasure beneath the floor has its continuity till today.

It has been indicated in the section dealing with copper and bronze objects that some of the ornaments made in these metals were originally gilded with gold. The dearth of jewellery or ornaments as well as the prevalence of gold-plated ones may suggest that the use of gold and silver possibly sunk to a low ebb during the Ikshvākū rule. Coin-pendants made in imitation of the Roman aurei were possibly highly prized. Few coins which do not fall in the category of pendants might have been a part of a "quandom hoard anciently dissolved", since the dates of these coins fall in a period anterior to the rise of the Ikshvākus. But the bullion value of these coins was recognised even at a later date.

II. TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

The moulds recovered from the Workshop of a Suvarnakāra in Site 89 as well as different methods of decoration on ornaments offer, more or less, a complete picture on different techniques of manufacture, practised in this valley. The excavation revealed amongst gold-smith's stock-in-trade Six small terracotta crucibles (pl. CXXXIX A), eight moulds of slate-stone (pls. CXXIX B-CXXIX D), touch-stone, iron tongs and pestle and a large number of terracotta bangle fragments etc.

Stone-moulds were intended either for the production of solid or hollow pieces of jewellery. The former generally consists of more than one piece. Nos. 6 and 7 appear to have been meant for the production of solid ornaments. They show channels wherefrom molten metals were poured. Both the examples bear holes at two diagonally opposite corners. In case of No. 6 there is only one channel, whereas No. 7 has two channels possibly emanating from one point. They were meant for collared beads, which attained a great height of popularity during the Ikshvāku regime. No. 8 differs from the other two in not having patterns in cavities. That the molten metal was poured from the groove on the top is evident from a faint reddish line in-between the design and the semicircular depression. The other mould of this pair might have had a channel similar to Nos. 6 and 7. No 5 is a fragment of mould bearing four different patterns parallel to each other. It has also a hole but we do not know whether it was meant for solid ornaments or impression-moulds. Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 appear oblong in size and were utilized for impression moulds of bangles, strips of finger-rings with or without basal etc. In this process, thin sheet of gold was pressed into the cavities of the mould to be finished off by means of punches and engravers.

Thus, we find that both solid as well as hollow moulds were in vogue at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The
developed techniques like granulation and filigree works were also employed for decoration on ornaments. Such methods have been widely used in the ornaments discovered at Taxila. Marshall\(^1\) is of the opinion that India learnt these techniques from the Greco-Roman world. At Nāgārjunakonda, sometimes both the methods were applied simultaneously for decorating one piece of ornament. The best example of a balanced combination of these two techniques is essentially minute wire-work, and the technique of granulation is to decorate the surface with fine granules of gold or silver.\(^2\) Both the techniques seem to have been popular at Nāgārjunakonda.

III. ORNAMENTS

The excavated ornaments may be divided into three categories, namely, (i) ear-ornaments, (ii) necklace and (iii) coin-pendents (pl. CXXX A). The sculptures of Nāgārjunakonda display a bewildering variety of types of ornaments like ear-rings, necklaces, bangles, armlets, girdles etc. Unfortunately, the small collection of ornaments from Nāgārjunakonda does not reveal so many types or varieties. Ornaments depicted on sculpture do not necessarily reflect the types, manufactured in gold or silver. But it seems that a favourite pattern was always copied in all the available mediums. This is true with the ear-ornament of makara-kundala type. This or its variants was copied in gold, bronze, stucco and terracotta.

Gold ornaments recovered from the Megaliths of Nāgārjunakonda do not offer any comparison with those from the historical strata. They are of simpler types and not marked by any evolved technique. The most important examples amongst the old articles from Megaliths are a pair of spiral ear-ring and a necklace. The former type, though absent in the collection from excavation, appear on a number of sculptured panels from Nāgārjunakonda. Ear-rings with open ends, oval ear-ornaments, disc-shaped ear-stud etc., are of common occurrence in the sculptures of this valley. Some of the types are shown as if worn round the ear-lobes, some in the perforation of the tendril.

(i) Ear-ornaments (pl. CXXX A): There are three examples under this group, exclusive of the unique pair discovered in a hoard. The simplest type is a ring of thin strip with open end. The most evolved and stylised variety is the pair of makara-kundala. Three fragments of an ear-ring, characterised by filigree techniques, came from the bed of the ancient canal. Apparently they were fragments of makara-kundala type. The following specimens are illustrated.

1. An unique pair of stylized makara-kundala type of gold ear-ornaments with twisted ends, possible for threading; the surface is minutely decorated with filigree or wire work; granulation in the centre looks like a knot line; the combination of two evolved techniques made it possible to bring out the effect of leaf-design on the arched body of the kundala; possibly it was suspended by means of a chain or thread around the ear-lobes. From Sector N III/Site 109 (Rubble structures), Ikshvākū level.

2. An ear-ring of thin strip of gold with open end, meant for insertion into the tendril perforation. From Sector N VIII-Site 102 (Servant’s Quarter inside the citadel), Ikshvākū level.

3. A gold ear-ornament in the shape of seven-petalled flower, an example of granulation technique. From Sector N VIII/Site 123 (Area between the Dock-reservoir and Pushpabhadrasvāmī Temple), Ikshvākū level.

\(^2\)For detailed study of these techniques see Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 617-18.
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(ii) Necklace (pl. CXXX A): This is represented by a solitary example, discovered along with the pair of ear-rings described above. The necklace, the string of which must have decayed, consists of one hundred thin strips, about 2 cm in length, with perforation at the thickened centre for threading. These strips were possibly interspaced with ninety-seven globular or short-truncated-barrel beads and two cylinder-square spacers with incipient collars. Two tortoise shaped terminal beads are examples of delicate workmanship; here both filigree as well as granulation techniques were employed. A Roman gold coin of Faustina served as a pendant.

4. From Sector N III/Site 109 (Residential Rubble structures), Ikshvāku level.

(iii) Coin-pendant (pl. CXXX A): There cannot be any doubt from the example mentioned above that some of the Roman gold coins were used as ornaments. The said examples has its perforation on the top for suspension. Longhurst’s excavation\(^1\) revealed two medallions from the reliquary of Stūpa No. 6. They were made in imitation of some Roman coin, since the bust delineated on it, does not bear Indian features at all. A similar coin-pendant with two holes for suspension come in recent excavation from the citadel area. These specimens are described in detail along with the coins.

Coin-pendants or pendants made in imitation of coins are known from sites like Sisupalgarh,\(^2\) Pataliputra,\(^3\) Kumrahar\(^4\) and Taxila.\(^5\) These were made in imitation of Kushan gold coins.\(^6\) Thus, there are two types of coin-pendants, namely, (a) pendants made in imitation of Roman coins, and (b) those copied from the Kushan coins.\(^7\) Chronologically, both the types are contemporaneous. There is one difference between the two groups. Coin-pendants made in imitation of Kushan coin have loops on the top, whereas at Nāgārjunakoṭa only one or two holes on the top near the border are provided. Clay bullae from various parts of India have either a loop or perforation on the top. Both the types are, however, available in this valley. There is another variety of coin pendant in which the Kushan motif is imitated on the obverse, whereas the reverse depicts a Roman head. The gold coin of Dharmadamadhara (? from Sisupalgarh\(^8\) is the only example of this type.

IV. GOLD AND SILVER VESSELS (pl.CXXX B-F)

It has been noted earlier that all the gold and silver vessels were recovered from one locus within a temple precinct. The absence of any residential structure nearby strengthens the inference that the hoard formed part of temple paraphernalia. These vessels\(^9\) differ in shape and in certain other features from the known pottery types of Nāgārjunakoṭa.

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\(^1\) A.H. Longhurst, The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṭa, Madras Presidency, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 54 (Delhi, 1938), p. 21, pl. XVI.

\(^2\) B.B. Lal, Sisupalgarh 1948, Ancient India. No. 5, p. 97.

\(^3\) Indian Archaeology 1955-56-A Review, pl. XXIV B.


\(^5\) Marshal, op. cit.

\(^6\) There is one gold plated coin; gilded part, however, is completely lost save one fragment, which shows a Kushan dress.

\(^7\) B.B. Lal, op. cit., p. 100.

\(^8\) Ibid.

\(^9\) According to the local priests they conform to the descriptions given in the Āgama Śāstra. The main distinction, as the priests claim, between an utilitarian vessel and a vessel used for worship is the existence of “bindu” at the inner base of the latter.
They were meant for daily worship and consist of bowls and dishes with convex or incurved sides. All of them have characteristic knob at the inner base, a feature not observed in the pottery of Nāgārjunakonda. Lal has described a particular category of pottery at Śisupālgarh as “knobbed ware”, which bears a central knob in the base. Type III of Period III at Hastinapura\(^1\) also reveals a central knob within a raised circle. One of the silver dishes of Nāgārjunakonda exhibits a knob within the concentric circles. We do not know whether this knob in the pottery has any relationship with knob observed in the gold and silver pūjā-pātraś of Nāgārjunakonda. A tendency to decorate the centre of the inner base by means of impressed designs like raised concentric circles, grooves, rosettes is found in the grey ware bowls and dishes of Hastinapura III, Pataliputra, Vaisali, Bhīr Mound and also in NBP Ware.\(^2\) The Painted Grey Ware dishes and bowls often display spiral or floral designs in the centre of the inner base. These decorations have no utilitarian value. Knobs of silver and gold vessels have also no other purpose save decorations, but possibly with religious sanction.

The total number of vessels is eleven, out of which three are deep bowls (pl. CXXX B-D), five plates (pl. CXXXE-CXXXIIB), one incense-burner (pl. CXXXI-C), one rim-portion of a high necked vessel and an ellipsoidal vase. The last mentioned type is represented by thirty-four tiny fragments. Except one deep bowl in gold, all are in silver. The knob as well as the flat base, in some cases, are soldered with the main part. Where knob-portion is joined separately, we do not find cavity at the exterior base. In case of incense-burner, faint incised lines all over the body similar to striation mark are noticeable. This peculiar feature indicative of the technique of burnishing, used for copper and bronze vessels but not generally seen in gold or silver types which are beaten into required shapes. Here they are used for a silver vessel showing that after they were burnished by turning on lathe, with a sharp implement of the smith holding the top startlingly against the rotating vessel, essentially to make the surface even and bright. In minute details, knobs vary from each other, which will be apparent from the under-mentioned descriptions:

1. (294-A) Deep bowl of gold with internally prominently ribbed rim and incurved sides; base flattish with tapering knob in the interior base and cavity on the exterior at the corresponding point. From Sector N VIII/Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple), Ikṣhvākula level.


11. (294-L) Ellipsoidal body of a silver ware with rounded base, splayed out rim, extremely fragmentary, altogether thirty-four pieces of this vase were found. Same locus.

12. (294-M) A silver stand, many plate or bowl of the present collection can be kept over it, but No. 4 due to its bigger cavity on the exterior fits in well. Same locus.

V. EMBOSSED PLATE

This group is represented by a solitary example in gold (pl. CXXXI E). A thin embossed gold leaf, however, was recovered by Longhurst from the reliquary of Mahiśāsaka Vihāra. The present example is a thin rectangular plate embossed with a portrait of a king. He is reclining against a throne with one of his hands resting on the decorated arm of the latter. The crested head-dress, bangles and necklace and the dignified pose bespeak a royal identity.

\(^1\) Ancient India, No. 5, p. 78.

\(^2\) Ancient India, Nos. 10 & 11, p. 53,
GOLD AND SILVER OBJECTS

The plate is made in *repouses* technique, in which relief is obtained by hammering the gold sheet on to a solid metal or wooden die without any subsequent chasing or finishing. It may tend to suggest that several such pieces were turned out at a quicker and cheaper rate on some important occasion for the purpose of distribution to priests and Brāhmīns—it appears to be a commemorative plaque, but the king responsible for this stately gift, did not leave any record as to his identification.

The figure portrays an elderly man with roundish face, thick lips and broad nose, but unlike the figure of Chāntamulā, represented on one of the panels of his Chhāyā-stambha, it betrays an attenuated waist, broad hip and on the whole, a slim figure typical of the Ikshvāku period. In fine, we do not notice any non-Indian feature in the delineation of this relief.

(iv) BEADS\(^1\) (pl. CXXXII A-CXXXV C)

The excavation conducted during the period 1954-60 at Nāgarjunakondā unearthed a total number of three hundred and sixty-four beads from the Historical levels. Out of this total, about twenty-five beads, recovered mostly from sector S XII, may be ascribed to the Medieval period. These figures do not include the beads recovered from relic caskets. The present report deals only with beads discovered from the historical strata, including medieval specimens. Excavations carried out by Longhurst\(^2\) and Ramachandran\(^3\) also yielded beads of coral, crystal, pearl, etc. They have not been included in any of the statistical charts, but available data have been summarised in the section, dealing with the beads from the reliquary.

(b) DISTRIBUTION OF BEADS IN THE VALLEY

Compared to other excavated sites in India, the total number of beads from Nāgarjunakondā is comparatively meagre in quantity. The two cities of Taxila, namely Bhir Mound and Sirkap, exposed one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three and five thousand five hundred and thirty-four beads respectively and Kondapur brought to light a total number of twenty three thousand three hundred and ninety-one beads belonging to the Sātavāhana period.\(^4\) The reason for such a relatively low frequency of beads at Nāgarjunakondā when compared to the vast area excavated is rather inexplicable.

Beads were not evenly found distributed all over the valley. Only a small percentage came from the areas where monasteries or temples were located. The northeastern half of the valley covered by about twelve Sectors (e.g. NXI, NV, SVI, SXVI, NXVI, NXX, NXXI, NXXIV, etc.), within which were discovered majority of the monastic or public structures, yielded only sixteen beads, six each of terracotta and glass, one shell and three of jasper. The main concentration was in areas to the east and the south of the Citadel. These areas were primarily residential in character. Sector N III, the area of residential rubble structures, yielded the maximum number of beads. Beads of all materials and types came from this locality, which was conspicuous for the great preponderance of lug-collared types on glass. Glass and terracotta here constituted 41.97% and 27.16% respectively. Sectors NI and NVIII revealed sixty-two and fifty beads respectively, half of these numbers being of terracotta. Sector SIII, also a residential locality, exposed thirty-nine beads, out of which twenty-three were of terracotta, 13 of glass, 2 faience and 1 carnelian. Sectors SXII and SXIII produced about twenty-five beads in association

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\(^1\)This chapter has been contributed by H. Sarkar and K. Krishnamurthy.
with Medieval or post-Ikshvākula remains. The main cultural activity in Sector SXII was represented by a series of burial-pits, containing crude grey ware pottery and animal bones and the beads unearthed from these pits may safely be attributed to the medieval period.

The excavation did not reveal any bead-factory either; only one or two unfinished beads were noticed. The paucity of beads was, therefore, apparently due to limited supply. It may, at the same time, reflect a dependent and poor economic condition of the general population under the Ikshvākula hegemony. The decline of Roman trade during this period must have affected the prosperity of the people. Moreover, private buildings occupied a lesser area than public edifices like monasteries, temples, stadium, etc., and the valley enjoyed the privilege of becoming the seat of a government only for a century or so. These two factors might also largely be responsible for the paucity of cultural materials, comprising beads and other small finds.

(c) Classification of Beads

From Excavation

It is evident from Table I that the predominant bead materials at Nāgarjunakonda during the Ikshvākula period are glass (37.9%) and terracotta (36.81%). Semiprecious stones constituted 10.68% of the total. Shell, faience and coral had also been used for making beads. Semiprecious stones were represented by a maximum number of fifteen types (including sub-types), glass by fourteen types, terracotta by nine, shell, coral and faience each by two types. The highest concentration in the group of tubular beads (80.82%) amongst which lug-collared-tubular beads formed an overwhelming majority. Pear-shaped, confined only in terracotta, comes next. The spherical shape accounted for sixty-eight beads (17.58%);—terracotta and semiprecious stones seem to be the favourite materials for this shape. It may be affirmed therefore, that the most distinctive bead-type from Nāgarjunakonda was tubular bead with lug-collar-a type which was the most preferred in early historical times not only in India but also in West Asia.

Beads from Nāgarjunakonda may be classified under four broad groups, according to the materials used for making them namely, (A) semiprecious stones, (B) glass, (C) terracotta, (D) other materials like (i) shell, (ii) faience, (iii) coral and (iv) ivory. They have further been sub-divided, according to types. Table I shows the classification of beads according to materials and types.

(A) Semiprecious stones (pl. CXXXIII A-B)

Jasper, carnelian, crystal or crystalline quartz and agate appear to be the popular bead-materials at Nāgarjunakonda. Jasper was responsible for the maximum number of beads, but the types represented in this materials are only six, amongst which spherical and corner-less-cube are the most important. It may be mentioned here that Sātāvāhana sites like Kondapur and Brahmapuri have yielded only seven and two jasper beads respectively. Jasper does not seem to have been a very familiar material during the Sātāvāhana period. The evidence from Nāgarjunakonda tends to show that this stone gained importance during the post-Sātāvāhana epoch perhaps due to its local availability. So far as the maximum types are

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1It may be repeated in this connection, that not a single piece of rouletted ware was found in the excavation, and that only few Roman coins came from Nāgarjunakonda.

2M.G. Dikshit, op. cit., p. 2.

3H.D. Sankalia and M.G. Dikshit; Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) 1945-46, Poona, 1952, p. 91.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Site</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Semiprecious Stones</th>
<th>Glass</th>
<th>Terracotta</th>
<th>Shell</th>
<th>Faience</th>
<th>Coral</th>
<th>Total number of Beads found in excavation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nāgārjunakonda</td>
<td>3rd-4th centuries A.D.</td>
<td>68 (18.68%)</td>
<td>138 (37.91%)</td>
<td>134 (36.81%)</td>
<td>9 (2.47%)</td>
<td>9 (2.47%)</td>
<td>5 (1.09%)</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Arikamedu</td>
<td>1st-2nd centuries A.D.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>More than 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Brahmagri-III</td>
<td>1st century A.D. to 3rd century A.D.</td>
<td>12 (34.28%)</td>
<td>5 (14.28%)</td>
<td>13 (37.14%)</td>
<td>5 (14.28%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35 (From Period III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Maski-III</td>
<td>Middle of 1st century to 3rd century A.D.</td>
<td>53 (34.64%)</td>
<td>21 (13.31%)</td>
<td>10 (6.36%)</td>
<td>38 (24.20%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20 (12.73%)</td>
<td>153 (From Period III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kondapur</td>
<td>100 B.C. to 200 A.D.</td>
<td>428 (1.82%)</td>
<td>700 (2.99%)</td>
<td>22000 (94.90%)</td>
<td>60 (0.25%)</td>
<td>200 (0.85%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Brahmapuri</td>
<td>2nd century B.C. to 14th century A.D.</td>
<td>87 (7.27%)</td>
<td>694 (58.03%)</td>
<td>328 (30.76%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>42 (7.02%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tripuri</td>
<td>400 B.C. to A.D. 400</td>
<td>31 (21.67%)</td>
<td>31 (21.67%)</td>
<td>68 (47.55%)</td>
<td>7 (4.89%)</td>
<td>14 (9.71%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>143 (Concentration in Strata IV &amp; V. A.D. 400 to 100 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nasik</td>
<td>400 B.C. to A.D. 1875</td>
<td>48 (30.0%)</td>
<td>7 (4.37%)</td>
<td>85 (53.12%)</td>
<td>5 (3.12%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>160 (Major concentration in Period II 69.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Taxila-Sirkap</td>
<td>1st century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.</td>
<td>656 (11.81%)</td>
<td>3152 (56.59%)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1443 (26.07%)</td>
<td>222 (4.01%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. -do-(Bhir mould)</td>
<td>5th century B.C. to 2nd century B.C.</td>
<td>752 (42.65%)</td>
<td>565 (32.04%)</td>
<td>50 (2.83%)</td>
<td>230 (14.74%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Maheshwar-VI</td>
<td>A.D. 200 to A.D.500</td>
<td>8 (18.75%)</td>
<td>8 (8.33%)</td>
<td>65 (67.85%)</td>
<td>3 (5.29%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
concerned, carnelian and crystal were equally important like jasper. There are six types each in crystal and carnelian. Carnelian, merited as being endowed with magical power due to its blood colour, was the most favourite stone at Taxila,\(^1\) Ahichchhatra,\(^2\) Vaiśali,\(^3\) Brahmapur, Maski,\(^4\) etc. But this is not the case with Kondapur and Nasik\(^5\). At Hastinapura,\(^6\) seventeen specimens each accounted for crystal and carnelian. Crystal had a greater concentration in the Mid-level of Period III at Hastinapura and also possibly Period III (A.D. 100 to A.D. 300) at Kumrahar.\(^7\) The result from Taxila demonstrated that crystal and quartz were not popular stones in the Bhir Mound, whereas at Sirkap they revealed comparatively higher frequency. The relatively higher percentage of crystal at Nāgārjunakonda, Tripuri, Nasik and also to some extent, Brahmapur, may suggest that crystal, as a bead-material assumed greater importance between 200 B.C. and third century A.D., specially in the Deccan. Crystal biconical-hexagonal beads or other similar types, have been recovered from different Buddhist sites in south India like Guntapalle, Ghantasala, Amarañati, etc. There are only two faceted beads in this stone from Nāgārjunakonda, of which one is barrel-hexagonal, and the other a multi-faceted-bicone. They are, however, more common in the reliquaries of Nāgārjunakonda. The excavation at Nandangarh\(^8\) also revealed similar crystal beads, but Paharpur\(^9\), as it appears from the photograph, exposed some long barrel hexagonal carnelian beads. Agate was used at Nāgārjunakonda mainly for barrel-circular type, which was common to all sites in India. Etched beads have not come to light from Nāgārjunakonda, inspite of the fact that they were widely distributed in space as well as in time. All the examples of amethyst were of circular-tubular-lug-collared type. Both the specimens of long-cylinder-circular beads of garnet were medieval in date. At Brahmapur\(^10\) also, all the garnet beads come from the Bahmani period. In the following pages, an attempt is made to find out the nature of the common types in the light of already known data. Semiprecious stones, as a whole, display maximum number of fifteen types including sub-types. They have been grouped under nine main types which may be enumerated as follows:

1. **Spherical**: The most common shape at Nāgārjunakonda in semiprecious stones was spherical or spheroid. Green jasper seems to be the favourite material for this shape; carnelian and red jasper had also been used in fair proportion. At Nasik,\(^11\) the spherical beads were made mainly on red and green jasper, whereas at Maski,\(^12\) this shape was repeated in every available material. At Arikamedu\(^13\) and Maski, spherical was the commonest shape of beads. These two sites stand collectively with

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\(^{3}\) Information from Shri S. R. Ray, Research Fellow, K.P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna.


\(^{8}\) *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1935-36, pl. XXIII, k-n.

\(^{9}\) *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1927-28, pl. XLVIII, a & b.

\(^{10}\) *op. cit.*, p. 9.

\(^{11}\) *op. cit.*, p. 9.

\(^{12}\) *op. cit.*, p. 104 ff.

BEADS

Nāgārjunakonda so far as this type is concerned. Kondapur had also yielded spherical beads in green or red jasper, but like Nāgārjunakonda, they did not form a high percentage. It appears from the Brahmapuri report that this shape was not very common in the Sātavāhana levels, though Bahmani period clearly showed to predilection for this bead-form which did not seem to be a popular shape at Tripuri and Brahmagiri also. Spherical, though a very old shape dating back as early as the Harappa culture, may not be a common type at each and every site. But nothing definite can be said since the earlier reports had seldom taken into consideration the important factor of the frequency of a particular shape. But Taxila¹ offers us some interesting evidence. The most favourite shape at Bhir Mound was the spherical, forming 37.37% of the total, but at Sirkap, it fell down to about 15.2% of the total. It may show that the popularity of spherical beads was on the decline during the Sirkap phase of Taxila when disc-bead became the commonest type. The lesser frequency of this type at Brahmapuri and Kondapur may possibly suggest that it was not a very popular shape in stone in the Sātavāhana period. This shape in crystal, thirteen in number, came also from the great Buddhist vihāra at Paharpur. Spherical or globular beads in stone were of common occurrence at Bangarh.²

The spherical stone-beads from Nāgārjunakonda ranged in diameter between 3 cm to 0.9 cm. The medieval examples displayed uneven surface indicating inferior workmanship. The diameter between two holes was always shorter than the other axis.

The following selected specimens of spherical beads are illustrated:—

70. Green jasper, largest specimen, diameter 3 cm. From Sector SXII/Site 76 (Pit-area), Medieval.
74. Green jasper, sign of batting at one side; diameter 3.1 cm. From Sector NIII/Site 9 (Residential Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.
75. Green jasper, diameter 1.07 cm. From Sector SXII/Site 78 (Pit-area), Medieval.
76. Green jasper, diameter 1.7 cm from Sector NII/Site 9 (Residential Rubble Structures), Ikshvāku level.
72. Green jasper, diameter 0.9 cm. Sector NXX/Site 23 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.
77. Carnelian, diameter 1.3 cm. From Sector NIII/Site 37 (Saka Club), Ikshvāku level.
60. Carnelian, diameter 2.4 cm. From Sector NIV/Site 15 (Monastery), Upper level.
71. Red jasper, diameter 1.6 cm. From Sector NII/Fortification Trench F, lower half of the ditch.
59. Chert, diameter 1.5 cm. From Sector SII/Site 72 (Rubble House), Ikshvāku level.
61. Quartz. Ill-shaped, diameter 2.0 cm. From Sector SXII/Site 76 (Pit-area), Pit 7, Medieval.
62. Steatite, spheroid, diameter 1.9 cm., hole 0.9 cm. From Sector SIII/Site 64 (Yaksha Kubera Temple), Ikshvāku level.

2. Cylinder: Cylinder beads were poorly represented in stones but there were two faceted beads

with rectangular or square cross-section. No. 57 was the only example of lapis lazuli of hazy blue colour and the present shape had its counterpart in the same material at Nasik\(^1\) and Brahmapuri. This type was common both in the Sātavāhana and Late Sātavāhana periods at Brahmapuri,\(^2\) and have also been found at Kondapur, Maski, and Rajgir megaliths. The square cylinder lapis lazuli bead from Taxila dated back to the fifth century BC; its proto-types dating from 2000 BC, have been found at Ur.\(^3\) The other type, namely, cylinder-circular variety belongs to "ageless" group and was common to all sites at all periods.

The following selected specimens are illustrated:

57. Lapis lazuli, long-cylinder-square. From Sector N III/Site 9 (Residential Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.
58. Chert, long-cylinder-square, crudely executed. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Bathing Ghāṭ area), Ikshvāku level.
76. Garnet, long-cylinder-circular, length 0.7 cm. From Sector S XII/Site 76 (Pit-area), Medieval.

3. Barrel: Barrel beads were mostly of simpler variety with circular transverse section. The most favourite stone in this shape was banded agate. It was, however, repeated in chalcedony and carnelian also. No. 53 was an incomplete example. That the hole for threading was bored from both the ends is evident from this specimen in which one end was bored fully but the other end has been left incomplete. It had been worked in such a way as to leave a white band in the centre, a practice observed in the Bahmani period of Brahmapuri.\(^4\)

Barrel-shaped bead is as old as the Indus Valley culture, and a very common shape like spherical or cylindrical ones. At Nāgārjunakonda, faceted form of barrel-shaped bead was rare, except one crystal specimen with hexagonal cross-section, discovered from the core of the rampart. At Brahmapuri, these beads were common to both the Sātavāhana and Bahmani layers. There was a general preference for faceted beads in the Sātavāhana period in respect of stone beads at the last mentioned site.\(^5\) Faceted forms in barrel-shaped group at Bhir Mound form 46.04%, whereas at Sirkap, it is only 2.22%. Thus, the faceted type had a tendency to diminish in number in the beginning of the Christian era. By third century A.D., as we see at Nāgārjunakonda, this type became a scarcity. The long-barrel-circular agate beads from Ahichchhatra\(^6\) were mostly confined in Strata IV and III (100 A.D. to 750 A.D.). The predominant stone for this shape at Tripuri was also agate, and barring three, all the examples showed simple circular cross-section. On the other hand, faceted beads were of common occurrence in Period II of Nasik (400 B.C. to 50 A.D.). Barrel-shaped beads from Hastinapura were predominantly

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\(^3\)H. Beck, Beads From Taxila, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 65. p. 15.
\(^6\)MG. Dikshtt, Beads from Ahichchhatra, U.P., Ancient India, No. 8., p. 37.
of agate; and faceted forms were absent. But at Kondapur, the story was, different, barrel recurs in other materials too and shows faceting.

The most remarkable shape amongst the barrel beads at Nāgarjunakonda was a large example with collars. It was in green jasper; and a similar type is reported from Taxila, Kondapur and Arikamedu.

The following selected specimens are illustrated:

51. Banded agate, standard barrel-circular. From Sector N I/Site 93 (Wall to the south of Aśvamedha site), Ikṣhvāku level.

52. Banded agate, standard barrel-circular. From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial), Ikṣhvāku level.

53. Banded agate, long-barrel-circular, half-finished, bordering on one side incomplete. From Sector N IV/Site 6 (Monastery), Surface.

54. Banded agate, long-barrel-circular. From Sector S IV/Site 5 (Residential structures to the north of Stūpa 9), Ikṣhvāku level.


65. Green jasper, long-barrel-circular, collared 4.2 cm in length. From Sector S IX/Site 7 (Navagraha Temple), Ikṣhvāku level.

4. Carnelian, standard barrel-circular; From Sector N VIII/near Site 122 (Dock tank), Ikṣhvāku level.

5. Chalcedony, long-barrel-circular. From Sector S III/Site 64 (Yaksha-Kubera Temple), Ikṣhvāku level.

6. Chalcedony, long-barrel-circular. From Sector S XIII/Site 67 (Residential structure and stepped well), post-Ikṣhvāku level.

114. Crystal, long-barrel-hexagonal. From Sector N II/Fortification Trench F (Core of the rampart).

4. Disc-circular-cylinder. This was the most dominant shape in the neolithic sites of Nāgarjunakonda. Shell, paste or magnesia appear to be the favourite material for this shape at Brahmagiri. But at Maski, this shape was not found in shell which accounted for the maximum number of beads. This was the commonest shape at Sirkap, where a sudden influx of shell-beads was observed in that period. Brahmagiri also shows a preference for this shape. But the historical levels of Nāgarjunakonda had revealed only two such specimens in stone, one each in carnelian and serpentine. This seems to be one of the commonest shapes at Bangarh.

50. Serpentine; From Sector N III/Site 9 (Residential Rubble Structures), Ikṣhvāku level.

102. Carnelian; From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Surface.

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1Marshall, op. cit., p. 734.
2R.E.M. Wheeler, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947; Megalithic and other cultures in Mysore State, Ancient India, No. 4.
3Identified by Shri P. Sriramamurthi, Chemical Asst., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
5. Short-convex-bicone: This or its truncated type has been found at Taxila, Tripuri, Brahmmapuri, Arikamedu, Kondapur, Nasik, Ahichchhatra and other sites. At Nasik, Kondapur, Ahichchhatra, this form was generally found in crystal. There is only one specimen of this type at Nāgārjunakonda.

64. Crystal, short-convex-bicone, double hexagonal. From Sector N II/Site 35 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

6. Short-truncated-cone: This is represented by only one example and possibly unfinished. There was an attempt to transform it into a faceted one; it roughly conforms to a pentagonal section.

3. Carnelian short-truncated-cone. From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

7. Corner-less cube: All the specimens of corner-less cube were in red jasper and facets consist of either triangles or six squares. Red jasper had been used at Kondapur also for this shape. There were about two hundred and sixteen corner-less cubes from Sirkap, as against six from Bhir Mound. Its frequency at Sirkap may tend to show the popularity of this type in first century A.D. in that region. The smaller variety of corner-less cubes was quite common in stone as well as in glass at Vaisali.¹

67. Red jasper, cornerless cube, thickness 2.1 cm. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

6. Red jasper, cornerless cube, thickness 2.5 cm. From Sector N III/Site 107 (Residential Rubble Structures), Upper level.

8. Tubular: Tubular beads fall under faceted groups in Beck’s classification, and as such is a developed type. Amongst stone beads from Nāgārjunakonda, its number was only next to spherical type. These beads may further be sub-divided into four sub-types, namely, (a) ovoid-tubular, (b) circular-tubular, (c) circular-tubular-collared and (d) long-biconvex-tubular. Sub-type (a) is rather an uncommon shape but circular-tubular bead had been discovered at Nasik, Tripuri, Kondapur, Brahmmapuri, Taxila and Ahichchhatra. They were common at the Sātavāhana site and megalithic burials in south India. Dikshiti² calls it as “South Indian type”. Tubular-biconvex bead here was represented by two examples. Similar specimens have been recovered at Maski and Kondapur. Circular-tubular-lug-collared beads have comparatively higher percentage at Nāgārjunakonda than other sub-types. Stones used for this shape were amethyst, crystal and carnelian. These examples are imprinted with a mature workmanship. Collared beads as well as tubular beads occur in frequent numbers in the Sātavāhana sites. The lenticular-collared bead-form was repeated in every available material at Kondapur³. At Brahmmapuri⁴, they were mostly in faience or glass with circular or lenticular cross-section. From Arikamedu⁵ collared beads were mostly barrel-circular. Nāgārjunakonda has not produced barrel-circular-collared beads in stone, save one in jasper. It may be pointed out here that Brahmagiri has not revealed tubular beads, which are comparatively rare at Maski also. Nāgārjunakonda shows preference for lug-collars.

¹Information from Shri S.R. Ray.
The following selected specimens of tubular beads are illustrated:

49. Serpentine, ovoid-tubular. From Sector N III/Site 9 (Residential Rubble structure), Ikshvaku level.

56. Agate, circular-tubular. From Sector S II/Site 70 (Mandapa), Upper layer.

60. Crystalline quartz, circular-tubular. From Sector N II/Fortification Trench F, Upper layer.

63. Crystal, circular-tubular. From Sector N III/Site 9 (Residential Rubble structure), Ikshvaku level.

66. Green jasper, ovoid-tubular. From Sector N XXIV/Site 29 (Ashtabhuja Temple area), Ikshvaku level.

1. Carnelian, circular-tubular-lug-collared. From Sector N VIII/Site 122 (Teppakulam), bottom part of the silt.


115. Crystalline quartz, long-biconvex-tubular. From Sector S XI/Site 77 (Navagha Temple), Upper layer.


9. Pendants or Amulets: The scarcity of pendants or amulets in stone was one of the characteristic features of the bead industry of Nagārjunakonda. Out of two examples, the fish-shaped pendant was definitely a medieval one. Taxila had brought to light a variety of novel shapes, but fish-design ¹ was not met with. It is practically absent at other sites. The tiger-claw, however, was a familiar motif in ancient India. According to Marshall², "claw and tooth amulets were probably as much prized in Ancient India as they were among the Greeks and Romans". Pendants of Bhir Mound and Sirkap were generally wrought on stone, but the Satavahana period shows definite inclination for terracotta pendants or amulets, as can be gleaned from the evidence of Kondapur and Brahmapuri.

The following two pendants, one of carnelian and other in red jasper, have been discovered at Nagārjunakonda.

2. Carnelian fish-shaped pendant. From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Upper level.

(B) Terracotta Beads (pl. CXXXII A-B)

Terracotta constituted 36.1% of the total number of beads from the historical levels of Nagārjunakonda. Types represented in this material were spherical, pear-shaped truncated-bicone, cylinder-circular, barrel-circular, decorated beads, spacers and pendants. Pear-shaped accounted for seventy-one specimens.

¹Beck, op. cit., p. 1. There is one bead which is said to represent dog's head but Beck thinks it to be a fish.
Terracotta beads in India date back as early as the Harappa culture. Period II of Hastinapura has also yielded fairly good number of such examples. But they are rare in the proto-historic cultures of the Deccan. Only two barrel-circular beads come from the late levels of I B phase at Brahmagiri\(^1\) and six terracotta beads (4.41%) from Navdatoli III,\(^2\) but its contemporary levels at Maski, Nasik and Tripuri were practically devoid of this material. At Tripuri, terracotta beads occurred occasionally in Stratum III (300 B.C. to 100 B.C.), but at Nasik its main concentration was in Period II (first century A.D. to fifth century B.C.). Pottery beads form a little percentage in all periods of Maski and Brahmagiri. They constituted a negligible proportion at Sirkap and Bhir Mound. They were profuse in the Sattavahana levels of Brahmnapuri and Kondapur. Period VI (A.D. 200 to 500) of Maheshwar\(^3\) revealed sixty-five terracotta beads out of a total of ninety-six. At sites like Kumrahar,\(^4\) Vaisali and Sonepur,\(^5\) they also showed higher frequency. The stūpa site of Vaisali rarely produced terracotta beads, which were recovered mostly from the Tank and the Garh areas. But even in the second century A.D., it could not outnumber shell or coral at Maski. The evidence, on the whole, exhibits the preponderance of pottery beads during first century B.C. to third century A.D. Stratum III of Tripuri (300 B.C. to 100 B.C.) and Period IV of Maheshwar yielded only a few terracotta beads.

The time-span referred to above was also the period of glass beads. The high frequency of terracotta beads in a period of developed glass industry and in an epoch of close foreign contacts is rather difficult to explain. Stone was always considered more precious in comparison to terracotta which hardly presented an attractive form. Some of the beads were possibly used as objects other than ornaments. But Ghosh\(^6\) rightly points out that, “it is, however, not possible without being arbitrary, to draw a line between these objects and others which are certainly beads.” He considers that some of the terracotta beads from Sirkap were possibly spindle-whorls. It may be mentioned here that spherical spindle whorls were found in Neolithic, Old Kingdom and Ptolemaic levels of Desert Fayum.\(^7\) Caton-Thompson also refers to predynastic dome-shaped whorls, which may be compared with the pear-shaped beads from India. Numerous large perforated clay balls from Fayum have been tentatively identified as loom-weights. Spherical terracotta balls are still employed as net-sinkers\(^8\) in this region. The pear-shaped beads with pointed ends is remnant of modern plumb-bobs used by the masons.

The distribution of pottery beads in the valley may offer some interesting suggestions regarding their use. The maximum number of beads were recovered from Sectors N III and part of N IV, the considerable portion of which seems to have been residential in character. This is the only area where glass outnumbered terracotta beads. The natural hypothesis is that as personal ornaments, glass was a more favourite material than terracotta. The maximum number of terracotta beads came from the area bordering the river bank (Sectors N VIII, N II, S II, N XXIV). Many of them show black patches.

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3. Ibid., p. 15.
5. Information from Dr. B.S., Verma, Research Fellow, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
indicating that sufficient care was not taken during the time of firing. The spherical beads were mostly hand-made and often ill-shaped. There is no uniform size so far as spherical type is concerned. On the other hand, pear-shaped variety appears to have a standard size as well as shape. The annular type, though found in the Megalithic remains of the valley, have not been discovered from the historical strata.

Quite a good number of terracotta beads were exposed from medieval pits in Sector S XII in association with animal bones and crude grey ware pottery. In shape, they do not vary much from the beads of the historical period. But latter is generally reddish in colour, whereas the former is generally grey or black-slipped. The truncation of apex or end, so far as pear-shaped beads are concerned was not generally observed in the medieval specimens. A quantitative analysis at Brahmapurī shows that pear-shaped, areca nut-shaped beads is gradually on the wane in the Bahmani period and generally abundant in the Sātavāhana and late Sātavāhana period. According to Sankalia and Dikshit⁴, pear-shaped beads from Sātavāhana level were "larger in diameter and squat in proportion" and the "cup-shaped depression at the butt-end is generally very shallow in the late Sātavāhana period and almost flat in the beads from Bahmani layers". The pear-shaped or ghāta-shaped beads recovered from sites like Taxila, Ahichchhatra, Vaisali, Kumrahar, Sonepur etc., were invariably larger in size, having wide perforations, and do not exactly offer comparison with those from the Deccan. Beads recovered from Ratnagiri³, though cruder in workmanship and ill-fired, bear resemblance to the pear-shaped variety of Nasik, Kondapur, Nāgārjunakonda etc. It is evident from Ratnagiri that these types continued even up to fourth-fifth centuries A.D. The pear-shaped beads have been found in fairly large quantity within the monastic complex of Salihundam and Ratnagiri and it naturally raises the question whether the practice of counting beads was in vogue amongst the Buddhist,⁴ unless they were used for decorating certain icons. No monastery at Nāgārjunakonda, however, had exposed any appreciable number of such types.

The following are the type-wise descriptions of terracotta beads:

1. Spherical: In diameter, these beads ranged between 1.0 cm to 3.05 cm, and have been recovered mostly from Sectors S II, S XI, N II and N VIII. No. 5 is a perfect specimen of spherical bead, having a polished brown exterior. No. 2 bears a mild groove from hole to hole resembling an impression of some thread with which it was tied. It was used probably as a net-sinker.

The following specimens of spherical beads, representative of various sizes available in the valley, are illustrated:

01. Hand-made, rough gritty surface, reddish in colour with black patches, diameter 2 cm. From Sector N III/ Site 113 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

02. Hand-made, rough gritty surface, ill-fired and ill-shaped impression of thread on one side, reddish in colour, diameter 3.05 cm. From Sector S II/ Site 73 (Residential structure), Ikshvāku level.

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²Ibid., p. 93.
³Information from Shrimati D. Mitra. They come mostly from the fillings which seal Period I, structures.
⁴Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist, informs us that "A word like japa-mātā is not recognised in Pali Dictionaries, and the custom does not appear to have been popular with early Buddhist. A book entitled "Historical Studies of the Rosary" by Diogo Jose Pereire Andrade of Goa refers to the prevalence of the custom among the present day Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan, Tibet and Korea. He says that Buddhaghosha (fifth century A.D.) refers to the practice".
03. Hand-made, reddish in colour, diameter 2.0 cm. From Sector N VIII/Site 122 (Dock-tank), bottom part of the silt.

04. Same as above, diameter 2.05 cm. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Bathing Gháñ area), Upper level.

05. Well-polished diameter 1.45 cm. From Sector N III/Site 9 (Residential Rubble Structure), Ikshváku level.

06. Grooved body, reddish in colour, diameter 2.15 cm. From Sector N III/Site 3 (near Dháraní Vihára), Ikshváku level.

07. Traces of black-slip, diameter 2.6 cm. From Sector S XII/Site 76 (Pit area), Pit 17, Medieval.

23. Black-slipped at both ends, middle portion reddish, damaged. From Sector S XII/Site 76 (Pit area), Pit 16, Medieval.

21. Reddish in colour, slip peeled off, diameter 1.2 cm. From Sector S XI/Site 7 (Navagraha Temple), Ikshváku level.

22. Smallest specimen, traces of light brown slip, diameter 1.0 cm. From Sector S XI/Site 7 (Navagraha Temple), Ikshváku level.

2. Pear-shaped: This group may further be sub-divided into four sub-types, namely (i) pear-shaped with apex truncated and convex end, (ii) pear-shaped without truncated apex, (iii) pear-shaped with ends truncated and (iv) vase-shaped. Nasik has also produced several varieties of such beads where it is described as areca-nut shaped. Like Nasik, these beads from Nágárjunakónda were wheel-made, having close grooves around the body in majority of the cases. At Salihundam, fair majority of the beads was pear-shaped and confined within a monastic establishment. These beads were found mostly from Sectors N VIII, X, N II, SIV at Nágárjunakónda. The first sub-variety is surprisingly absent in Sector S IV. (i) Pear-shaped beads with apex truncated and convex base, either grooved or without grooves, vary in length between 2.5 to 1.1 cm, the average being 2.2 cm. Generally, length is shorter than the width which ranges between 2.5 cm to 1.3 cm with an average of 2.4 cm. The holes (average diameter 0.3 cm) are relatively bigger in size.

(ii) This sub-type is rather longish in shape, the average length and the width being 2.3 cm and 2.2 cm. The diameter of the hole is 0.3 cm except No. 45 which has a diameter of 0.45 cm. These beads have both ends almost pointed and appears to be a further development.

(iii) Pear-shaped beads with both ends truncated have an average length of 2.0 cm and average width of 2.4 cm. The width is invariably longer than the length. The diameter of the hole is 0.3 cm.

(iv) This sub-type is vase-shaped, either squattish or elongated. The present excavation brought to light only three such specimens. No. 16 has a nice reddish slip on its elongated body and belonged to the Ikshváku period. The squattish examples, either with flat or convex base, are medieval in date.

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1 Op. cit., p. 91. Excavations at Baroda (B. Subbarao, Baroda through the Ages, p. 74) have produced "a large number of types among the areca-nut beads".

2 Information from Dr. R. Subrahmanyan.
The following selected specimens of pear-shaped beads are illustrated:

35. Convex end, apex truncated, weakly grooved body, length 2.5 cm, width 2.4 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm, reddish in colour. From Sector N XXIV-Site 29 (Ashābhujavāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

37. Same as above, reddish in colour, length 2.2 cm, width 2.4 cm, diameter of the hole 0.3 cm. From Sector N I/Fortification Trench B, make up of the rampart.

03. Same as above, reddish in colour, deep incised lines on the shoulder, length 2.0 cm, width 2.1 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector NII/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

40. Both ends almost pointed, grooved reddish body, length 2.3 cm, width 2.3 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector N III/Site 3 (Dhāranī Vihāra), Ikshvāku level.

41. Same as above, grey body, length 2.3 cm, width 2.25 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector S XIII/Site 67 (Residential structure and stepped-well), post-Ikshvāku or Medieval.

42. Same as above, black patches possibly part of a slip, length 2.25 cm, width 2.1 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector S II/Site 71 (Public Assembly Hall), Upper layer.

45. Same as above, grey body, length 2.1 cm, width 2.2 cm, diameter of hole 0.45 cm. From Sector S XI/Site 79 (Monastery), Upper layer.

43. Both ends truncated, grooved reddish body, cavity at the top-end, length 1.9 cm, width 2.1 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector N VIII/Site 122 (Dock-tank), bottom part of the silt.

44. Same as above, grooved upper part, length 2.0 cm, width 2.3 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector N II/site 35 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

46. Same as above, deep groove at the apex, black patches on red-dish surface, length 2.0 cm, width 2.0 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector N II/Site 93 (Aśvamedha site), Upper level.

47. Same as above, black-slipped, grooved body, length 1.9 cm, width 2.2 cm, diameter of hole 0.3 cm. From Sector N I/Fortification Trench B, bottom part of the moat.

19. Vase or ghatā-shaped flattish base, grooved shoulder, black-slipped. From Sector S XII/Site 76 (Pit area), Medieval.

20. Same as above, but with convex base, grooved shoulder and pale red body; same locus.

16. Vase-shaped, elongated type, flattish base, open mouth, reddish slip. From Sector S II/Site 71 (Public Assembly Hall), Ikshvāku level.

03. **Long-cylinder-circular:** This may be divided into two types, namely, (i) long-cylinder-circular and (ii) long-cylinder-circular with zones made by incised lines near the ends, which give the effect of collars. In Sector NII/Division 156 (Residential structure near the eastern gate), examples of long cylinder circular, groove-collared beads were discovered from one spot along with two oblong pottery-pendants. In length, these specimens vary between 3.4 cm to 2.3 cm, the average thickness being 0.9 cm.
The following specimens are illustrated:

09. Long-cylinder-circular, grey in colour, lacks better finish, length 2 cm. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Bathing Ghāj area), Ikshvāku level.

10. Same as above, reddish colour, length 3.05 cm. From Sector N III/Site 37 (near Śaka club), Ikshvāku level.

11. Long-cylinder-circular, single zone at the ends, length 2.6 cm. From Sector N II/Site 91 (Residential Structure near Eastern Gate), Ikshvāku level.

12. Same as above; but double one, length 2.35 cm, same locus.

13. Same as above; but single zone, length 2.9 cm, same locus.

14. Same as above; but double zone at one end and three zones on the other, length 3.4 cm. From Sector N.III/Site 112 (Residential Rubble Structure), Surface.

15. Same as above, double zone, length 2.65 cm. From Sector S II/Site 64 (Yaksha-Kubera Temple), Ikshvāku level.

4. *Long-barrel-circular:* This is represented by a solitary specimen. It has twisted incised lines on the body and was discovered from goldsmith’s house in Sector N III. Brahmapuri and Hastinapura have revealed roughly similar examples.

34. Long-barrel-bicone: They have a circular cross-section, and represented by only three specimens. Sirkap has revealed quite a good number of such examples.

5. *Short-truncated-bicone:* They have a circular cross-section, and represented by only three specimens. Sirkap has revealed quite a good number of such examples.

The following are the descriptions of the illustrated specimens:

17. Short-truncated-bicone-circular, black patch on light brown surface, length 1.2 cm, width 1.6 cm. From Sector S II/Site 73 (Residential structure), from a Medieval well.

01. Convex-bicone-circular, length 1.6 cm, width 2.1 cm. From Sector S XI/Site 7 (Navarghāra Temple), Ikshvāku level.

6. *Spacers:* These are only three in number with two holes for threading. They are square in outline and roughly pyramidal in elevation simulating a *harmika.* Such beads were found at Kondapur also.

The following are the illustrated specimens:

31. From Sector N III/Site 9 (Residential Rubble Structure, Goldsmith’s house), Ikshvāku level.

32. From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

7. *Pendants:* Out of four examples, two specimens were recovered from Sector N II in association with long-cylinder-circular beads. They are simple oblong specimens with a hole for suspension. The other example, conspicuous for its better finish, is a flat rectangular piece with floral design and

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} Op. cit., p. 21, A terracotta mould of Harmika bead has been discovered at Kondapur.}\]
beaded band on the upper part. It has holes on the top margins. The most beautiful example is an axe-shaped pendent. Bead-cum-pendent seems to have been a favourite type in the Sātavāhana period, as testified by the evidence of Kondapur and Brahmapuri.

The following specimens are illustrated:

24. A pendent of cylindrical profile with hole for suspension. From Sector N III/Site 91 (Residential structure near Eastern Gate) Ikshvāku level.
25. Same as above, same locus.
29. A rectangular pendent with floral design and beaded band on the upper part, holes on the margins. From Sector N II/Site 93 (Aśvamedha site), Ikshvāku level.
30. Axe-shape pendent; From same locus as above.

8. Decorated Beads: There are only two shapes, namely (i) āmalaka-shaped, and (ii) star-shaped. These decorative shapes are confined within the citadel. These two shapes are common also at Kondapur.

The following are the illustrated specimens:

26. Āmalaka-shaped. From Sector N II/Site 93 (near Aśvamedha Site), Ikshvāku level.
27. Same as above. From Sector N VIII/Site 122 (Dock-rank) Ikshvāku level.
02. Star-shaped. From Sector N II/Site 93 (Massive wall west of Aśvamedha site), Ikshvāku level.

C. Glass (pl. CXXXIV A-B)

In comparison to Mesopotamia, Syria or Egypt, glass industry of India\(^1\) started its career at a later-date. Though glazed objects and vitreous paste have been found in the Indus Valley, true glass was absent in this culture. According to Marshall and also Beck, true Glass makes its first appearance at Taxila near about the fifth century B.C.\(^2\) The earliest specimen of glass bead in India, so far as our present knowledge goes, comes from the Painted Grey Ware level of Hastinapur (1100 BC to 600 B.C.).\(^3\) The chalcolithic level at Maski (first millennium BC to \textit{circa} 400 B.C.)\(^4\) and Navdatoli\(^5\) had also revealed four glass beads. There is no doubt from the evidence of Bhir Mound that the art of glass making reached a high level of perfection in India before third century BC. In Sirkap phase of Taxila, glass became the most favourite bead-material. The period in which Sirkap falls, is an era of foreign trade and contact. The systematic use of glass in India may be due to some foreign impulse. It is not unlikely that the Achaemenid rule in the north-west India during the fifth-sixth centuries BC was responsible for the introduction of glass, and the impetus was further exhilarated in the succeeding centuries by the advent of the Greeks and the hordes of invaders. The Roman trade might have, also, been responsible for the extensive use of glass as bead-material.

\(^{1}\)Marshall, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 63.
\(^{3}\)Lal, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94. Few glass-bangles also come from this period.
\(^{4}\)Thapar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 107. These are possibly from the late levels of Period I.
In the Deccan or in the South, the glass beads became a very popular material near about Christian era. Their main concentration at Tripuri is in Strata IV and V (100 B.C. to 400 A.D.). Stratum III of Tripuri has produced only a small lump of a transparent yellow-green glass. Periods III (A.D. 50 to 200) and IV (A.D. 1400-1075) at Nasik, have revealed the bulk of glass beads, only one glass bead is recorded from Period II-A (400 B.C. to 200 B.C.). The Sātavāhana levels of Brahmapuri and Kondapur show preference for glass beads. At Kondapur, the glass forms only 2.99% of the total, but this is due to an overwhelming frequency of terracotta beads. Kondapur appears to be the manufacturing centre of terracotta beads and as such, the frequency is so abnormally high. In the first century A.D., glass might have superseded other materials like stone or pottery. The result of Nasik and Tripuri clearly indicates that in the preceding century, terracotta was the main bead material. Glass accounts for the majority of beads at Arikamedu in the first-second century. It would not be an unwarranted hypothesis if it is suggested that glass outnumbered other material in the period between first century A.D. and third century A.D. This material is absent in Period II of Kumrahar (150 B.C. to A.D. 100) and outnumbers other stuff only in Period IV (A.D. 300 to 450). There may be exceptions, as we see in case of Maski and Brahmagiri, which were possibly back-waters in an era of close external contacts.

The glass-beads of Nāgārjunakonda, forming 37-91% of the total, display a great preference for circular-tubular-lug-collared beads, manufactured in blue, green and violet-coloured opaque glass. The shape is uncommon in yellow or amber colour. It is apparent from Table I that blue glass has the highest frequency. But Brahmapuri has unearthed larger quantity of green glass. The black glass is confined only within one shape, and all these beads were recovered from one spot. So far as types are concerned, blue glass is represented by eleven types, whereas green account for ten types. Thus it is evident that blue and green were favourite glasses at Nāgārjunakonda during the Ikshvāku time and that several shades of the material were in demand, consistent with it, being the capital city.

Yellow glass is poor in quantity as well as in the frequency of types. This glass has comparatively a higher percentage at Brahmapuri, but it is absent at Tripuri. At Brahmapuri, not much variety in shapes in this colour is to be seen. The amber-coloured glass beads at Kondapur are only few. Red colour is non-existent at Nāgārjunakonda. Deep violet beads from Nāgārjunakonda are restricted mostly to circular-tubular-lug-collared variety. This glass is represented here by only two types and appear at Tripuri in Stratum V (A.D. 400-200); it is not noticed at Kondapur, Maski and Brahmapuri. The deep violet glass had possibly a late beginning in comparison to blue, green and yellow.

The number of folded glass beads, invariably of deep blue colour with white bands, is sixteen. The vihāra of Site 6 yielded from one spot, a series of ten tubular beads in dark navy-blue glass, with white circles on both the sides simulating eyes. These beads accord roughly to the triangular shape. In bi-cone beads, a white layer is inlaid in-between two shades of blue. Such folded glass beads are

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2. About ninety terracotta beads were discovered at one particular spot.
3. The presence of Roulett Ware at Maski is doubtful save for "the occasional occurrence of rim-fragments of the "beaked-dish" on the base of which the rouletted decoration is normally applied" — *Ancient India*, No. 13, p. 15. Brahmagiri has been described as a "rudimentary township," *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 201.
Beads

reported from Kondapur and Brahmapuri. In North, they come in large numbers from Rajghat, Bhita, Kosam and Pataliputra. Taxila has also produced folded bi-cone beads of copper-blue glass.

Apart from tubular types, bi-cone beads in glass had also a great popularity in the valley. Attention may be drawn to the fact that tubular glass beads gained popularity at a period subsequent to Maski, Tripuri, Brahmapuri, etc. At Maski and Hastinapura, long-cylinder-circular is the favourite type in glass, whereas at Tripuri, Arikamedu and Brahmapuri, spherical and long-cylinder are common. Collared glass beads from these sites show a frequency of groove-collared over lug-collared, and shapes are generally barrel-circular. At Kondapur, however, lug-collared beads have relatively a higher percentage but they are mostly lenticular-barrels. Thus, the characteristic of beads of the third century A.D. at Nāgārjunakonda is the great popularity of lug-collars in circular tubular form. This shape has been noticed at Sirkap in the first century A.D. The barrel-circular-collared beads from Nāgārjunakonda are mostly groove-collared.

The glass beads from Nāgārjunakonda may be classified according to the following types:

1. Spherical: There are only four specimens in glass, three in blue, and one in green glass. It has already been mentioned that this shape was common in the earlier epoch which may be co-eval with the Sātavāhana period. All the examples are ill-shaped.

2. Cylinder: Out of five examples, two each are of blue and green glass and one is of folded glass. The later bears two white bands in the centre. The circular cylinder, the most widespread type during the Sātavāhana period, or its contemporary culture, accounts for only four beads. The other, "green translucent specimen, has a rectangular cross-section.

The following specimens are illustrated:


104. Blue, opaque, short-cylinder-circular. From Sector S XII/Site 68-A (Octagonal shrine), Ikshvāku level.

112. Green, translucent, long-cylinder-circular. From Sector S II/Site 72 (Rubble House), Ikshvāku level.

113. Green, translucent, long-cylinder-rectangular. From Sector S II/Site 70 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

142. Folded glass bead, white bend on opaque blue, long-cylinder-circular. From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

3. Barrel: Barrel glass beads are either in green or in blue opaque glass. They conform to two shapes, namely, long barrel-circular and long-barrel-circular-collared. Some of the specimens in the last mentioned category have a flattish section and hence have been further qualified as lenticular cross-section under the flattish group. Barrel-circular-groove-collared ones had a greater appeal in the preceding eras as we see at Kondapur.

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The following selected examples are illustrated:

116. Green, opaque, long-barrel-circular-groove-collared. From Sector S II/Site 70 (Mandapa), Ikshvaku level.

117. Green, opaque, long-barrel-lenticular-collared; Same locus.

118. Same as above. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Pushpabhadrásvámi Temple), Ikshvaku level.


122. Green opaque, long-barrel-lenticular-collared. From Sector N III/Site 108 (four-spoked Stūpa), Upper layer.

123. Same as above, From Sector N III/Site 89 (Residential Rubble structure), Upper layer.

121. Yellow, opaque, long-barrel-lenticular-collared. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Bathing Ghāt area), Ikshvaku level.

128. Blue, opaque, long-barrel-lenticular-lutch-collared. From Sector S III/Site 64 (Kubera-Yaksha Temples), Surface.


4. Convex-bicone: These beads, twenty in number are made in blue, green and yellow glass. Two shapes are found, namely convex examples are in translucent glass. Convex-bicone-circular is made of two shades of blue into which a layer of white opaque glass is carried in. One of the specimens in folded glass is an example of truncated bicone.

The following specimens are illustrated:

97. Blue, opaque, convex-bicone-circular. From Sector N III/Site 108 (four-spoked Stūpa), Ikshvaku level.

100. Blue, opaque, convex-bicone-circular. From Sector N III/Site 113 (Senāpati Memorial Hall), Ikshvaku level.

101. Blue opaque, bicone-circular, flattish. From Sector S XII/Site 76 (Pit area), Pit 7, Medieval.

111. Blue, translucent, convex-bicone-truncated-double-hexagonal. From Sector S II/Site 70 (Mandapa), Ikshvaku level.

98. Green, opaque, convex-bicone-circular. From Sector N III/Site 109 (Residential Rubble Structures), Ikshvaku level.


148. Blue opaque, folded glass bead, convex-bicone-circular, ill-shaped, white opaque layer in between two shades of blue. From Sector N IV/Site 6 (Monastery), Ikshvaku level.


141. Same as 148, Sector N III/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site). Ikshvaku level.
140. Deep navy blue, opaque, folded glass, truncated biconvex-circular, white opaque line in-between two shades of blue. From Sector N III/Site 89 (Residential Rubble Structure), Iksphvāku level.

5. Tubular: Tubular group may be sub-divided under four categories, namely, (a) circular-tubular, (b) long-convex-tubular, (c) triangular-tubular and (d) circular-tubular-collared. Blue, green and deep violet glasses have been used for these shapes. Lug-collared tubular bead has the highest frequency, blue being the most favourite colour. This was the most characteristic shape of bead at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Sub-types 'a', 'b' and 'd' have their counterparts in stone. Sub-types (d) is found in shell as well. Triangular-tubular beads are specimens of folded glass beads of deep navy blue colour, and have been recovered mostly from Site 6. The biconvex-tubular bead was from the make-up of the rampart.

The following selected specimens are illustrated:

109. Green, translucent, circular-tubular. From Sector N IV/Site 37 (Śaka club), Iksphvāku level.

150. Green, translucent, circular-tubular, silvery white paste possibly cobalt over the surface. From Sector S XII, Surface.

120. Green, opaque, circular-tubular-lug-collared. From Sector IV/Site 58 (Rubble structure to the north of Stūpa 9), Iksphvāku level.


127. Blue, opaque, circular-tubular-lug-collared. From Sector II/Site 70-A (Bath), Iksphvāku level.

130. Blue, opaque, same as above. From Sector N III/Site 57 (Rubble structures near Kārttikeya Temple), Iksphvāku level.

131. Blue, opaque, circular-tubular-collared. From Sector N III/Site 57 (Rubble structures near Kārttikeya Temple), Iksphvāku level.

132. Blue, opaque, circular-tubular lug-collared beads, five in number found from the same spot. From Sector N III/Site 89 (Residential Rubble Structure), Iksphvāku level.


134. Same as above. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Bathing Ghāṭ area), Upper layer.


143. Deep navy blue, opaque, folded glass bead, triangular tubular beads ten in number, found from one spot, circular in white on both the surfaces. From Sector N IV/Site 6 (Monastery), Upper level.

6. Segmented: They are mostly in amber or yellow glass. There are two specimens in blue glass also. Segmented beads have been found at Kondapur and Brahmapuri, but there they are mostly tubes of gadrooned beads. The segmented beads of blue or amber glass from Taxila have been dated to third-fourth century A.D. They are not gadrooned and mostly double-bead.
The following selected specimens are illustrated:

137. Yellow, glass, opaque, circular tube divided into seven segments. From Sector N III/Site 89 (Residential Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.

138. Yellow glass, opaque, circular tube divided into four segments. From Sector S IV/Site 65 (Rubble structure to the south-east of Kubera Temple), post-Ikshvāku (?)

136. Blue glass, opaque, circular tube divided into three segments. From Sector N XXXIV/Site 29 (Ashtaḥbhujaśvāmi Temple), upper layer.

7. *Gadrooned*: They are either in green or blue glass and the shape is spherical almost tending to annular form. Gadrooning is made by fine white lines, possibly cobalt-coloured, remains of which will exist. Gadrooned glass from Taxila have been dated to first century BC—first century A.D.

The following specimens are illustrated:

105. Blue, opaque, gadrooned spherical; from Sector S II/Site 70 (*Mandapa*), Ikshvāku level.

106. Green opaque, gadrooned spherical. From Sector N II/ Site 36 (*Senāpati* Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

107. Same as above, From Sector N III/Site 108 (four-spoked Stūpa), Ikshvāku level.

6. *Tiny oblate beads*: Black glass is represented by this solitary shape only, and majority of them are concentrated at one particular locus.

104. Black glass, opaque, tiny oblate circular. From Sector N XX/Site 23 (Monastery), Upper layer.

D. **Other Materials**

1. *Shell*: There appears to be a sudden influx at Sirkap in the popularity of shell beads in the first century A.D. The predominant material at Maski, specially in Period III, is shell. Both Maski and Sirkap have revealed tubular form in shell as well, the later site yielding even collared beads in the same material. About sixty shell beads exhibiting like circular tubular, lenticular barrel, cylindrical-berrel-collared, etc., have been recovered from Kondapur. Brahmagiri is equally rich in shell beads but developed shapes like tubular, etc., are absent. We may safely conclude that the first two centuries of the Christian era saw the re-appearance of shell as a favourite bead-material in some parts of the Deccan and Karnataka. Brahmapuri has brought to light only three beads. They are rare or absent at Abhirchhhatra or Hastinapura. Though Arikamedu is situated on the seacoast, the number of shell-beads, which includes barrel-lug-collared also, is only thirteen. Nāgārjunakonda has produced two main types of shell-beads, namely tabular-collared and disc-cylinder circular, but the total number is only nine. The collared shell beads from this valley conform to two shapes, viz., ovoid tubular-groove-collared and circular-tubular-lug-collared. This material is entirely absent inside the relic Caskets, discovered at Nāgārjunakonda.

The following specimens are illustrated:

91. Shell, disc-circular cylinder. From Sector N XXIV/Site 29 (Ashtaḥbhujaśvāmi Temple), Surface.
92. Shell, ovoid-tubular-groove-collared. From Sector N III/Site 89 (Residential Rubble structure), Ikshvāku level.

93. Shell, ovoid-tubular-groove-collared. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Pushpabhadrasvāmī Temple), Ikshvāku level.

94. Shell, circular-tubular-lug-collared. From Sector S IV/Site 58 (Residential Rubble structure to the north of Stūpa No. 9), Ikshvāku period.

2. Faience: The popularity of faience betrays a sudden increase at Taxila in the first century A.D. Bhir Mound has revealed only six examples whereas two hundred and twenty-two specimens come from Sirkap. None of the faience bead from Ahichchhatra is dated earlier to A.D. 350. This material, whose antiquity in India can be traced back to the Harappan culture, gained wide popularity during the Śātavāhana periods as is evinced from the evidence of Kondapur and Brahmapuri. At the last mentioned site, only two specimens out of total of forty-two, belong to Bahmani period. Late Śātavāhana level there, too, reveals only few examples. At Brahmapuri, faience has also been employed for making collared beads. Gadrooned beads of globular type, also present at Brahmapuri, outnumber any other variety at Kondapur. This material is, however, entirely absent at Maski and Brahmagiri. These two sites so far as the bead-industry is concerned, stand apart from other contemporary sites. Faience is rare at Arikameedu also. Such beads from Nāgārjunakonda are limited to only two shapes namely barrel-circular and gadrooned spherical beads. The less frequency of faience as well as the limited number of types in the same material, as we see at Nāgārjunakonda, may be taken as one of the characteristics of bead industry in the post-Śātavāhana periods. Nāgārjunakonda beads, except one specimen, are of gadrooned tri-coloured spherical type. This shape is common to many sites in India.

The following specimens are illustrated

88. Faience, a group of six gadrooned spherical beads found in one miniature pot, violet, green and white lines on the body. From Sector N VIII/Site 122 (Pavilion to the east of Arena.), Ikshvāku level.

50. Faience, gadrooned spherical bead, yellow and violet lines, from Sector N III/Site 89 (Residential Rubble structure), Ikshvāku level.

108. Faience, long-barrel-circular. From Sector N VIII/Site 34 (Pushpabhadrasvāmī Temple), Ikshvāku level.

3. Coral: Only five coral beads, either spherical or disc-cylinder circular in shape, came from the excavations at Nāgārjunakonda. They are very crudely made and even they may be considered as irregular pieces with perforation. Possibly, it was considered sacred by the Buddhists for "its supposed amuletic properties". Coral is either absent or rare at sites like Hastinapura, Ahichchhatra, Brahmapuri, Brahmagiri, Kondapur, etc., but surprisingly, it shows a high frequency in Period III of Maski.

The following specimens are illustrated

89. Coral, roughly cylinder-disc-circular. From Sector N III/Site 107 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

90. Coral, roughly spherical. From Sector N II/Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

4. Ivory: This material is represented by the following specimen of drop pendant with knob-end.
96. Ivory, drop-pendent, knob-end, circular cross-section, perforation on the narrowing top-sides. From Sector N III/ Site 89 (Residential Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.

IV. BEADS FROM RELIQUARIES (pl. CXXXV A–C)

Beads recovered from reliquaries in the present as well as in earlier excavations are dealt separately in this section, in order to trace their characteristic types and materials, if any, and also to compare them with those from the other excavated areas in the valley. In normal circumstances, materials and types prevalent in a certain period should be expected in the reliquaries also. But it will appear from the following pages that they do not relate well to the bead-types in vogue during the Ikshvāku time. Terracotta and glass beads are more common in the habitational site, whereas the reliquaries show definite predisposition for transparent semiprecious stones, bone, pearl and coral. The relics do not include any terracotta or shell bead at all, on the other hand, not a single bone or pearl bead is noticed in the excavation of the habitational or monastic sites at Nāgarjunakonda. So, the tendency is to place articles or beads of some esoteric value in the reliquaries rather than beads of common use. The stemmed or unstemmed gold flowers had no other use, save serving as a rich component of a relic. Thus, it is not entirely unwarranted to draw a line between the beads of reliquaries and those found in other excavated areas.

The recent excavations disclosed only two reliquaries, one each from Stūpa No. 9 and Site 21. Longhurst recovered no less then six relics from the valley sites but Stūpa No. 9 did not prove fruitful for him. Further excavations at this site in recent years however revealed its presence near the junction of the Āyaka platform and stūpa, this being the only case where relic was kept in this manner and not kept inside the stūpa chamber. Ramachandran discovered about ninety-five pearls kept in a gold tube from the pedestal of a Buddha image.

The following are the short descriptions of beads from the nine different reliquaries at Nāgarjunakonda.

Site 1 (Stūpa No. 1 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl and garnet as well as of crystal. This relic contains the largest sized specimens of beads from Nāgarjunakonda, the largest one having a length of 5.3 cm. Types represented in crystal are long-barrel-hexagonal and long-biconvex-hexagonal, the last-mentioned variety is flatish in section. A crystal ear-stud and few gold flowers of the stemmed variety were also found. There is one lotus pedestal in crystal, slightly broken, but it cannot be said with certainty whether it was originally inside the reliquary of the Mahāstūpa.

Site 2 (Stūpa No. 2 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl, bone, coral, lapis lazuli, turquoise and glass; stemmed gold flower and dome-shaped miniature stūpas in amethyst and turquoise. Types represented are disc-cylinder-circular in bone and lapis lazuli, a triangular shaped unbored bead, short-cylinder-circular beads in turquoise and bone, long-barrel-circular in coral, long-cylinder-circular in bone and a fragment of yellow, opaque glass bead.

1 Longhurst, op. cit., p. 17, pl. XIII d; p. 19; p. 20, pl. XVI (a); p. 20, pl. XVI (b); p. 21, pl. XVI (c); p. 22, pl. XVII (f)
3 The major part of collection of beads from the earlier excavations at Nāgarjunakonda is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and this section has mainly been written on the basis of that collection, which was kindly placed at our disposal by Shri R.C. Kar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, to whom we express our deep gratitude. Longhurst's observations in his Memoir have also been added wherever it is found necessary.
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Site 3 (Stūpa No. 3 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl, bone, coral, crystal, amethyst, sapphire, lapis lazuli and glass; stemmed gold and silver flowers and a miniature crystal stūpa. Types represented are spherical pearl and amethyst beads; long-cylinder-circular beads in bone; lapis lazuli spacer; disc-circular-cylinder beads in coral; circular-tabular-lug-collared bead in blue, opaque glass; unbored beads, one each in crystal and sapphire. A bronze finger-ring with bezel was possibly found inside the relic.

Site 4 (Stūpa No. 4 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl, bone, crystal, amethyst and gold; types found are barrel-circular in amethyst and crystal; long-cylinder-circular gold bead with floral design at one end; a beautiful specimen crystal spacer of Harmikā type.

Site 5 (Stupa No. 5 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl, coral bone, garnet, crystal, amethyst and glass; two specimens of unbored beads, one each in crystal and amethyst; one triangular shaped unbored amethyst bead; long-barrel-circular in bone; long-cylinder-circular in bone; long-cylinder-square blue opaque glass bead. No gold or silver reliquaries were found. But “waterpots and bowls” arranged in orderly manner contained ashes. We do not know where form these beads were actually recovered.

Site 6 (Stupa No. 6 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl, coral, bone, jade; stemmed gold flower; two coin-medallions; a bone bangle (?) piece; types found are short-cylinder-circular jade bead and a bone spacer.

Site 8 (Stupa No. 8 of Longhurst): Beads of pearl and coral\(^1\) as well as silver; gold flower also found; silver bead is a long-cylinder-circular with floral design at one end. This stūpa yielded stone and glazed pottery caskets, latter possibly similar to Sātavāhana or Kushan glazed ware.

Site 9 (Stupa No. 9 of Longhurst): Beads of bone, crystal, copper, lapis lazuli, quartz and glass. Types represented are spherical in quartz; long-cylinder-triangular in crystal; a spacer of greenish glass; long-cylinder-square unbored bead of translucent blue glass; one crystal dome-shaped stūpa also found.

Site 21: Beads of pearl, bone, gold, amethyst and lapis lazuli. Types represented are disc-circular, cylinder and cylinder and circular in lapis lazuli; and long-biconvex hexagonal amethyst bead; gold flower, possibly of Jasmine type also found.

It is evident from the above descriptions that coral, pearl and bone beads like stemmed or unstemmed gold flowers, are practically common to all the reliquaries of Nāgarjunakonda. Bead of amethyst, crystal and glass occur in five cases. Lapis lazuli beads are more common in the relics than in the habitational or monastic sites. Silver, copper, jade, turquoise and sapphire are confined only in the reliquaries. In fact, it may be said that generally semiprecious, transparent stones or scarce stone like lapis lazuli, rare metals and sacred or sepulchral materials like bone or coral form the bead-materials of the reliquaries.

Quartz as a bead-material occurs only in the relic of Stūpa No. 9 which had not produced any gold or pearl. On the whole, the stones and the metals together represent five colours, namely, white, yellow, red, violet and blue.

But the occurrence of glass beads in the reliquaries or in association with relics inside the stūpa at five different sites seems rather interesting, since glass is hardly considered sacred for the ritualistic

\(^{1}\text{Longhurst, op. cit., p. 22.}\)
purposes. How it found a place along with the relics is difficult to determine. Two glass beads are reported to have found inside the soap-stone relic casket of Vaisali, and the reliquary has been dated to the first half of the fifth century BC,¹ a time not far removed from the period of popularity of glass beads at Taxila. Stūpa Nos. 1, 6, 8 and Site 21 did not yield glass beads. Stūpa No. 8 in a monastic complex meant for the Mahāśasaka sect which had been practising a faith different from other Buddhist groups of Nāgārjunakonda. The relic from this stūpa does not contain any stone-bead, whatsoever, and it is associated with glazed pottery.² Two other sites, namely Sites 6 and 21, from the point of view of the Buddhist architecture do not appear to be much developed and they are not associated either with stone-mandapa or chaitya. The Mahā-stūpa, however, has a chaitya and a mandapa, but both of them were constructed subsequent to the former. On the other hand, Stūpa Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9 are quite developed in architectural features. Sites 2 and 3 are also responsible for producing a large number of sculptured friezes, conspicuous for better workmanship and subtle expression of ideas. The earliest stūpa associated with glass beads is the Bahusrutiya Vihāra constructed in the second regnal year of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla. The Mahā-stūpa (or its repair) dated in the 6th regnal year of Śrī Virapurusahadatta but other two complexes, namely Stūpa No. 6 and Site 21 did not reveal any datable antiquity. But there are strong reasons to believe, specially on the grounds of architectural development, that they possibly belong to the structural activities of the Virapurashadatta phase of Ikshvāku period, when the influence of the new material, namely glass, was not felt so much as in of the subsequent epoch.

So far as the bead-forms are concerned, Stūpa Nos. 2 and 3 exposed maximum number of types. Beads recovered from the reliquary of the Mahā-stūpa are hexagonal in cross section, Site 21 also brought to light an amethyst bead of long-biconvex-hexagonal type. Such types quite popular in the Sātavāhana period are absent in other reliquaries in which spherical, disc-circular, long-barrel-circular or long-cylinder-circular are of common occurrence. The circular-tubular-lug-collared bead of blue, opaque glass recovered from the relic of Site 3 is the characteristic bead-shape of Nāgārjunakonda. There are three types which require special mention, namely, long-cylinder-triangular crystal bead of Stūpa No. 9, long-cylinder square glass bead from Stūpa 5 and triangular-shaped unbored beads from Stūpa Nos. 2 and 5. The long-cylinder-triangular bead is the only one of its kind at Nāgārjunakonda and has been discovered at Taxila, Ahiḍhchhatra, Kosam, Vaisali, Tripuri, Kondapur, Nasik, Bahal, Maski, Chandravalli and Raigir megaliths. This is conspicuous by its presence in practically all the relic caskets of Amarāvatī³, Dikshit⁴ has dated this type in the first century B.C.—second century A.D. It may, however, be safely informed from the evidence of Nāgārjunakonda that beads with triangular cross-section continued till the end of the third century A.D. The excavation yielded two cylinder-square stone beads in identical type from Stūpa No. 5 is unique example in glass. The triangular-shaped beads are all unbored and absent in other excavated remains of this valley. It may have some

¹A.S. Altekar, "Corporeal Relics of the Buddha", Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. II, special issue, p. 510. How far this date is correct can only be ascertained after the publication of the final report on the excavation. The occurrence of glass beads in the relic casket at such an early date appears to be an uncommon feature specially when the stūpa area of Vaisali rarely revealed glass beads. It may also be mentioned here that Period II of Kumarahar (150 B.C. to 150 A.D.) did not yield glass beads at all.
²This is one of the two specimens of glazed bluish green pottery, the other one being discovered from the Aśvamedha site.
³Information from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.
⁴M.G. Dikshit, Tripuri, 1952, p.88.
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distant relationship with the triangular beads from the Kushan levels of Vaiśāli.¹ The total number of unbored beads in not at all meagre, but we do not know why such beads were laid inside the reliquary.

The following are the illustrated specimens of beads from the reliquaries unearthed in the present as well as past excavations at Nāgārjunakonda.

Plate CXXXV A

1-5. Quartz, spherical. From Site 9
6. Crystal, long-cylinder-triangular. From Site 9
7. Amethyst, long-convex-bicone-hexagonal. From Site 21
8. Glass, blue, translucent, long-cylinder-square unbored. From Site 21
9. Lapis lazuli, long-cylinder-circular. From Site 21
10. Pearl, six in number, the central one a gold long-cylinder-circular bead with decorated ends. From Site 21.
11. Bone, Cylinder-circular. From Site 21
12. Lapis lazuli, disc-circular-cylinder. From Site 21
13. Bone beads, irregular disc-circular. From Site 21
14. Lapis lazuli, short-cylinder-circular. From Site 21
15. Glass, green, spacer. From Site 9
16. Bone, cylinder-elliptical. From Site 9

Plate CXXXV B

17. Crystal, ear-stud or car-plug. From Stūpa No. 1
18. Crystal, square spacer of harmikā type. From Stūpa No. 4
19. Crystal, lower part of a lotus pedestal. From Stūpa No. 1
20. Crystal, long-biconvex-hexagonal. From Stūpa No. 1
21. Crystal, long-biconvex-hexagonal. From Stūpa No. 1
22. Crystal, long-barrel-hexagonal. From Stūpa No. 1

Plate CXXXV C

23. Amethyst, spherical. From Stūpa No. 3.
24. Lapis lazuli, disc-circular-cylinder. From Stūpa No. 2
25. Amethyst, spherical, From Stūpa No. 3

¹Information from Shri S.B. Ray.
26. Pearl, spherical. From Stūpa No. 3
27. Turquoise, short-cylinder-circular. From Stūpa No. 6
29. Turquoise, triangular shaped, faceted but bottom flat. From Stūpa No. 5
30. Lapis lazuli, short-cylinder-circular. From Stūpa No. 3
31. Bone, long-barrel-circular. From Stūpa No. 5
32. Bone, long-cylinder-circular. From Stūpa No. 2
33. Amethyst, long-barrel-circular, From Stūpa No. 4
34. Gold, stemmed flower. From Stūpa No. 2
35. Gold, stemmed flower, From Stūpa No. 2
36. Copper stemmed flower. From Stūpa No. 3

V. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Bead form a major item in the group of small finds from any excavation and are sometimes helpful in determining the age of a stratum or a monument. In spite of change and various discordant factors, the frequency of particular type or material may be of great use in evolving the framework of chronological sequence on the basis of bead-types. The rare type may be an accidental case.

There are certain types of bead which are simple in form and hardly show any evolution in space as well as in time. They are more or less "ageless" like certain groups of terracotta figurines. Spherical, cylindrical or barrel-shaped beads with circular or elliptical cross-section, are common to the Harappa civilisation as well as other subsequent cultures. These forms recur in the historical times also. A rough and ready demarcation marker between the historical and protohistoric types may be ekeed out on the basis of the emergence of the beads with faceted or angular surface.\(^1\) In historical periods, beads having triangular and hexagonal to octagonal cross-sections are conspicuous, if not number, but in brilliance and lustre. The occurrence of evolved types is possibly co-eval in the north with the NBPW period. At Bhir Mound and Hastinapura, they appear between 500 B.C. and 600 B.C. There is, however, one example of triangular bead faceted from the mid level of Period II of Hastinapura.\(^2\) On the other hand, at Maski, they occur for the first time in Period II (200 B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D.) and at Brahmagiri, during the Andhra culture. Faceted bead is present at Maski in Period II A (fifth-third century B.C.) and in Stratum II (400 to 300 B.C.) at Tripuri.

Tubular bead is also included under faceted group.\(^3\) Bhir Mound and Sirkap have yielded respectively forty-six and ninety such beads. The earliest illustrated specimens from Taxila, dating back to fourth or third century B.C., are etched.\(^4\) But tubular shape is more common during the first

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\(^1\)Marshall, op.cit., p. 743.
\(^3\)Beck, op.cit., pl. XI.
\(^4\)Ibid, pl. I, 5 and pl. II, 11.
century A.D. at Sirkap. The curious feature of Indian Beads, according to Beck,\(^1\) is that "so many of the regular forms are flattened." This tendency towards flatness might have culminated into the tubular form. Period II-A Nasik (fifth-third century B.C.) has yielded two tubular pendants\(^2\) but beads of this type are confined only in Periods III and IV. The beginning of tubular form may thus be ascribed to about fifth century BC faceted beads of both the varieties namely angular and tubular forms are common to the Sātavāhana levels of various sites. The first variety outnumber the tubular group at both the phases of the city of Taxila. It is not possible to work out the proportion of these two groups at any site which flourished during the Sātavāhana time in the absence of required statistics. This much is certain that both the varieties were in use during that period. There are only ten specimens of faceted bead of the first type at Nāgārjunakonda, whereas tubular group accounts for seventy-four specimens. The combined evidence of Taxila and Nāgārjunakonda affirms that in the period between fifth century B.C. to first century A.D. tubular faceted bead has a low frequency than that of the other group. On the other hand, in the third century A.D. tubular variety (88.09\%) surpasses the other kind of faceted shapes (11.94\%) at Nāgārjunakonda. Even the cylinder-rectangular beads may be considered as a kind of tubular shape.

The most characteristic bead-type in the historical period is collared beads.\(^3\) It has been assumed that groove-collared beads chronologically antedate lug-collared bead. In the Sātavāhana period collars in barrel or cylinder bead was the general fashion but in the subsequent period as we find at Nāgārjunakonda, collars in tubular forms became more popular. May it be said that there is a definite preponderance of lug-collared beads in this valley. But when both the types of collar were in use outside India, the priority of one over the other is difficult to postulate, specially, on the basis of slightly higher percentage.\(^4\)

The post-Sātavāhana period as we see at Nāgārjunakonda shows a predilection for lug-collars, whereas Brahmapuri and Arikamedu display greater leanings towards groove-collared beads.

Sātavāhana levels of various sites reveal an uniform bead-industry in which terracotta played a dominant role. But glass had already arrived at the scene and had been gradually outnumbering the terracotta. In the third century A.D., glass was about to supersede terracotta or other materials not only in sheer numerical strength, but also in the variety of types. The use of faience and shell also popular in the Sātavāhana period, were fashioned merely on widely available materials. Nāgārjunakonda did not yield any etched beads despite its megalithic monuments which in other parts of south India had often yielded this variety which are generally dated upto the second century A.D. as a later limit.\(^5\)

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\(^3\) *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 98.
\(^4\) Outside India, collared beads at Gezir in Palestine have been dated to 1000-500 BC. Ribbed gold beads with collars at each end have been found in late Mycenaean tombs at Enkomi and Cirium in Cyprus. Collared beads have also been produced from other graves in Cyprus dated to the first half of the sixth century BC Beck illustrates one groove collared bead from Ur (before 600 BC) and three lug-collared ones from Egypt (XIIth Dynasty), Praeneste (800 BC) and Cumæs (500 BC) respectively, *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 93.
\(^5\) M.G. Dikshit, *Etched Beads in India* (Poona, 1949), pls. I & VI.
(v) STONE OBJECTS

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS (pls. CXXXVI A-CXLII B)

The minor objects of stone dealt in this chapter are a miscellaneous collection comprising a variety, such as legged querns, mullers, pestles, grinding mills, pulleys, lids of caskets, weights, receptacles for vermilion etc., in addition to the artefacts of the potter and the goldsmith. A few examples of architectural or ritualistic import have also been included here.

Only thirty-four objects of household utility are among this collection. Considering this meagre number and their unimpressive workmanship, it appears as though that the preponderant use of these in the capital city of Ikshvákus was by the working classes urthsome possibly by the well-to-do resident citizens. The production of household goods in appreciable number is the outcome of a demand for such items from the middle classes, who form the core and fabric of any well-urbanised society. The probable absence of such a class is tacitly suggested by the paucity of metallic equipment in this category.

A point of interest to note is that though the valley abounds in sculptural wealth, we don’t come across a single specimen rightly identified as a ‘sculptor’s tools’ among the iron objects. It may signify that sculptors were not natives of Vijayapuri and their places of residence were outside the valley. Ramachandran’s identification of the sculptors workshop in a monastic complex, is however suggestive of their presence in the valley.¹ The sculptors might have been Buddhist monks themselves.

The picture of the social fabric of the Ikshvák period, obtained on the basis of the material equipment does not conform to known norms of established social organisation and was essential of a rival pattern.

Limestone of pale greenish-blue variety, as was unmetamorphosed into regular marble was the most favoured type both for the sculptor and the architect during the early historical period. It was easily available in required quantities from the quarries around² and secondly it offered the optimum measure of hardness required for the purposes of both. It was unsuitable for the making of household objects like querns, pestles and mullers as it was too soft for such a use. Sandstone and granite were handy for this purpose. Stone utensils or caskets were rarely used, their occurrence having been evidenced by a few lids of steatite.

Dark green trap or dolerite was employed for the manufacture of potter’s artefacts consisting of pirot stones, colour-grinders and inner dabbers, i.e., dabbers used as inner supports for the green-hard walls of the pot, while the exterior was tapped by a wooden mallet for giving shape.

Four moulds, two of steatite with designs for jewellery and two clay stone tablets used for the purpose of hollow bead-making, and a white stone (Nikashopala) of hematite are stone items among the smith’s equipment. Steatite was brought very occasionally from other regions. ³

²Limestone is regularly quarried at Macherla and Nadikudi of Palnad Taluk, in the southeastern region of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa for the manufacture of cement.
³Steatite deposit occurs at Nellore, Maddavaram of Kurnool District and Tadipatri of Anantiapur District—M.S. Krishman, Geology of India & Burma, third edn., 1956, pp. 175 & 196.
STONE OBJECTS

With rare exceptions where clear evidence of a medieval origin is available, the stone objects in general pertain to the Ikshvâku period. From the legged querns which occur on the surface, the sandstone variety may easily be identified with the earlier historic types, as it is not possible to discover any significant features of difference in these cases. But the specimens of granite stone recovered on the surface suggest a medieval origin especially the one recovered from Sector S1, which contains a depression on the working surface without in the earlier stratified examples.

On red sandstone specimens, the muller is laid horizontally across and rolled forward and backward. The granite variety differs from it and the pestle is held more or less vertically and pounding is carried out by a series of light taps. This latter type of pounding is more popular even to the present day, though muller and quern also did not go out of use. However, the modern mortar are made with a broader base and without legs to ensure more stability.

A pronouncedly convex bottom supported on four pyramidal legs seems to be more popular during the Ikshvâku period in the beginning; but legs for a quern are not an advantage, and any accidental dropping of the heavy muller over it would cause it to break in the middle. As a matter of fact most legged querns are recovered in such a condition only. The disadvantage of long projecting legs emanating from a convex bottom came to be realised even during the Ikshvâku period itself and the shortening of the legs is discernible in late phases. Ultimately the legs were altogether superseded during the medieval times and a flat solid base for all varieties of querns continued right upto the modern period. Large blocks of granite stone with deep cavities have been noticed scattered in the valley, which were designed for a vertical manipulation with a pestle possibly of wood called Ayogra or Musalta. These may be dated to later medieval times. It is needless to suggest that almost the same type of mortar with pestles both of wood and stone form part of kitchen equipment all over south even now.

The rotary querns differ from their modern counterparts in having a mildly convex milling face worked over by a concave upper stone, unlike the modern specimens with flat working face. These were possibly operated by two persons fixing a wooden block with a central aperture which was made to sit in the two rectangular slits made on the circumference which again is a feature sharply departing from the current practice of operation by a single person holding a simple peg driven into an aperture in the circumference. Rotary querns were made both of sandstone and granite but the few available examples are only surface finds. It is most probable that the granite example is of medieval origin while the brown sandstone specimens may go back to the Ikshvâku period.

A. House-hold objects

Legged querns, mullers and pestles either of sandstone or granite form the bulk of the objects under this group. In addition four components of rotary querns, five lids of caskets and five toilet plates or receptacles comprise the rest.

1The Distribution of legged querns and their relative was brought to light by M.G. Dikshit, in Tripuri, 1952 (Nagpur, 1955), p. 106 ff.
2This was a continuation of the Sâtâyâhana type evidenced at Kaundinyapura see M.G. Dikshit, Excavations at Kaundinyapura (Bombay, 1968), p. 130 & pl. XLIX-3.
3The specimen of the Mauryan period at Kaundinyapura does not strictly conform to a legged variety. The arches below the edges converge trapezoidal legs and this type is more stable than the legged samples. Ibid., pl. XLIX-2.
(i) Querns: — As most of the legged querns recovered are fragments broken into half lengthwise, it is not possible to obtain a set of measurements to observe whether these conform to any standard size. Five of them were recovered from Site 122, area and its surroundings, Sector N VIII, of which four are stratified and pertain to Ikshvāku levels. Again three out of four recovered in the citadel area, Sector N II, belong to the same period. Site 38 of Sector N III known as Dhārani Vihāra, yielded three, of which only one is stratified. The remaining nine samples were recovered from the sites distributed all over the valley. The distribution does not permit any inference as these are found in both Buddhist and Hindu edifices, as well as in the citadel area. The specimens of the Monasteries suggest that a sort of dry powder or condiment preparation was going on at least in some of the monasteries to supplement their almo-begging routine, or for medicine apart from occasional cooking. This view was further confirmed by the occurrence of potsherds with a coating of carbon soot in the large monastic complex, Site 3.

As in the case of Nevasa, these may be divided into three classes by the methods of separation of their legs 2— (a) legs differentiated and separated, (b) legs differentiated but not fully separated and (c) legs undifferentiated or partially differentiated.

The third of these types appear to be common or popular variety and presumably belonging to a later phase as fifteen out of a total of twenty-one samples fall in this category. Four are of the second while only two represent the first variety.

The continuance of the legged quern with rudimentary and undifferentiated legs is evidenced by a fragmentary specimen from Site 76, Sector S XII and by the surface finds a few of which are very likely to be of medieval origin.

In addition to the parallel examples at Nevasa, almost identical types of querns appear at Navdatoli, Maheswar 3 from the early historical levels. The Taxila samples however, were mostly decorated 4 and, in general, restricted to the use of sandstone alone, unlike the types of Nāgārjunakonda where it appears that granite and sandstone were freely used ignoring the decorative aspect altogether.

(ii) Mullers: — Most of the mullers recovered are also fragmentary and their distribution suggests no special point of importance. Three came from the citadel area, Sector N II, four around Site 122, the ‘dock-reservoir’ of Sector N VIII and four from the habitational region of Sector N III, and eleven from other sites. These may be divided into two groups: (a) cylindrical and mildly barrel shaped and (b) cylindrical with discoid head on either end, which is roughly dumbbell shaped.

Of the twenty two specimens, six are of the former type which occurred also at Taxila 4, Navdatoli-Maheswar 5 and Nevasa 6 from various levels and in different types of stones. The latter also had its parallel

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1 Information from T.N. Ramachandran, Site 3; here was numbered Site 6; by him in MASI No. 71, Nāgārjunakonda, 1938.
5 Ibid., p. 487.
STONE OBJECTS

at Nevasa and Navdatoli-Maheswar and the dumbel shape or discoid bulging on either end is explained as the outcome of prolonged use of a cylindrical variety on a quern of smaller width than the length of the muller. It is therefore, apparently unnecessary to distinguish the forms of variation in the cross section, it being the consequence of the method of manipulation of an initially circular section.

(iii) Pestles:—Only eight pestles were among the finds and these differ from the mullers only slightly by tending in form towards a long truncated cone. Pestles associated with mortars were unearthed at Taxila from almost all periods. No mortar is discovered here in the strict sense of the term, but the pestles were possibly used on querns with depressions on the working surface.

(iv) Rotary Querns:—Four unstratified counterparts of rotary querns were recovered, each being either the upper component or the lower block of a complete example. A complete specimen of a rotary quern is in the earlier collection and was recorded to be a recovery from Site 3, Sector N X, a part of the Mahâ-Vihâra which furnishes the necessary link to date them to the Ikshvâku period. Sandstone or granite was the raw material for the manufacture of these querns. The working surface of the lower stone is convex which corresponds with the concavity of the upper stone ensuring proper mounting to facilitate grinding, two diametrically opposite slits were cut on the upper component in which a rectangular wooden bit (with a central aperture for the entry of the metal block) would be fitted and possibly held at both ends by two persons while in operation. This type is quite similar to what was reported as the crushing mill at Taxila.

(v) The manufacture of stone caskets or receptacles appears to be a rare feature in the early historic period though not altogether wanting and are evidenced by five lid-pieces of steatite. Possibly these were lids of toilet or unguent boxes. Five decorated tablets are also among this group, though the actual purpose for which these were made is somewhat uncertain. Four out of them are rectangular bits recovered in fragmentary condition, but the fifth is unique by its peculiar design of a heart shape. These are fairly small and do not exceed to the periphery forming a border around a low depression which serves as pallete. Presumably these were part of toilet equipment and used for mixing vermilion or unguent before application.

The following objects are illustrated

1. Muller and Quern of red sandstone (pl. CXXXVI A).

Quern: Rectangular, plano-convex cross-section and undifferentiated pairs of legs; 39.0 cm x 17.5 cm x 15.0 cm.

Muller: Cylindrical and of circular cross-section; 27.5 cm x 17.0 cm (dia); from Site 3, Mahâ Vihâra, Sector NK II, Ikshvâku level (pl. CXXXVI A).

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1This was illustrated in From History to Prehistory at Navasa, figs. 201-1, wherein a discussion on the evolution of rotary querns can be seen, p. 477 ff.
2This rotary quern was illustrated in the Nevasa excavations report. A short discussion on the etymology of the work 'Yantrikam' is quite interesting. This word in Tamil (yantiram) is still current in Tamil Nadu for such a rotary quern and has not got any other Tamil name or other synonym for it. Gharatta was the popular word for rotary querns from at least the medieval periods. See Sankalia and others, From History To Prehistory at Nevasa, 1954-56 (Poona, 1960), figs. 201-1 and p. 485 ff.
2. Pestle of long truncated conical shape made of granite, damaged at the business end; 26.6 cm x 8.8 cm (diameter at working end gradually reduced to 3.8 cm at the top) from Site 102, Sector N II, Ikeshvāku level (pl. CXXXVI B).

3. Dumb-bell shaped brown sandstone muller of circular cross-section; 30.5 cm x 9.1 cm (diameter) at the bulging end, from habitational area, Sector N III, Ikeshvāku level.

4. Lower stone rotary quern of granite; convex business surface with central aperture for the pivotal-peg; 37.5 cm (dia.) x 29.0 cm (length) (pl. CXXXVII A).

5. Upper stone on hopper of rotary quern of granite; diametrically opposite slits on top for fitting the wooden handle bit to facilitate rotation. 34.0 cm (dia.) x 26.5 cm (height); from Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, Sector N VIII, Surface (pl. CXXXVII B).

6. Complete rotary quern of granite stone with components similar to the above two. 35.5 cm (dia.) x 56.4 cm (height); from Site 5, Monastic complex, Sector N X, Surface (pl. CXXXVIII A).

7. Small circular lid of steatite with an inverted conical-knob and over a sunflower decoration in mild relief almost tending towards a line drawing; tablet-like projection below for secure closure of the casket. 2.1 cm x 2.1 cm (dia.); from Site 97, Temple complex, Sector N I, Ikeshvāku level.

8. Square steatite tablet with a broken corner archaic couchant lion looking back over its shoulder and a triratna symbol separated by horizontal bands within rectangle, longer edge kept vertically. Three parallel grooves along the edges enclose a small rectangular depression divided equally into two working portions, possibly a Vermilion receptacle. 8.8 cm x 8.8 cm x 4 cm, from near Site 67, Ikeshvāku habitational level, Sector S III.

9. Heart shaped limestone tablet with closely threaded bead decoration around the periphery and a floral design at the top forming border around a low working depression.

B. POTTER’S ARTEFACTS

The number of objects in this group are fifteen, out of which eleven are dabbers, two are grinding stones of colour slip for application to the exterior surface of pots and two are pivot stones of which one was initially a component of a colour grinder re-used as a pivot for the wheel.

In the banks of the river and close to Site 34, Bathing Ghāt, Sector N VIII, were recovered eight dabbers of various sizes and a pair of colour grinders in one cluster indicating the existence of a potter’s workshop in this region. The proximity of the river added to the convenience of the potter who was required to produce varieties of pottery in abundance.

(1) Dabbers

These were made of trapper or granite in general, with the base on working head slightly broader than the holding knob. It would be held against the wall inside the pot with the left hand while tapping the exterior with another wooden item for uniformly thinning the walls of the pot at green hard stage. Some times the fine bands on the body of the pot caused by the hand of the potter would totally disappear in this process and the fact that it was wheel made can be understood only by the uniformity of the body if the pot unlike the hand-made types. Almost similar dabbers were discovered at Nevasa from the levels
STONE OBJECTS

of Periods III, IV and V and the material is trap in the case of Periods IV and V samples.\(^1\) The Konora of Taxila on the other hand is of clear truncated conical form,\(^2\) but the length 3.2\(^*\) of a specimen there stands fairly in agreement with the length of the large sample reported here. The following are illustrated (pl. CXXXVIII B).

(1) Large dabber of trap with broad base and constricted in the middle for firm grip. Knob 6.5 cm (dia); base 10.0 cm (dia); 8.0 cm (length); from the vicinity of Site 34, Bathing Ghāṭ, Sector N VIII, Ikshvāku level.

(2) Medium dabber of trap with broad and mildly convex base and constricted in the mid-region. Base 7.0 cm (dia); knob 6.5 cm (dia); 7.4 cm (length); from the same locality.

(3) Small dabber of black granite with convex base and constricted in the middle tending to a deep groove in the mid-region. Base 6.5 cm (dia); knob 6.0 cm (dia); 5.5 cm (length); from Site 122, arena Sector N VIII, Ikshvāku level.

ii) Pigment grinders

These were made of trap and comprise a rather hemispheroid with a deep cavity and an upper hemisphere with conical projection which would correctly fit into the cavity. The pigment material, possibly an oxide of iron used as slip on the pottery was ground to a fine powder before it was applied to the exterior of pots. This is more or less a miniature rotary quern and can be operated holding both the components in the palms of the hands.

Two such grinders were found with the cluster of eight dabbers near the Site 34, Bathing Ghāṭ. Another upper component was picked up a bit away from the above cluster, and it was also used as a pivot stone of the wheel possibly where its conical projection was worn out making it unsuitable as a grinder. The depression caused by the fastly spinning tenon is sufficient proof that these grinders were potter's equipment apart from their association with dabbers. Such grinder is an usual discovery and provides no exact parallel and hence its identification though most probable cannot be taken as infallible at this stage.

The following are illustrated (pls. CXXXIX A-B)

(1) Hemispheroidal grinder components of trap; one with a cavity and the other with a conical projection. The business surface exhibits smooth polish indicating considerable use. Neither component has four equally spaced mild and slight grooves radiating from the centre to facilitate the collection ground flour. 15.24 cm (dia) x 14.50 cm (total ht); from near Site 34, Bathing Ghāṭ, Sector N VIII, Ikshvāku level (pl. CXXXIX A).

(2) Similar to the upper component to the one above. Re-used as pivot for the potter's wheel. 14.5 cm (dia) x 7.2 cm (ht); from the same locality as above.

(iii) Pivot Stones\(^3\)

In addition to the grinder component re-used a pivot stone unearthed from the Ikshvāku levels, only one sample was picked up from the medieval levels of Sector S XII. Both sides of this river pebble

\(^{1}\)Sankalia and others, op. cit., fig. 205, 1&2.

\(^{2}\)Marshall, op. cit., Vol. III, pl. 142-Q; No. 125.

contain depressions with smooth polish. The worn tenon of the heavy wheel of the pottery while it spins in the depression would import this polish to the cavity which gradually deepens with prolonged use. Two examples of similar pivots were reported at Kaundinyapura.\(^1\)

The following are described

(1) The upper stone of the colour grinder described above reused on the reverse side as pivot stone, showing the smoothly polished cavity of the tenon.

(2) Oval shaped river pebble of sandstone with sharp and smooth depressions on either side. 14.5 cm x 10.2 cm x 5.6 (lb); from Site 76, pit area, Sector S XII, early medieval level.

C. GOLDSMITH’S ARTEFACTS

These comprise four stone moulds for the preparation of jewellery and beads, a touch-stone for the determination of the quality of gold by comparison and a small polished sandstone sphere possibly used as a tapper against the mould to obtain the impression of the mould transferred on to the thin metallic sheet to be fashioned into jewellery. In addition to these stone objects the recovery of an iron hammer and tongs and several miniature crucibles made of refractory clay conclusively establish the existence of a goldsmith’s workshop at Site 89-A, Sector N III.

(i) Moulds (pl. CXL A)

A steatite cuboid mould with exquisite impressions for the manufacture of bangles, necklaces, pendants and finger rings, stands apart from the rest of the finds which do not involve much of craftsmanship.\(^2\) Steatite quickly develops cracks and flakes out at the temperatures of the melting points of silver, gold and copper which range between 960\(^\circ\)c to 1083\(^\circ\)c and the mould becomes unserviceable even before sustained use. The patterns of the mould were taken as impression of thin sheets of metal usually gold which were either directly used as they were, or mounted over a based metallic or terracotta core. The coin pendant\(^3\) and the thin sheet of Roman bullae amply verify this custom. The gold repoussé with the portraiture of a prince recovered at Ashābhubrasvāmi Temple further buttressess this practice of obtaining impressions on sheet metal for a variety of purposes. Five out of six faces of this cuboid utilised for carving designs for jewellery.

The second mould of steatite is only fragment with a running design, possibly for a necklace.

The two other clay stone/tablets moulds are components of double-piece moulds for making hollow beads. Usually in such moulds one component would contain a bulging similar to the shape of the bead and its counterpart would be its negative with a thin gap in-between. These would be fastened together by means of small clamps fixed in the corner and the molten metal would be run down through the small opening along the edge. The solidified metal in the double component piece-mould would be a half of the bead. Two such halves fused together form the required hollow bead. The interior would

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\(^1\)Dikshit, op. cit., p. 131.

\(^2\)Moulds were, picked up at Sirkap, made of variety of stones and assignable to the tunes of Bactrian—Greeks onwards; Marshall, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 506.

\(^3\)Copper objects.

\(^4\)Gold and silver objects.
STONE OBJECTS

be filled either with lac or wax to preserve the shape of the bead. Alternatively the pattern might have been obtained on sheet metal also, but in such a case no double component piece mould is required.

The following are illustrated. (See 'Gold and Silver objects', supra, pp. 376-381)

(1) Longitudinal cuboid mould of steatite with patterns on all four longitudinal faces and on one of the smaller faces also. The patterns are mostly for plain and closely threaded globular-bead surrounded bangles. Two curved bottomed pendants with a pair of delicately carved nandipâdas within a circle of serrated periphery are the most requisite features of this mould. Two patterns for finger rings with rectangular and square bazels further embellished with globular beads in the sides and also in the centre in the case of square bazel. 12.4 cm x 2.7 cm x 1.9 cm: from Site 89-A, Sector N III, Ikṣhvāku level.

(2) Fragmentary rectangular steatite tablet mould partly restored with patterns for neck ornaments known as graiveyakas.\(^1\) 5.7 cm x 4.0 cm x 0.6 cm; from Site 89-A; Sector N III, Ikṣhvāku level.

(3) Clay stone rectangular tablet piece mould with pattern for spherical lug collared beads on either side; clear funnel like opening for running down molten metal; apertures as in the above mould; 5 cm x 3.6 cm x 1.3 cm; from Site 89-A, Sector N III, Ikṣhvāku level.

(4) Clay stone square piece mould with oval pattern for the preparation of hollow oval-beads, small apertures at two diagonally opposite corners for fixing clamps; small depression along the edge to run down molten metal. 4.1 cm x 4.2 cm x 0.9 cm; from Site 89-A, Sector N III, Ikṣhvāku level.

Touch-stone

A piece of deep chocolate coloured haematite with a smooth surface on one side, on which the purity of the gold gets determined by comparison. Such stones are being used even these days. These are sufficiently hard (above 5\(^{1/2}\), on Moh’s scale of hardness)\(^2\) and easily take a scratch of the metal. Rectangular tablet strips of hard silicious slate with scratchings of gold on them were found in the later strata of Sirkap.\(^3\)

Rubber stone

The necessity for a polished sandstone sphere among the artefacts of the goldsmith is not apparent. Marshall was of the opinion that these were serving as weights which was not a very convincing guess.\(^4\) At any rate the single example from the goldsmith’s shop at Nāgarjunakonda should have had a different purpose. Probably it was used as a touch-stone.

(i) Moulds (pl. CXL A)

Of particular interest in this group are the moulds made of Cuddapah slab for obtaining casts of stucco on the lime plastered walls. The patterns were deeply carved to bring the casts into clear

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\(^1\) Amarakōśa, Manushyavarga.
\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 509-512.
relief; these include symmetrical running designs of fish, swans and floral designs. All the six samples were picked up from the surface only and hence suggestive of a medieval origin. But the prolific use of Cuddapah-slab in the Ikshvāku period speaks in favour of these being taken to the early historic periods particularly because stucco work was not met with, datable to the medieval periods. Four of them were picked up near Site 93, Sector N II, Aśvamedha complex, and two were collected from Site 85, Sector S III, Hill monastery around which no traces of constructional activity of a probable medieval origin was detected.

(ii) Crowning blocks of Āyaka pillars

Two circular Cuddapah slab blocks with a square slot in their centres were found scattered at Site 5, Sector N X, the Bahuśrutiyä monastic complex. These were likely to be the crowning or capital blocks over the central Āyaka pillars shown is the sculptures.¹ The slot constitutes the mortice for a square tenon over the central Āyaka pillar, over which in addition to this mortice block a pūrna-ghata also appears mounted.

(iii) Pūrna-ghata and Stūpa Carvings

Site 24, Buddhist monastery, Sector N XXI, yielded two small Cuddapah-slabs with semicircular or apsidal tops with carvings of Pūrna-ghataś which were found as decorative styles set on either side of the steps leading to a circular shrine chamber immediately behind the moonstone slab at the entrance (pls. CXL B-CXL I A). This shrine in all probability originally housed a Buddhāpāda, but it was not found during the excavation.

Another Cuddapah-slab fragment with a low carving of a votive stūpa was picked up at Site 9, Buddhist monastery, Sector S IV, which was possibly used as a closure of the interval in-between carved casing slabs of limestone.

Numbered or inscribed slabs

Ten Cuddapah slab fragments were picked up near Site 3 Mahā-vihāra, Sector N XII, and single piece was found at Site 64, Yaksha Temple, Sector S III. These were possibly the roofing slabs of the pillared halls and larger buildings which were provided with a flat roof. The necessity of numbering these slabs on a permanent basis is not apparent. However, inscribing proper names and guild symbols like Damarāka or the miniature double drum, bow-and-arrow was not uncommon. But for the name Venisiri on one of the Bathing Ghat slabs which may have been the name of noble lady as it appears from the use of the epithet ‘siri’ (Sanskrit Śrī), the other names such as ‘Dhamasa’ sound to be names of the master builders or masons and the symbols probably represent their guilds. Apart from the Bathing Ghat, slabs with symbols were noticed on the scattered fragments of the Amphitheatre, Site 17, Sector S. XVII, the Yaksha Temple (Site 64 of S. III).

¹MASI, No. 54, pl. XI, (b) & (c). It can be also noticed that the central Āyaka pillar was not thus crowned in all cases, which is evident by comparison with pl. XI (a) above.
²That the names of the noble ladies of the Ikshvāku period were invariably followed by ‘siri’ can be seen from the memorial pillar inscription of Chāntamāli I. Here all the noble ladies were referred to with this epithet, but the names of two women stated to be Abhirārikās, possibly conveying a humble origin, were not followed by this epithet. D.C. Sircar, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-7.
(v) **Screen-retainrs, drainers and drain-covers**

Longitudinal limestone and Cuddapah-slab blocks with cut grooves were collected from a number of sites like the monastic complexes and Hindu temples and public buildings. These were either screen retainers or drainers. In the former case the groove-slot has a rectangular cross-section, while it is semicircular in the case of drainers (pl. CXLII B) or water spouts.

Two such screen-retainer fragments holding a thick Cuddapah-slab in-between them were observed in position at Site 3, Monastic complex, Sector N XII. These provide the necessary clue for their identification. But, these two are intermediary blocks and hence the groove was made on opposite faces and one of the retainers was exquisitely decorated with lotus medallions in addition to the decorative flutings on the exterior. It is easy to guess that any end-block of these screen retainers would be having a groove on one side only and that not all of them were decorated, a fact which may be observed from the second block in the same place. As not all such pieces were collected, the eight fragments on record are not reflective of the wide use of this type of construction.

Similarly, the seven drainer blocks also are not indicative of the extensive use of water spouts in flat-roofed buildings. The plano-convex cross section separates them from the retainer-slabs, and the curved bottom, drains out the water easier and faster. These were employed in the flat-roofed buildings and some of the pillared halls or *mandapas*.

A solitary example of a drain-cover of Cuddapah-slab from Site 100, oblong tank, Sector N VIII, was actually picked up from its position, covering the drain, resting on the vertically set side slabs on either side. Low parallel grooves were made on the slab to ensure stable mounting over the side slabs standing on their section.

The following are illustrated (pl. CXLII A-B)

1. Cuddapah-slab mould fragment and its plaster cast. A central square with a central pallet-design further decorated with ‘*triratna*’ symbols symmetrically in all the four corners; running fish and four parallel floral designs interspersed by ducks on either side, deep marginal band along the edge. 34.0 cm x 27.0 cm x 7.5 cm; from southern region of Site 93, Asvamedha, Sector N II, surface.

2. Pair of small Cuddapah-slabs with circular top with the carving of *pūrṇa-ghata* from which spouts on lotus floral desings below forming a rectangular bead, all in low relief. Measurements of the portion supposed to be outside and visible but excluding the bottom projection intended to go into the construction. 25.4 cm x 15.2 cm x 3.8 cm; from Site 24, monastic complex, Sector N XXI, Ikshvaku level (pl. CXLII A).

3. Longitudinal Cuddapah-slab clauent with plano-convex sections, drainer, possibly fixed below a vent to carry rain waters away. 62.0 cm x 16.8 cm x 8.5 cm; from Site 85, monastic units, Sector S III, surface (pl. CXLII B).

4. Almost similar to the one above but of limestone; socket or grove is of rectangular section suggesting that it was a retainer of a screen-slab, 107.0 cm x 16.8 cm x 9.0 cm; from Site 3, monastic-complex, Sector N XII, surface.
E. RITUALISTIC OBJECTS

These articles are very few and perhaps these would form part of some other chapter such as religious and social conditions under normal circumstances. But these were almost stray discoveries without any definite associated context, but nevertheless, picked up in the general salvage operations. The objects on record are grouped under three categories (i) Tridents, (ii) Nāga-stones and (iii) prismatic natural lingas.

(i) Trident

A trident or triśula of slatestone of pinkish grey colour was picked up from Site 31, Sector N XVI, identified as Nāga Temple of the late medieval period. This is found in several fragments and not all pieces were found on spot. It was perhaps kept as an āyudha of the principal deity which was missing.

(ii) Nāga-stones

Three Cuddapah-slab fragments with the drawings of a single-hooded cobra executed rather unimpressively with little skill were picked up from the same site yielding the trident. On the basis of these drawings alone it was identified as Nāga-Temple, but it is obvious that none of them were the principle objects of worship and the trident in round could not have been associated with them as the ‘āyudha’ of the principal deity. These stones were to be treated as offerings of devotees in fulfilment of their vows.

(iii) Prismatic Lingas

A brown sandstone of irregular prismatic form converging towards a blunt point at the top and with a some what broader base was found on surface near Site 75, Sector S II, which was identified as Śiva Temple. This stone perhaps was also installed in the same temple. It may not be the main idol of worship.

In fact another such stone was picked up in the north-west corner of the same temple from a clear medieval level.

one more example of a crude granite stone with a flat base and a rough cylindrical short column over it was unearthed in Sector S XIII, from an early medieval level.

The stone need not necessarily be identified with a linga in all such cases; it is usually supposed to represent a local deity termed as a kshudra devatā¹ or minor deity by the more informed and educated people.

The following are described
(1) Slatestone trident, the central prong or leaf is straight but those on either side exhibit a symmetric curvature towards the central axis in the mid-region handle and the pointed top of the central prong missing. 22.0 cm x 3.0 cm; from Site 31, Nāga Temple, Sector N XVI, medieval level.
(2) Cuddapah slab fragment with the lines drawing a single-hooded cobra. 28.5 cm x 15.0 cm x 3.3 cm; from the same locus as above.

STONE OBJECTS

(3) Brown sandstone longitudinal prismatic stone with blunted top, representing possibly a linga or the phallic symbol of worship, 22.5 cm x 18.5 cm x 11.2 cm; from the northwestern region of Site 75, Śiva Temple, Sector S II, medieval level.

F. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

The objects under this group consist of a set of eight stone balls and seventeen other objects of uncertain utility. The probable purpose is suggested in these cases but the element of doubt still lingers with regard to several items. A pair of spindle whorls or wheels, three unfinished stone dies, two small blocks, possibly for weighing precious metals etc., two pulleys, one large river pebble in the form of a discoid, one slate stone rectangular tablet with incised Ujain symbols, a pair of tool sharpeners on whetstones, a semicircular limestone bit which possibly served as a detachable hollow statue base of Buddha, and three unidentified lomas, one of which has decorative carvings, complete this category. Among the eight spheres of stone, six were picked up on the Nāgarjuna hill and hence can be attributed to a medieval origin. Taxila, which furnishes most of the analogues for all unusual types of finds, furnished a good number of examples for the first time. Marshall was convinced that these were serving as weights, though spherical weights in that dimension range were unknown till then. Their weights roughly correlated with the weight of the punch-marked coin Kārshapana which approximates 53 gr and the irreconcilable deviations were attributed to wear and tear. A weight around 50 gr suffers the disadvantage of being too small compared to system of weights the maximum of which exceeds 50,000, and the whole numbers and simple ratios computed on that basis may not be reflecting the relationships between multiplies and fractions of the basic weights.

These balls of different sizes were perhaps employed in a sport of heaving various heavy spherical stones, where even the weight of the ball used was a factor of variation. Nāgarjuna koṇḍa hill being a medieval garrison of the Reddi kings of Kondaveerdu, this type of game may have been a popular game among the soldiers.

The other two are quite similar to the above medieval stock but unearthed from Ikshvāku levels; one from the Dock-tank area Site 122 and the other from Sector SVII. To postulate the survival of the same sport or a weight-system from the Ikshvāku periods into the late medieval times is not unlikely easy on this basis. Small cylindrical holes were found drilled into the spheres of Taxila for adjusting them to the correct official standard by filling it with the required amount of lead and actually some samples contained this lead packing, a feature which is absent at Nāgarjunakonda.

Not much of a comment is called for about the rest of the items in this category only the three lunas, one of which was made of limestone with floral design and animal drawings, needs special mention. The low relief drawing depicts a lion facing left. These are fairly heavy and were possibly made use of in weaving a tape or a similar item for closely interlacing the fibres or threads. Now a days, a wooden implement in the shape of a short sword is employed in the manufacture of handwoven tapes.

The following are described.

(1) Set of six granite balls of different sizes (pl. CXLII A) used on sling stones: from Nāgarjunakonda hill top, surface.

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(2) Luna of limestone with thick carved top gradually diminished to a sharp edge towards the diameter. Decorated with animal drawings amidst floral designs: a lion in reclining posture facing left is quite clear. Another animal possibly a lion, faces it with its head resting on its own right shoulder. A running band design of half parallelograms and trefoils below (pl. CXLII B) 14.5 cm x 10.2 cm x 6.0 cm.

APPENDIX

The actual number of weights which can be safely treated as belonging to one system being very few it is not possible to establish the most probable basis of the system by a manipulation of the available data. However, the six samples from Nāgarjunakoṇḍa hill are treated as belonging to one system. These are arranged in order of magnitude, and the difference between successive readings are obtained.

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<th>Wt/178</th>
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COPPER, BRONZE AND LEAD OBJECTS

I. GENERAL REMARKS

Copper and bronze in a restricted quantity were in use in the chalcolithic cultures of the Deccan and Karnataka. Two bits of copper were also discovered from one of the neolithic sites of Nāgārjunakonda. The total number of copper, bronze and lead objects from the historical levels of the valley is only ninety-four. This number is by no means proportionate to the vast area excavated in the course of five years. But it must be admitted that they are replete with variety and show remarkable skill in the working of these metals by the Ikshvāku craftsmen and the metal sculptors. The unique bronze statuette of an archer executed in perfect Nāgārjunakonda idiom truly expresses a mature artistic tradition and high workmanship in metal.

The exiguities of metal objects at Nāgārjunakonda is not due to any lack of skill in the art of metallurgy but possibly on account of the scarcity of necessary ores. Metal objects from various other sites bear striking resemblance to those from Nāgārjunakonda. It may only tend to show a period of close contact between different regions of India. The paucity of metal objects like copper, bronze etc., has also been observed by Marshall in the early deposits of Taxila. He is of opinion that the sudden rise in the use of such articles was only under the Parthian rule and that "the vast majority of articles made of these metals were not Indian but distinctly Greek or Greco-Roman in design." There are literary references to show that during the early Christian era copper, tin and lead were shipped to Barygaza and other ports from the west. This region was also within the reach of the foreign trade, but Nāgārjunakonda actually flourished after the decline of the Roman trade in India. Thus there was little or no prospect to augment the supply of metallic resources of the country through trade. Even sites like Maskī, Brahmagiri, Brahmapuri show comparatively lesser number of copper or bronze objects.

Some quantities of lead and also possibly copper were available within the Ikshvāku dominion. But it cannot be said with certainty whether the copper ores of Agnigundala in the Guntur District were ever exploited by the ancient miners. "Lead ore occurs as veins and disseminations in the Cuddapah formation of Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts and some of them appear to have been worked formerly many decades ago." Bronze contains a good percentage of tin which is scarce in the whole of India except what little is available in the districts of Gaya, Ranchi and Hazaribagh. In these circumstances, one can hardly expect a high frequency of bronze articles. Lead was found to have been used widely by the Ikshvākus for coinage and needless to say that such comparatively scarce resources were generally employed for minting purposes.

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1This chapter has been contributed by H. Sarkar and T.V.G. Sastri.
2This figure does not include gold-plated copper flowers found in some of the reliquaries. Some of the copper or bronze ornaments described in this chapter might have been originally gilded with gold.
4Shroff, Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, also see Pliny.
6R.E.M. Wheeler, "Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947: Megalithic and other cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State"; Ancient India, No. 4, p. 263.
7H.D. Sankalia and M.G. Dikshit; Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) 1945-46 (Poona, 1952).
A close examination of bronze\textsuperscript{1} and copper objects reveal that three different techniques of manufacture \textit{viz.}, hammering process, solid casting and \textit{cire perdue} or lost-wax process\textsuperscript{2} were in vogue at Nāgārjunakonda. The statuette is a clear example of solid casting, but it appears that two hands, bow and the pedestal were cast separately and soldered on to the main figure. It may tend to show that the sculptor who executed this figure had possibly no knowledge of the art of intricate moulding of images or for such miniatures used for private use, he followed this variant technique. But the miniature vase, bells etc., were cast in \textit{cire perdue} process. The ornate handle (No. 3) reveals a core of earth and sand etc., below a thin film of bronze. A terracotta mould\textsuperscript{3} of a hilt, signifying the use of solid ceasing, was found from the Monastery (Site 85) in Sector S III. There is one ornamental hilt in the form of a \textit{makara} design in bronze; it might have been cast in two different moulds and later rivetted together by means of a nail.

II. CLASSIFICATION

Copper and bronze objects were recovered generally from the western half of the valley embracing the river bank, the citadel and its surroundings. They were employed mainly for the working of the decorative or ornamental articles, toilet, luxury goods, etc., and possibly also for ceremonial purposes. Broadly they may be classified under three group \textit{viz.}, (1) personal ornaments, (2) articles of daily use, and (3) statuette and objects of decoration.

A. Personal Ornaments

1. Finger-rings

The chalcolithic sites of Harappa and Mohenjodaro\textsuperscript{4} in the north have revealed examples of simple rings of copper and bronze. Brahmagiri\textsuperscript{5} I-B culture has also yielded a bronze finger-ring. It is, therefore, quite certain that finger-rings were in use in India from a very remote past. Quite a good number of finger-rings, either plain or with bezel, have come to light at Taxila\textsuperscript{6} from various levels.

Nāgārjunakonda has produced a total number of twenty-two examples of which thirteen are of copper, one brass and eight of bronze. No. 55, possibly of a seal-ring type, may be ascribed to the late medieval period on the ground of paleography. The maximum number of finger-rings, a few might have been used as toe-rings,\textsuperscript{7} came from the citadel and its surrounding regions. A bronze finger-ring

\textsuperscript{1}It is not possible to say with certainty by visual examination the actual alloy in each specimen. Even the differentiation of copper and bronze is rather arbitrary. Marshall (op. cit., p. 564) has used the term bronze in a wider sense not only for denoting the alloy of tin and copper, but also of copper and lead, copper and zinc etc. It seems that quite a good number of objects here were made of an alloy of copper and lead. In these pages also the term bronze is used in a wider sense.


\textsuperscript{3}Longhurst discovered in one of the cells of Chuladhamagiri Vihāra a lump of lead ore and earthenware die for the manufacture of coins. See The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakonda, Madras Presidency, \textit{Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India}, No. 54, p. 10.


\textsuperscript{5}R.E.M. Wheeler, ‘Brahmagiri and Chandravali – 1947; Megalithic and other cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State’, \textit{Ancient India}, No. 4, p. 269, fig. 41.

\textsuperscript{6}Marshall, op. cit., p. 638.

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with raised oblong bezel, now in the Indian Museum was, however, discovered by Longhurst from the reliquary of Stūpa No. 3. On the basis of diameter these rings may be classified under three groups, namely (a) diameter of 0.5 (1.3 cm) and over, (b) diameter of 0.6 (1.5 cm) and over, and lastly (c) diameter of 0.7" (1.8 cm) and over. They may be classified under five categories according to types viz., (i) plain wire circlets and spiral rings, (ii) wire circlets with bezel, (iii) rings of thin strip with beaded pattern outside, (iv) rings of thin strip with bezel, and (v) rings of solid mould. Finger-rings made of wire or thin strip may be compared with those from Taxila and Hastinapura (Periods III & IV).\(^1\) The Āndhra stratum of Brahmagiri\(^2\) yielded bronze spiral ring as well as finger-ring of thin strip variety. A spiral gold ear-ring, also common in the sculptural representation of Nāgarjunakonda, came from one of the Megaliths of this valley. Taxila is exceptionally rich so far as bezels and designs on bezels are concerned. Finger-rings composed of thin metal band with beaded pattern on outside, seem to be the characteristic of this valley.

The following selected specimens of finger-rings are illustrated

pl. CXLIII-A

1. Spiral ring of copper wire, diameter 0.7" (1.8 cm); similar specimen comes from Brahmagiri. From Sector NXI 21 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

2. Plain circlet of copper wire, diameter 0.7" (1.8 cm) from Sector N II, Site 102, Ikshvāku level.

3. Circlet of thin copper strip with beaded pattern outside; inside flat, diameter 0.65" (1.6 cm). From Sector N III, Site 123 (Area between Teppakulam and Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

4. Circlet of thin copper strip with beaded pattern outside; diameter 0.7" (1.8 cm). From Sector S IV, Site 61 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

5. Circlet of bronze wire with plain oval bezel; broken into several fragments. From Sector N III, near Site 110 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

6. Lead toe-ring, circular cross-section; diameter 0.8" (2.03 cm). From Sector N III, Site 108 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

7. Bronze ring with rounded hoop and raised rectangular bezel with a high projection; diameter 0.6" (1.5 cm). From Sector N II, Site 104 (near Postern Gateway), Ikshvāku level.

8. Bronze ring with raised rectangular bezel with a projection, hoop flat inside and rounded outside, diameter 0.6". From Sector N III, Site 112 (Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.

9. Bronze ring with hoop flat within and angular outside, made of mould, diameter 0.6" (1.5 cm). From Sector N XI, Site 20 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

10. Copper ring similar to seal ring, with a circular bezel containing the name "Śrī Viṣvanātha" in Devanāgarī script within a beaded circle. From Sector N XXIV, Site 23 (Late Medieval shrine).

11. Bronze ring with square inset for stone on the bezel, hoop broader near the bezel, diameter 0.6" (1.5 cm). From Sector N XI, Site 21 (Monastery), Upper level.

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\(^1\)B.B. Lal 'Excavation at Hastinapura and other Explorations in the upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins, 1950-52',' Ancient India, Nos. 10 & 11, pl. LIV a.

\(^2\)Wheeler, op. cit., p. 263, pl. CXVIII, Nos. 20, 22.
12. Bronze ring with hoop, flat inside and rounded outside, circular bezel in the centre of the expanding hoop, some design might have been originally inside the beaded circle of the bezel, diameter 0.63" (1.6 cm). From Sector N III, 114 (near 16-pillared Mandapa), Ikshvaku level.

13. Bronze ring with raised but plain squarish bezel with a projection on the top; hoop flat within but rounded outside, thickened hoop near the bezel, diameter 0.6" (1.5 cm). From Sector S II, Site 71 (Residential structures), Ikshvaku level.

14. Ring of thin copper strip having a comparatively big sized bezel with rounded top, triratna design on the upper part of the bezel within concentric circles, biggest circle is beaded one, diameter 0.5" (1.3 cm). From Sector N II, Fortification Trench-F, inside the ditch.

2. Ear-Ornaments (pl. CXLIII B)

It appears that ear-rings or ear-pendants were possibly suspended by chains as in case of No. 23 or worn into the perforation of the ear-lobes. No. 21 seems to be a widespread type in India and earring of similar shape has come to light from Taxila1 as well as from late Kushan level at Vaisali.2 Majority of the specimens here are gilded with gold.

The following specimens are illustrated

19. Lead ear-ring of the type similar to No. 23. From Sector N IV, Site 108 (Rubble Structure), Ikshvaku level.

21. A bronze ear-ring with gradually thinning ends which might have been drawn near through the perforation in the earlobe, originally plated with gold ornaments traces of which still to be seen. From Sector N VIII/, Site 123 (Area between Arena and Pushpabhadrasvami Temple), Upper level.

23. Ear-pendant of highly conventionalized leaf-shaped design composed of fine copper wire coiled round a pin, knot-line forms a medial rib, another pin inserted into the loop-end, two pins meant possibly for fixing chains to be hung round the ear; this type is popular design at Nagarpunjakonda, gold and terracotta replicas also found, originally plated with gold. From Sector N II, Site 104 (Structures near Postern Gateway), Ikshvaku level.

3. Bangles (pl. CXLIII B)

There are only three examples of bangle, two of copper and one of bronze, later being fragment. Shell and terracotta bangle were more common at Nagarpunjakonda.

The following are the illustrated specimens of bangles

22. Wrist-bangle of plain wire, closed expanded ends, diameter 1.6" (4.06 cm). From Sector N.II, Site 92 (Residential structures inside Citadel), Ikshvaku level.

24. Wrist-bangle of plain wire, open ends, copper, diameter 2.3" (5.84 cm), comparable type comes from Hastinapura.3 From Sector S XIII, Site 77, Ikshvaku level.

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1Marshall, op. cit., p. 626, pl. 191, Nos. 48-51.
2Indian Archaeology 1958-59 - A Review, pl. X-B.
3Lal, op. cit., p. 91.
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4. Pendents and Broaches (pl. CXLIII B)

These are also rare at Nāgārjunakonda. No. 78 seems to be an imitation of coin-pendent which the Romans used as amulets.¹ Gold and terracotta coin-pendants have been discovered from this valley, but their number is also quite meagre.

The following are the illustrated specimens.

15. Broach or coiffure-decoration in bronze, a floral design consisting of four concentric circles girdled by petal-like designs on all the sides, a thin plate riveted at back centre. From Sector N XI, Site 21 (Monastery), Upper level.

16. Coin-pendent of copper with two perforations. From Sector S II, Site 73 (Residential structure), Ikshvāku level.

20. Bronze pendent of dharma-chakra design, plated with gold, slightly damaged. From Sector N II, near Site 93 (Asvamedha), upper layer.

5. Amulet-case

This is the only example in copper and consists of a cylindrical amulet-case made of copper sheet.

No. 25; From Sector S IV, Site 58 (Habitation area to the north of Stūpa No. 9), Ikshvāku level.

B. Articles of daily use

1. Antimony rods

Nāgārjunakonda has yielded five antimony rods. They are generally associated with public structures rather than residential ones. These articles could have been used for the application of medicine in the eyes as well. The Mahāvagga (VI, 11 & 12) prescribes the use of "a stick or holder" of bronze for anointing the eyes. Kālidāsa (Raghuvaṁśa VII, 8) refers to the use of salākā for application of collyrium.

Antimony rods with decorated middle part are common at Nāgārjunakonda and Taxila. Generally, Nāgārjunakonda specimens have both the ends clubbed, a type found at several sites in India. According to Marshall they have been found only in the Saka-Parthian city of Sirkap and on later sites. There is one specimen here which may be termed as "antimony rod and tooth pick combined". Antimony rod and ear-cleaner combined, recovered from the lowest stratum at Bhir Mound, is absent at Nāgārjunakonda. In length, all the specimens barring No. 9 vary between 4" (10.16 cm) to 5" (12.7 cm). On the other hand, Taxila specimens range in length between 4" (10.16 cm) to 5" (12.7 cm). The maximum length of antimony rod at Kumrahar is 5.1" (12.95 cm), though the majority of the clubbed variety vary in length between 4" to 4.7" (11.93 cm).

Marshall thinks that these antimony rods were introduced at Taxila by the Greeks. But at Tripuri, they come from Stratum II (400 BC to 300 BC) and mostly belong to antimony rod and tooth pick combined type. The mid-level of Period III at Hastinapura reveals a type in which clubbed ends are

¹Marshall, op. cit., p. 630.
not so pronounced unlike the specimens from Period IV. Period IV (400 BC to 100 BC) at Maheswar brought to light an example of clubbed variety too. The available data indicate that the clubbed variety as well as the other varieties seem to have an earlier beginning in India than what was assumed by Marshall.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CXLIV — A).

26. Copper antimony rod, both ends clubbed, possibly made of thin sheet of metal nicely soldered, circular cross-section, also found at Hastinapura and Nasik, length 4" (10.16 cm). From Sector S XI, Site 79 (Monastery to the south of Navagraha Temple), Ikshvāku level.

27. Clubbed ends but middle portion decorated and square in cross-section, appears to be cast in mould, length 4.2" (10.67 cm). From Sector N XX, Site 23, (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

28. Same as above, length, 5.0" (12.7 cm). From Sector N VIII, near Site 122 (Arena), Ikshvāku level.

29. Same as 26; slightly bigger in size, length 4.8" (12.19 cm); hollowed interior as evident from the damaged middle part, lac or similar material might have formed the core. From Sector S XXI, Site 80, Upper layer.

30. One end clubbed, other end pointed, decorated middle portion having a square cross-section, also found at Taxila and Tripuri, length 5.4" (13.72 cm). From Sector N V, Site 22 (circular structure), Upper layer.

2. Rattle (pl. CXLIV — B)

Sectors N III and N VIII, i.e., areas just outside the citadel, have yielded maximum number of rattles. They are eight in number, but except No. 26, which is of medieval date, all the specimens are fragmentary. No. 32 bears the impression of a human face. Brahmagiri¹ has revealed an example on which a grotesque face is engraved. Typologically all the Nāgarjunakonda specimens barring No. 33, belong to the same category and similar to one discovered at Arikamedu.² In all the specimens slit is damaged but the tube-like loop for suspension is similar to that of Arikamedu and Brahmagiri. Generally, the loop is attached separately to the spherical part. No. 32, however, is an exception. It was cast in one mould. The medieval example has a ring attached to the spherical part, the usual slit and a small ball, which makes the rattling sound inside.

The following selected specimens are illustrated.

31. Copper rattle with loop, lower part missing; From Sector N VIII, Site 123 (Area between the Teppakulam and Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

32. Copper rattle with a cylindrical loop in the top, representation of a human face on the intact part, other side missing. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāt), Ikshvāku level.

33. Copper rattle with slit, and ring on the top possibly a kimki. From Sector N XIV, Site 126, Medieval.

¹Wheeler, op. cit., p. 268: fig. 41, No. 9.
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3. Bells (CXLIV C)

Bells have been found mainly from three sites viz., Site 64, Bathing Ghāṛ area and the Citadel. Out of the total number of six examples, only two are intact and both the specimens come from the surface. The comparable deposits of Taxila, Brahmagiri and Hastinapura have also yielded bells of similar type.

The following are the illustrated specimens of bell.

41. Bronze conical shaped-bell with ring handle, slightly everted rim, clapper missing, clapper might have been fixed with ring-handle. From Sector N II, Site 93 (South of Asvamedha site) Surface.

42. Bronze cylindrical bell with slightly tapering top and ring handle, clapper missing, two perforations on two sides meant possibly for a thin rod from which the clapper was suspended; Taxila has revealed similar specimen in iron, length 2.1" (5.33 cm). From Sector S III, Site 64, Surface.

43. Cylindrical copper bell with tapering top, ring handle and clapper missing. From Sector N VIII, Site 123 (Area between Arena and Pushpabhadrāsvāmī Temple), Ikshvāku level.

44. Bronze conical shaped-bell in damaged condition. Locus, same as 41.

4. Needle (pl. CXLIV B)

Needle with pointed top, eye formed by twisting the end, made of thin sheet of copper folded nicely; seem visible.

No. 40. From Sector N III, near Site 110 (Maṇḍapa), Ikshvāku level.

5. Chain (pl. CXLIV B)

A copper chain of twenty-one closely arranged rings, diameter of each ring 0.25" (1.3 cm).

35. From Sector S IV, Site 65 (Rubble Structure), Upper layer.

6. Knife-handle (pl. CXLIV B)

Roughly crescentic in shape, it is made of a copper sheet folded into two with a knob-end, perforation on the other end, possibly meant for rivetting the blade of the knife.

36. From Sector S II, Site 69 (Rubble Structure), Upper level.

7. Reels

They are generally of lead and quite heavy, both the ends are concave; and one of the concave surfaces possesses a deep groove, which may suggest that it was possibly held on a vertically fixed pin as in the case of a reel on a loom so that it could easily rotate. No. 14 has deep grooves at both ends, but is not bored completely. Possibly, it was fixed with horizontally fixed pins.

Terracotta ear-ornaments from Śiśupālgarh\(^1\) bear some resemblance to these reels, but generally they have convex ends like the stone or ivory ear-reels from Taxila\(^2\) and lead ear-plugs from Bulandi Bagh, Patna. Not a single specimen from Nāgārjunakonda gives an impression of its use as ear-

\(^1\) Ancient India, No. 5, pl. XLVII
\(^2\) Marshall, op. cit., p. 508.
ornaments, worn for distending ear-lobes. The presence of groove at one or both ends and the slipped-isolated manner of manufacturing them are more an indication of an object of utility than decoration. The diameter and the length of the each specimen, save No. 48, are more or less uniform. In diameter and length, these specimens vary between 0.6" (1.5 cm) to 1.3" (3.3 cm) and 0.6" (1.5 cm) to 1.4" (3.55 cm.) respectively. The excavation has yielded eight examples.

The following selected specimens are illustrated.

45. Reel with concave ends, deep groove on one side, diameter 1.4" (3.55 cm), length 1.2" (3.04 cm). From Sector N X, Site 5 (Bahuśrutīya Vihiśa), Ikṣvāku level.

46. Reel with concave ends, one end has a greater concavity, length 0.9" (2.28 cm), diameter 0.9" (2.28 cm). From Sector N VIII, Site 123 (Area between the Arena and the Pulabhdārasvāmī Temple), Ikṣvāku level.

47. Same as above, length 0.7" (1.77 cm), diameter 0.7" (1.77 cm). From Sector N VIII, Site 122 (Dock tank), Ikṣvāku level.

48. Reel with concave ends and deep depressions, length 0.9" (2.28 cm), diameter 1.6" (4.1 cm). From Sector S II, Site 70 (Maṇḍapa), Ikṣvāku level.

8. Vessels

Copper or bronze vessels are extremely rare. There are only four examples out of which one is only a shoulder fragment of a bronze vessel. Citadel area had yielded one disc-like object which may be the bottom part of some dish. It is extremely fragmentary. No. 49 is the most beautiful and fairly intact specimen in bronze recovered from the area, east of Site 97. It might have been used as a ceremonial vase. Taxila had yielded far greater number of metal vessels.

The following specimens are illustrated.

49. A miniature vase with flat base, wide mouth, externally grooved rim, rope design on the shoulder; more or less straight neck, has five perforations, possibly used in ceremonies. From Sector N II/Site 97, Ikṣvāku level.

50. Medium-sized copper bowl with thickened rim and flat base. From Sector N I, Site 93 (Near the wall south of the Asvamedha site), Ikṣvāku level.

9. Casket

51. A copper relic casket was discovered from the Maḥīśaśaka Vihiśa by Longhurst. It was 4" (10.16 cm.) high and in the shape of a miniature stūpa. The present excavation did not reveal any such casket but one doubtful example (No. 33-A), which seems to be the lower half of a casket. Some of the caskets from Nāgarjunakonda have cylindrical lower half. The present example is damaged. From Sector N I, Site 97.

10. Door-latch (?)

52. Medium-sized copper spike with circular cross-section, one end intentionally made thinner, the other end flatter and bear two circular holes. From Sector N II, Site 91 (Habitation area within citadel), Ikṣvāku level.
COPPER, BRONZE AND LEAD OBJECTS

53. Medium-sized copper spike, circular in cross-section, the rivetted end might have been fixed permanently, other end intentionally thinned down. From Sector S XXI, Site 80, Upper layer.

11. Nail (pl. CXLIV B)

37. Copper nail with a squarish head, circular cross-section, length 1" (2.54 cm). From Sector N III, Site 64 (Yaksha Kubera Temple), Ikshvāku level.

12. Seal (pl. CXLIV B)

18. It is a square bronze piece with a tree-design within square borders, unpierced protuberance at back. From Sector N II, Site 93 (Asvamedha), uppermost layer.

13. Fish-hook (pl. CXLIV B)

The purpose of these hooks is probably that of a fish-hook. They have no barb, nor do they possesses an eye for threading. But slightly bent head and mild depression at the shank-end might have been meant for threading. These specimens may be compared with the Śiśupālgarh one.

The following are the illustrated specimens.

38. Unbarbed fish-hook, lead. From Sector S IV, Site 58 (Habitation site, near Stūpa No. 9), Ikshvāku level.


C. Statuette and objects of decoration

The examples under this head reveal clearly that the art of metallurgy was definitely high pitch during the Ikshvāku period. The present excavation has brought to light examples of decorated handles, hilts, etc. Decorated handles have also been found at Taxila where motifs like Dionysiac mask, conventionalised dolphin, winged or wingless lion, makara, etc., occur frequently. These handles, according to Marshall, are Greco-Roman in form. The figures of conventionalized mythical animals of Nāgarjunakondā in all probability, were handles of vessels or incense-burner. Unfortunately, no intact specimen has come down to us. The bronze statuette and other decorative motifs have been gracefully executed and can well vie with the excellence of their stone counterparts.

1. Statuette (pl. CXL V A)

Bronze statuette of a male figure, possibly an archer, standing on a flat rectangular pedestal in a slightly bent graceful pose (dvibhaṅga); one leg slightly stepped forward, draped lower part diaphanous, folded waist cloth hanging from the hips forming a loop in front, upper part bare, turbaned and crested head-gear, ear-pendants resting on the shoulders, double wristlets on both the hands, raised left hand holding the tip of a bow, other end touches the left foot, akimbo right hand holds an arrow possibly tucked across the waist band; two hands, bow and the pedestal separately cast and soldered, the face is full of expression with wide open eyes, and a slightly bent down head speak of a thoughtful mood, difficult to identify it with any deity in the absence of any attribute or vehicle; the poise and mood are, however, typical of the figures on sculptures of Nāgarjunakonda.

54. From Sector N VIII, Site 121 (Pillared-mandapa near Pushpabhadrasvāmī Temple), Ikshvāku level.
2. Decorated hiltts and handles (pl. CXLV B & D)

*Makara* seems to be a favourite motif of the Nāgarjunakonda craftsman. It appears in some form
or other, in two out of four specimens.

The following are the description of the illustrated specimens.

57. Decorative top or facing of some handle or hilt fixed with a nail from the top as the perforation
indicates; beaded border. From Sector N VIII, Site 122 (Dock-reservoir), Ikshvāku level.

58. Same as above, but without beaded border. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble Structure),
Ikshvāku level.

59. One side of a bronze sword hilt representing a *makara*, which holds as if the sheath of the
sword in its mouth, fragment of a nail used for rivetting the other half, cast in one mould, length 4.8" (12.2 cm). From Sector N VIII, Site 100 (Bath), Ikshvāku level.

60. Ornate handle in the form of a mythical beaked bird with plume-like crest in-between two
raised ears, two short legs and a slight projection in the centre suggest tortoise; the upper part
simmers parrot-like bird, this is an unique hybrid figure. From Sector N III, Site 57 (near Kārttikeya
Temple), Ikshvāku level.

61. Grip of a hilt depicting a *makara* figure holding in its wide-open mouth a horned creature
(ram?) fish-tail of the *makara*, coiled upper lip suggesting an elephantine trunk and sharp teeth portray
a fierce and fighting mood; inert limbs and gaping mouth of the horned animal express utter
hopelessness, the face looks as if yelling with pain; possibly only a product of artist’s fancy. From
Sector S III, Site 64, Surface.

62. Ring-handle cast in bronze in the form of a human hand. From Sector S I, Site 73 (Residential
Structure), Ikshvāku level.

3. Other decorative objects (pl. CXLV C-D)

The purpose of these objects is difficult to determine.

The following specimens are illustrated.

17. A square outline of thin copper band. From Sector S II, Site 70 (*Mândapa*), Ikshvāku level.

34. Bronze stopper. From Sector S III/Surface.

55. Ornate design in the form of an *acanthus* flower, bronze. From Sector N VIII, Site 102
(Residential quarter near Chinnakundellagutta). Upper layer.

56. Decorative object of bronze with a double *makara* design, and a prong in the centre. two
perforations on the shaft meant possibly for fixing. From Sector N III, Site 106 (Kumāranandi
Vihāra), Ikshvāku level.

63. Lead object of uncertain use; a wheel with tooth-like projections about 32 in number on the
outer periphery, eight holes all round the flat surface, possibly for spokes (pl. CXLV C). From Sector
N II/Site 89 (Residential Rubble Structures), Ikshvāku level.

The earliest representation of Garuḍa at Sāñchi is shown as a parrot-like bird; tortoise-shaped lower part may
suggest *karmāvatāra*, or is an allusion to Garuḍa’s killing of the tortoise *Vibhūtāsa*; Such interpretation is too far-fetched,
but it may reveal certain impact of ideas in the mind of the artist while creating such hybrid, mythical composition.
(vii) SHELL AND GLASS OBJECTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Barring the bead materials, which have been discussed separately, bangle form the bulk of glass objects at Nāgārjunakonda; the predominant type in shell is also bangle. The unusual clubbing together of shell objects with those of glass is meant to give the readers a comprehensive picture of bangle industry, as a whole, of this valley; and hence, terracotta bangles have also been discussed briefly for the sake of comparative study in one of the sections of this Chapter.

Glass was, no doubt, widely used for making beads but this material was hardly employed for manufacturing bangles during the Ikshvāku period. There is only one tiny fragment of bangle of green opaque glass from the definite Ikshvāku stratum. All other examples are of medieval origin. A few glass-rings also came from the medieval context. On the other hand, shell had a far longer career in this valley, the earliest examples, mostly beads of disc-cylinder-circular type, were recovered from Neolithic horizon. The occurrence of shell-beads during the time of the Ikshvākus had a very low frequency in comparison to the large yield of bangles fashioned out of conch-shells.

II. SHELL-OBJECTS FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN THE VALLEY

Nāgārjunakonda is exceptionally rich in shell-objects, especially shell-bangles, which turned up from practically every site. The number of recorded specimens of bangle-fragments is about fourteen hundred. On minute examination it was observed that some of the fragments belong to armlets, toe-rings and finger-rings. Broadly speaking, the shell-objects from Nāgārjunakonda may be divided into two groups viz., (i) objects of cut shells and (ii) uncut shells. The former may, again, be classified into two categories viz., (a) finished products and (b) rejects. A fairly complete picture on the technique of manufacture of shell-bangles is afforded by the good number of waste pieces recovered in the course of excavation.

Waste materials were unearthed at Sites 29, 36, 37, 74, 76, 81, 100, 108, 122 and 123. All these sites may be divided into four localities viz., (a) area to the east of the Eastern Gateway of the Citadel, (b) Bathing Ghāt area, (c) area around a group of medieval pits in Sector S XII and (d) adjoining regions of the Ashtaḥbhujaśvārī Temple. Rejects from Site 36 i.e. mandapa just outside the Eastern Gateway, accounted for about forty specimens in various stages of production. The excavation did not yield any site which may be described as shell-worker’s shop, but there can be hardly any doubt that near Site 36 must have been located some major centre for the manufacture of shell-bangles etc. There might have been three other centres in other three localities. These areas were, more or less, public places, and two out of four main localities were religious centres where pilgrims from home and abroad possibly used to frequent.

Site 36 produced maximum number of forty-six shell-bangles of various sizes, discovered mostly from the dump, which accumulated inside the ditch to the east of the citadel. The high frequency of occurrence may indicate the existence of a manufacturing centre. The frequency of shell-bangles in the Hārīti Temple (Site 17), where they were recovered mostly from one room, should be

1 This chapter has been contributed by H. Sarkar and B. Vidyadhara Rao.
|                  | 2.0 cm | 2.5 cm | 3.0 cm | 3.5 cm | 4.0 cm | 4.5 cm | 5.0 cm | 5.5 cm | 6.0 cm | 6.5 cm | 7.0 cm | 7.5 cm | 8.0 cm | 8.5 cm | 9.0 cm | 9.5 cm | Total   | Total No. found at site or area. |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|-----------------------------|
| Citadel Area     | -      | -      | 2      | 3      | 2      | 7      | 4      | 7      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 1      | -      | 1      | 31      | 35      |
| Bathing Ghāt area | - 6    | 3      | 10     | 17     | 22     | 22     | 14     | 18     | 8      | 10     | 2      | 7      | 2      | -      | 142     | 167     |
| Residential      | -      | - 1    | - 6    | 16     | 10     | 9      | 7      | 4      | 3      | 5      | -      | -      | -      | -      | 61      | 77      |
| Rubble Structures| 4      | 3      | 5      | 10     | 8      | 5      | 1      | 5      | 5      | 1      | 1      | 2      | -      | -      | 50      | 53      |
| Ashtabhujasvāmin | 1      | 2      | 2      | 8      | 13     | 11     | 10     | 17     | 21     | 14     | 14     | 3      | 9      | 6      | 6      | 3      | 140     | 280     |
| Temple (Site 29) | -      | - 4    | 24     | 58     | 62     | 63     | 42     | 30     | 17     | 19     | 12     | 13     | 5      | 2      | 4      | 355     | 468     |
| Hārīti Temple (Site 17) | 1      | 2      | 2      | 8      | 13     | 11     | 10     | 17     | 21     | 14     | 14     | 3      | 9      | 6      | 6      | 3      | 140     | 280     |
| Area around Site 36 | -      | - 4    | 24     | 58     | 62     | 63     | 42     | 30     | 17     | 19     | 12     | 13     | 5      | 2      | 4      | 355     | 468     |
| 23 (Monastery)   | -      | - 1    | 2      | 2      | 4      | 1      | 4      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | 14      | 16      |
| 21 (Monastery)   | -      | -      | -      | -      | -      | 2      | 4      | 1      | -      | 1      | 3      | 1      | 2      | 3      | 1      | 2      | 17      | 20      |
explained in a different way. Possibly, they were worn as amulets to counteract evil eye or evil effect of some form or other. The fact that shell-bangle is considered as one of the distinctive marks of a married lady in Bengal is indicative of some apotroptic power that it is supposed to possess. The practice of offering bangles to village goddesses for the longevity of one’s child and husband is still common in many parts of Andhra Pradesh. This may possibly be the reason why we find shell-bangles in large number in the Pushpabhadraswāmi Temple or Bathing Ghat area and in the Ashtabhujasvāmi Temple. The trade in this material developed in sacred spots possibly in reaction to some religious or magical belief.

At Nāgārjunakonda, they came not only from public edifices like temples, stadium etc., but also from monasteries and habitational areas. They are not so frequent in monasteries, yet their repeated occurrence, though limited in number, in practically every monastery, is significant. It is evident from Table I (p. 432) that bangles of larger diameter, some of them being armlets, were found from the Monastery of Site 21. The Residential Rubble structures and Citadel areas produced seventy-seven and thirty-five examples respectively. These figures show that shell-bangles are relatively less in number in these areas than those from the vicinities of religious structures. The Bathing Ghat area yielded the maximum number of toe-rings.

Uncut conch-shells were unearthed mainly from two sites; those which were used definitely as trumpets came from the Ashtabhujasvāmi Temple, and a group of fourteen medium-sized examples were discovered from one of the rooms of Site 104, which was perhaps a residential structure of an official.

A few shell-bangles, toe and finger-rings were found in one or two sites, of definite medieval dates. They do not differ in any way from those of the Ikshvāku period. Site 76 yielded a few specimens of rejects also. It is thus evident that shell-bangles were locally manufactured at Nāgārjunakonda not only during the Ikshvāku supremacy but also in medieval times. A large number of glass-bangles from the same site obviously suggest, that the popularity of shell-bangles was on the wane during the medieval period.

III. UNÇUT SHELLS (pl. CXLVI B-D)

Uncut shells from Nāgārjunakonda are mainly of three kinds viz., conch-shells, oyster-shells and cowries. Some of them might have served the purposes of trumpets, ladles and amulets.

Trumpet: A group of ten large-sized conch-shells, two of them being inscribed (pl. CXLVI A), came from the Asṭabhujasvāmin Temple. They can be blown easily. Obviously, they formed part of the temple paraphernalia. The most unmistakable evidence in support of this statement is the epigraph “Bhagavato Athahbhujasamisa” engraved on the largest specimen from Nāgārjunakonda. The other inscribed sāṁkha records in dotted lines the name “Uchchitakanasha”. All the conch-shells bear holes at the nether end. They might have been hung on the wall. Salihundam² has also revealed similar inscribed conch-shells. Decorated conch-shells are reported from Megaliths of Sanur.³

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1 This reading is suggested by Dr. D.C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist. According to him, "h" of this type is only found on certain Satavahana coins. It seems to me that it is a personal name. Otherwise Uchchita and Kanaśaha were two persons who dedicated the conch-shell. The repudiation of 'eh' in the first name makes it difficult for us to be sure whether Kanaśaha stands for Sanskrit Karnasinha. Uchchita is of course a good Sanskrit word meaning gathered; collected.
2 Indian Archaeology-1953-54: A Review, pl. XVII, A.
3 N.R. Banerjee & K.V. Soundararajan, Sanur, 1950 & 1952, Ancient India, No. 15, pl. XX A.
Lades (?): They are also natural shells but possibly has some functional use. A fresh water mussel-shell can easily serve the purpose of a ladle. Till recently, such shell or conches had been used for administering medicine to children and even to domestic animals. It is very common with the children in many parts of India to use a perforated shell for skinning mangoes etc.

The recovery of fourteen intact conches ranging in length between 7.2 cm to 10.0 cm in one cluster, and also unconnected with any kind of waste materials may lead to the conclusion, that these conches of different capacities were employed possibly as medicinal ladles. Measurements and capacities of these conch-shells are given in Table II. These shells are too thin to be used for manufacturing bangles.

But these shells could have been used for another purpose. It is still a common practice in south India and Ceylon to decorate the forehead of bulls with sānkhā. That a similar tradition was in vogue during the reign of the Ikshvākus may not be an unlikely proposition.

Cowries: About a dozen cowries found in the excavation. The lower part of the ditch in Fortification Trench B revealed a pair of them. Site 74 in Sector S II also brought to light another pair. They could have been used for playing chance-games, similar to the game of dice. In an example of Site 12, convex top is completely removed, so that it could be easily tied with a string as a talisman. These shells have been thought to derive their apotroptic power from their resemblance to the female organ.

The following selected specimens of natural uncut shells are illustrated.

(pl. CXLVI -D)

1. Conch-shell, slightly broken, available length 7.8 cm, maximum width 5.8 cm. From Sector N II, Site 104 (Structures near Postern Gate), Ikshvāku level.

2. Conch-shell, length 8.2 cm, maximum width 5.8 cm. From Sector N II, Site 91 (Barracks), Ikshvāku level.

3. Conch-shells, length 9.1 cm, maximum width 5.5 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Drain near the Manda) dump of the Ikshvāku period.

4. Conch-shell, length 9.9 cm, maximum width 6.1 cm. From the same locus as above.

5. Conch-shell, same end, available length 11.9 cm, maximum width 8.2 cm. From Sector S XXI A, Site 81 (Manda), Ikshvāku level.

(pl. CXLVI C)

6. Conch-shell (M of Table II) length 8.8 cm, maximum width 5.4 cm. From Sector N II, Site 104 (Structures near Postern Gate) Ikshvāku level.

**TABLE II**

**MEASUREMENTS OF CONCHES FROM SITE 104**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Maximum width</th>
<th>Capacity</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>8.4 cm</td>
<td>4.2 cm</td>
<td>10.8 cc</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>9.2 cm</td>
<td>4.8 cm</td>
<td>10.6 cc</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Length</td>
<td>Maximum width</td>
<td>Capacity</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>7.7 cm</td>
<td>4.2 cm</td>
<td>10.2 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>9.0 cm</td>
<td>4.6 cm</td>
<td>12.4 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>10.0 cm</td>
<td>5.8 cm</td>
<td>21.9 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>8.3 cm</td>
<td>5.1 cm</td>
<td>14.2 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>9.8 cm</td>
<td>5.5 cm</td>
<td>20.4 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>8.7 cm</td>
<td>5.0 cm</td>
<td>13.6 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>7.1 cm</td>
<td>4.4 cm</td>
<td>9.0 cc</td>
<td>Broken end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>7.9 cm</td>
<td>4.7 cm</td>
<td>11.8 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>8.3 cm</td>
<td>4.3 cm</td>
<td>10.4 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>8.7 cm</td>
<td>4.9 cm</td>
<td>15.2 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>8.8 cm</td>
<td>5.4 cm</td>
<td>24.6 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>9.1 cm</td>
<td>5.1 cm</td>
<td>14.4 cc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Conch-shells (G of Table II), length 9.8 cm, maximum width 5.0 cm. From same locus as above.
8. Conch-shell (C of Table II), length 7.7 cm, maximum width 4.2 cm. Same locus as above.
9. Conch-shell (E of Table II), length 8.9 cm, maximum width 4.3 cm. Same locus as above.

(pl. CLXVI A)

10. Conch-shell used as trumpet; largest specimen from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, with an inscription which runs as "Bhagavato Athabhujasamisa" in typical Ikshvāku characters; incised decoration depicts two columns on a terraced pedestal, one of the columns is surmounted by Chakra-capital signifying the temple of Vishnu; Chakra or wheel is eight-spoked, its circumference decorated with designs very similar to triratna motif; the other column appears to be a flag-staff; a hole is provided at the nether end of the sāṅkha. From Sector N XXIV, Site 29 (Ashtabhujasvāmin Temple) from the central shrine, Ikshvāku level.

11. Conch-shell used as trumpet, it has also a hole at the extreme end and an inscription which runs as Uchchitakanasha in dotted character; Locus same as above.
13. A valve of oyster-shell. From Sector N II, Site 104 (Structures near Postern Gate), Ikshvāku level.

(pl. CXLVII A)

15. Cowri. From Sector N VIII, Site 120 (Rubble rooms) Ikshvāku level.
IV. TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE OF SHELL BANGLES

Rejects from Nāgārjunakonda help us in reconstructing the technique of manufacture so far as the preparation of bangles, armlets or rings are concerned. Waste materials may be divided into four different categories viz., (a) end-portion (or lip) of conch-shell, (b) ovoid piece with a circular perforation belonging to apical region, (c) columnella and (d) working sections and other sawn piece. The first three groups belong to a preparatory treatment of shell for the purpose of extracting columnella. Similar preliminary operations are still observed before a shell is sawn for the preparation of working sections. The methods of manufacture during the Ikshvāku period were much the same as they are among the modern shell-workers, but we do not know whether they vary from ancient techniques in minute details.

So far as the preparatory treatment of conch-shell is concerned, No. 35 from the Bathing Ghāṭ area gives, more or less, a clear picture of the successive stages of operation. The end-portion of this rejected conch is sawn and columnella completely removed. Near the apical region is found a circular hole, about 2.5 cm in diameter. The specimen discovered from Site 81 also shows a sawn end. Such opening is necessary for extracting the columnellas by breaking the various septa. Our collection includes about a dozen pieces of end-portions connected with the first stage of preparatory treatment. It is difficult to ascertain whether the hole provided in the first-mentioned example was made prior to the removal of lips. Its exact purpose is not clear to us. But it appears that it was contrived to facilitate the removal of columnella and also for the examination of the interior. Subsequently, the apical part, which bears a hole was possibly removed obliquely. There are about eight examples pertaining to this stage. One can, however, very well take it as a pendent or amulet. There is, no doubt, that these were primarily waste products, since few such specimens came from the dump of Site 36 along with other types of rejects. On the other hand, three examples of this variety were recovered from medieval pits of probably funerary characters. Site 74, a residential building, revealed two identical pieces. In these circumstances, the possibility of their use as pendent or hair ornament need not be ruled out. Many hill-people use the fragments of columnella as ear or hair ornaments. About half-a-dozen pieces of columnella were discovered in excavation at Nāgārjunakonda in association with other rejects. In all likelihood, they were not used as ornaments.

The fourth group of rejects was actually the outcome of sawing operation and mostly comprises in untrimmed working sections, which had to be rubbed down to smoothness. How this was accomplished during the Ikshvāku period is not known to us. The working sections are mostly rectangular in cross-section. the fact that a large number of finished bangle pieces show the same cross-section may tend to suggest that not much effort was made for this type of finished products but pentagonal, triangular, plano-convex and flat rectangular types had to undergo much more intensive process of rubbing etc.\(^1\)

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2 Hornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 and 448.

3 For various processes of rubbing see, Hornell, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
SHELL AND GLASS OBJECTS

It appears from photographs published in the report of Maski\(^1\) excavation that identical technique of the manufacture of bangles was in vogue in that region also. Cut conch-shells from Maski consist of a sawn end, an ovoid piece from the apical region and few fragments of untrimmed sections. Many other sites like Arikamedu,\(^2\) Navdaioli and Maheshwar,\(^3\) Baroda\(^4\) etc., have revealed indubitable evidence of the local manufacture of shell-bangles. The archaeological data prove beyond doubt that this was a flourishing industry in many parts of India not only in protohistoric times but also during the historical period.

The most noteworthy fact at Nāgārjunakonda is the prevalence of bangles of burnt shell. The core as well as the exterior are uniformly grey. Site 10 exposed the maximum number of such fragments. It is apparent from one burnt end-portion, evidently a reject, that uncut conch was burnt under some reducing condition. Subsequently, it was utilized for the manufacture of bangles, etc.

Needless to say that bangles were sawn out of Xancus pyrum variety, so common on the coasts of Kathiawar, south India and Ceylon. Still they are being used for the manufacture of shell-bangles.

The following selected specimens of rejects and unfinished examples are illustrated (pl. CXLVII B; Table III)—

30. Fragment of a cut-shell, possibly a rejected piece of working section found along with seven other similar pieces. From Sector N VIII, Site 100 (Bath), from bottom of a rectangular well.

31. Fragment of a working section. Diameter 6.0 cm. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Pushpabhadravāmī Temple); Ikshvāku level.

32. Fragment of a cut-shell found along with No. 30. Locus same as No. 30.

33. Rejected conch-shell, with a hole intentionally provided near the apical region and lower end sawn off. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghat area), Ikshvāku level.

34. Columella extracted from conch-shell. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), dump of the Ikshvāku level.

35. Same as above. From same locus.

36. An ovoid piece with a hole belonging to the apical region. From Sector S XIII, Site 76 (Pit area), Pit No. 2, Medieval.

(pl. CXLVII A)

37. Same as above. From same locus

38. Same as above. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Dump of the Ikshvāku period.

\(^1\) B.K. Thapar, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX, B, 1 & 2. Maski yielded a large number of such rejects which are now in the collection of the Hyderabad State Archaeology Department.

\(^2\) Sankalia, Deo and others, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX

\(^3\) *Op. cit.*, pp. 227-32

<table>
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<th>3.5 cm</th>
<th>4.0 cm</th>
<th>4.5 cm</th>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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| 7 | 9 | 49 | 95 | 137 | 141 | 86 | 93 | 39 | 49 | 34 | 27 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 796 |

0.88% 1.13% 6.16% 11.93% 17.21% 17.71% 10.80% 11.68% 4.90% 6.16% 4.27% 3.39% 1.78% 0.75% 1.26%
39. End portion of a burnt conch-shell, uniformly grey core and exterior. Locus same as above.
40. End portion of a conch-shell, from Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāt area), Ikshvāku level.
41. End portion of a burnt conch-shell, uniformly grey core and exterior. Locus same as above.
42. End portion of a conch-shell. From Sector N-VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāt Area), Ikshvāku level.

V. CLASSIFICATION OF SHELL BANGLES, ARMLETS AND RINGS

Shell-bangles from Nāgārjunakonda are monotonously plain and simple. The number of decorated specimens is not even a dozen. The incised decoration, that too only simple lines, is the only mode of ornamentation. Grey samples, however, exceed more than two dozens. In some examples, we come across a hole intentionally provided on the circumference. the actual purpose of such holes is only a matter of surmise. Taxila,¹ Nasik,² Maheswar, Navdatoli³ and Raïra⁴ revealed examples of rivetted shell-bangles. Possibly, these rivetments were not directed to hold the broken fragments. They might have had some "decorative effect".⁵ There are two bangles with a central groove along the circumference. Without any doubt, one can assume that this variety was utilized for fixing gold leaf or wire around the bangle. Gold leaf sticking to similar specimens is observed at Mahaswar and Nevasa.⁶

Shell bangles are never circular since their shape is always conditioned by the raw material. More or less, they appear to be plano-convex in outlines, one of its portion is comparatively flatter. This part is somewhat wavy with two crests and a trough. There is one example from Hārtti Temple with three crests and two troughs. Sometimes they exhibit thickened ends near the trough region of the bangle. Thus, it is apparent that decorative patterns of Nāgārjunakonda are of simple variety.

About nine hundred and ninety-eight specimens have been thoroughly examined for the purpose of classification according to approximate diameter and cross-section. In this attempt, smaller specimens, where curvature is not pronounced and trough-portion pieces have been excluded. Table III gives the result of this classification.

It is evident from the above mentioned table that bangle fragments with rectangular cross-section show overwhelming frequency of occurrence. Bangles with flat rectangular and pentagonal cross-sections display better finish and workmanship. We find in area-wise classification that rectangular ones are predominant in every Sector except Citadel area, where pentagonal cross-section shows comparatively higher percentage. The quantity of bangle fragments with triangular or plano-convex cross-section is negligible.

According to diameter, shell-bangles from Nāgārjunakonda may be grouped under fifteen types. In diameter they vary between 2.5 cm to 9.5 cm. A solitary specimen, not included in Table III, from the Hārtti Temple betrays a diameter of about 2.0 cm. It may be a finger-ring. The first, second and the last but one group are each represented by a small quantity of fragments. The first two groups appear to be toe-rings. Examples ranging in diameter between 8.0 cm to 9.5 cm are possibly armlets. Hence,

¹ Marshall, op. cit., pp. 671 - 672
² Sankalia & Deo, Excavation at Nasik and Jorwe, pl. XXIX, No. 1.
³ Sankalia, Subbarao & Deo, Excavations at Maheswar and Navdatoli, pp. 231-32
⁴ K.N. Puri, Excavations at Raïra, p. 41
⁵ Sankalia, Subbarao & Deo, op. cit., pp. 229-30.
⁶ Ibid.
groups three to eleven represent bangles or bracelets. The highest concentration is in groups five and six. The prevalence of bangles of different size tends to show that they were worn by children as well as adults belonging to different age-groups.

Thus, the bangle fragments may be divided according to four different types, namely (A) bangle or bracelet, (B) armlet, (C) finger-ring and (D) toe-ring. Shell finger-rings are reported from Taxila¹, Brahmagiri² and Maski.³ At Nāgarjunakonda, finger-ring and toe-ring were discovered from medieval levels also.

The following selected specimens of shell-bangle, armlet, toe-ring and finger-ring are illustrated.

(pl. CXLVIII A)

1. Fragment of an armlet, rectangular cross-section, thickened end. Diameter 9.0 cm. From Sector No. III, Site 110 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

2. Fragment of a bangle, pentagonal cross-section; a hole on the circumference. Diameter 5.0 cm. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple area), Ikshvāku level.

3. Fragment of a burnt shell bangle, uniformly grey in colour, core also grey, pentagonal cross-section. Diameter 4.5 cm. From Sector N XXIV, Site 29, Ikshvāku level.

4. Fragment of a toe-ring, rectangular cross-section, crude specimen. Diameter 2.5 cm. From Sector S XIII, Site 76 (Pit area), Medieval.

5. Fragment of a bangle, pentagonal cross-section. Diameter 6.5 cm. From Sector N II, Site 91 (Barracks), Ikshvāku level.

6. Completely restored armlet with a central groove all along the circumference, possibly for fixing gold leaf. Longer axis 8.5 cm, shorter one 7.0 cm. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hāriti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

7. Fragment of a bangle, central groove along the circumference. Diameter 5.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 91 (Barracks), Ikshvāku level.

8. Fragment of a toe-ring, rectangular cross-section. Diameter 2.5 cm. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāṭ), Ikshvāku level.

9. Fragment of a finger-ring. Diameter 1.8 cm. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area) pit 7, Medieval.

11. Fragment of a toe-ring, rectangular cross-section. Diameter 2.5 cm. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hāriti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

12. Fragment of a toe-ring, rectangular cross-section. Diameter 2.5 cm. From the same locus as above.

13. Fragment of a bangle or armlet with double trough. From the same locus as above.

¹ Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 649
² Wheeler, *op. cit.* p. 260
³ Thapar, *op. cit.* p. 111
14. Fragment of a bangle, plano-convex cross-section, incised lines in the inner surface as decoration. Diameter 4.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), dump of the Ikshvāku period.

15. Fragment of a bangle, pentagonal cross-section, incised lines on the outer surface as decoration. Diameter 6.0 cm. From the same locus as above.

16. Fragment of bangle with a hole on the circumference, pentagonal cross-section. Diameter 3.5 cm. From Sector N III, Site 108 (Monastery) Ikshvāku level.

(pl. CXLVIII B)

17. Fragment of a grey bangle, rectangular cross-section. Diameter 4.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), dump of the Ikshvāku period.

18. Fragment of a bangle with thickened end; rectangular cross-section. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hārīti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

19. Completely restored bangle, rectangular cross-section, longer axis 6.5 cm, shorter axis 5.0 cm. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hārīti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

20. Fragment of a partially restored armlet, triangular cross-section. Diameter 8.5 cm. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hārīti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

21. Fragment of an armlet, pentagonal cross-section, nicely executed specimen. Diameter 8.0 cm. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Pushpbhadrasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

22. Fragment of a bangle, thicker variety, triangular cross-section. Diameter 7.5 cm. From Sector N III, Site 108 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

23. Fragment of a bangle, thinner variety, flat rectangular in cross-section. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hārīti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

24. Partially restored specimen of bangle with flat rectangular cross-section. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Hārīti Temple), Ikshvāku level.

25. Fragment of a bangle, plano-convex in cross-section. Diameter 7.0 cm. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Pushpbhadrasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

26. Fragment of a bangle, rectangular cross-section. Diameter 5.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.

27. Fragment of a bangle, plano-convex cross-section. Diameter 5.5 cm. From Sector N IX, Site 35. (Pillared hall with apsidal temple), Ikshvāku level.

28. Fragment of a bangle, internally bevelled edges, roughly flat, rectangular in cross-section. Diameter 5.0 cm. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Residential Rubble structure), Ikshvāku level.

29. Complete bangle, roughly fashioned, thick and broad specimen, "beaks" or septum-remnants in the inner surface, plano-convex cross-section N II, surface.

30. Fragment of a bangle, triangular cross-section. Diameter 9.5 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36. (Senāpati Memorial Site), Ikshvāku level.
VI. OTHER SHELL OBJECTS

There are only three examples under this head. One of them is a pendent of tiger-claw variety, the stone counterpart of which also came from Nāgarjunakonda. The upper end shows slight constriction, evidently for threading. The other two pieces are indeterminate objects. One of them is an ovoid piece, and the other one, more or less plano-convex in outline. Perhaps it would be wrong to identify them as gaming counters. Hornell\(^1\) refers to a number of instances of the use of round and square discs of conch shell and tabular pieces by the Bhutanese, Nāga and Khasia peoples. According to him such pieces are "worn suspended from the hair as charms". No. 33 may be regarded as a toy-object.\(^2\)

The following are the description of these objects, which are illustrated—

(pl. CXLVIII A)

30. A pendent of tiger-claw type with incised lines on the surfaces as decoration. From Sector N II Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), dump of the Ikshvāku period.

33. An ovoid piece, but one end pointed, the upper surface is slightly concave, it looks like a miniature earthen lamp (pradipa), may be a toy-object.

34. A thick piece of shell, plano-convex in shape.

VII. GLASS BANGLES AND RINGS

Glass bangles from Nāgarjunakonda accounted for about fifty specimens, and with the exception of one very small fragment, which was unearthed from the Yaksha Temple in an Ikshvāku stratum, all of them are either medieval in date or were found from stratum not associated with typical Ikshvāku appendage. The extreme rarity of glass bangles in the historical levels at Nāgarjunakonda is rather a surprising feature since Brahmagiri III and Maski III yielded glass bangles in a fairly good proportion. It is, therefore, apparent that the people of this valley had no particular pre-disposition for this ornament in glass. There is no evidence at our disposals yet to prove that glass-bangles were ever used in south India prior to the beginning of the Christian era.\(^3\) The evidence of Nāgarjunakonda is by no means unique. At Nasik glass-bangles were not known earlier to Period III (circa 200 A.D.). All these evidences reflect a stage of variable response in different localities towards the acceptability of glass in place of terracotta, shell or metal in the preparation of bangles. Such regional variations are not at all an unexpected phenomenon. Divergent attitudes towards life, religious beliefs, conservatism or superstition play a dominant role in shaping the behaviour pattern and types of artefacts of different groups of people.

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\(^1\) Hornell, op. cit., p. 44. It is not possible to affirm from his description whether such discs or tabular pieces bear any holes for thread.

\(^2\) The Mahāvamsa (Vol. II, p. 421) refers to the manufacture of mats, palanquins etc., which were possibly toy articles, or were made by stitching shell pieces, or for inlay work (like ivory) respectively.

\(^3\) Thapar's (op. cit., p. 113) conclusion that "glass bangles were known in India at least in the first half of the first millennium BC" is correct so far as the northwestern regions of India are concerned. Its use in other parts of India might not have started at the same time. There are reasons to believe that the impetus for using it in the preparation of beads etc., came from outside. But the occurrence of glass beads has been recorded from Karveripattinam from the earliest levels (c. third century B.C. to first century A.D.) of Period I.
SHELL AND GLASS OBJECTS

The majority of the glass bangles and rings came from definite medieval context in Sector S XII. The total number of glass rings is only five: out of this, four specimens were unearthed from Site 76 (Pit area), a medieval site. It is evident from Table IV that glass-bangles range in diameter between 3.5 cm. to 6.0 cm. So far as cross-section is concerned, they conform to four types, viz., plano-convex, circular, rectangular and triangular. More than 50% of the total belongs to plano-convex cross-section. The most widely used variety is black opaque glass. There are three examples of glazed variety in black glass only. Stratified glass bangles account for nine specimens. Green translucent, opaque, bluish green, blue, greyish, white glass have also been used in variable proportion. But undoubtedly the most popular type of glass bangles is black, opaque variety with plano-convex cross-section. The method of decorating the apex or upper surface with rows of studs is the only mode of ornamentation observed in glass bangle as well as in glass finger-rings. Sometimes small perforated beads serve as studs.

The following selected specimens of glass bangles and rings are illustrated.

(pl. CXLVIII C)

1. Bangle piece with grooved spiral design of pale green translucent glass, circular cross-section, a similar example found from Hastinapura. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area), Medieval.

2. Fragment of a stratified glass-bangles; grey over pale blue, a thin film of deep blue in the uppermost stratum, triangular cross-section. Diameter 4.0 cm. From Sector S IV, trenches to the south-east of megaliths.

3. Bangle piece of greyish white opaque glass, plano-convex cross-section. Diameter 5.0 cm. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area), Medieval.

4. Bangle piece of green translucent glass, plano-convex cross-section, diamond-design along the circumference. Diameter 5.0 cm. From Sector S XI, Area to the south of Site 79, Medieval.

5. Fragment of a finger-ring of black opaque glass, circular bezel decorated with greenish blue translucent beads used as studs, plano-convex cross-section. Diameter less than 2.0 cm. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area), Medieval.

6. Fragment of a finger-ring of blue translucent glass, externally decorated with yellow opaque studs, diameter less than 2.0 cm. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area), Medieval.

7. Fragment of a glazed black glass ring, about 3.0 cm in diameter, it has a broad corrugated strip. From Sector N I, area adjoining Site 97, uppermost level.

8. Fragment of a finger-ring of greenish blue opaque glass, exterior decorated with beaded pattern, Diameter less than 2.0 cm. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area), Medieval.

9. Stratified glass bangle piece, yellow over grey, red studs on the apex, triangular cross-section. Diameter 6.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial Site), upper level of the dump accumulated inside the ditch.

10. Fragment of a green translucent glass bangle, diamond-shaped design along the circumference, plano-convex cross-section. Diameter 5.0 cm. From the same locus as that of no. 4.

1A clockwise, Nos. 10 & 11, p. 91.

12. Stratified glass bangle piece, brown over grey, rectangular cross-section. Diameter 6.0 cm. From Sector N XXIV, Site 29 (AshtaBHujasvami Temple), upper layer.

(Pl. CXLVIII D)


14. Fragment of a finger-ring, of black, glazed glass, plano-convex cross-section. Diameter less than 2.0 cm. Locus same as above.

15. Fragment of a stratified glass bangle, yellow over grey, and red studs on the apex, triangular cross-section. Diameter 6.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senapatī Memorial Site), upper level of the dump.


17. Fragment of a circular object, possibly a stopper, diameter 3.0 cm. From Sector N I, adjoining area of Site 96, upper level.

18. Fragment of a glazed, black glass bangle, ribbed outer surface. Diameter 4.6 cm. From Sector S XII, Site 76 (pit-area), Medieval.


20. Complete bangle of black, opaque glass. Plano-convex cross-section. Diameter 4.0 cm. Locus same as above.


VIII. BANGLES AND RINGS FROM NĀΓĀRJUNAKONDA

Shell, terracotta, glass, iron, copper and bronze were employed for the manufacture of bangles at NāgarjunaKonda. During the Ikshvāku period shell and terracotta bangles were widely used. Copper and bronze specimens, only three in number, are confined mainly to the Ikshvāku strata. The earliest example of bangle or armlet from NāgarjunaKonda is in copper and recovered from the cist of Meg. VII. Neolithic assemblage did not yield any bangle. Copper or bronze bangles range in diameter between 4.1 cm to 5.8 cm. Iron bangles and rings, in restricted quantity, were prevalent during the Ikshvāku as well as medieval times. The average diameter of iron bangles is about 5.1 cm. The medieval deposit did not reveal any terracotta bangles. But shell, the most popular bangle-material of the Ikshvāku period, continued even in the medieval time in a limited number; glass had, however, a greater demand as material for bangles during this period.

It seems that armlets were made mainly in shell, those too possibly only during the Ikshvāku period. So far as classification of shell and terracotta bangles according to diameter is concerned, the
SHELL AND GLASS OBJECTS

major concentration is in groups of 4.0 cm, 4.5 cm and 5.0 cm diameters. Glass-bangles show greater concentration in the groups of 4.0 cm and 6.0 cm. There is, however, no example in glass with a diameter of more than 6.0 cm. Bangles with a diameter of 3.5 cm are not so well-represented in glass or terracotta. The latter varies in diameter between 3.5 cm to 7.0 cm. On the testimony of glass and terracotta examples we may safely assume that the smallest diameter of a bangle at Nāgārjunakonda is 3.5 cm.

Decorative patterns in the real sense of term were employed only in case of terracotta examples. But they do not exhibit much variety. Broadly speaking, they may be grouped under four classes, viz., (a) beaded pattern, (b) grooved spiral or twisted rope pattern (c) segmented pattern and (d) makara design; last two groups being represented each by a solitary example. Minor variations in the first group result into six sub-types which will be evident from Table 7. Table VI gives the classification of terracotta bangles according to design, diameter and cross-section. Plano-convex cross-section accounts for fifty-two specimens. Type III or twisted rope pattern is not represented in the group of terracotta bangles, with rectangular cross-section. The decoration of glass bangles is confined only to the use of different strata of glasses, and in some cases in the ornamentation of apex or circumference by means of studs of different colour.

Copper and bronze finger-rings were mainly used during the Ikshvāku period. The evidence of iron, brass, shell or lead fingers or toe-rings also came to light from Nāgārjunakonda. During medieval times, though glass was the primary material for finger-rings, a small percentage of shell and copper specimens were also discovered. Copper or bronze examples are either plain or with bezel. Shell and lead rings do not show any decoration. An example of glass finger-ring with bead-studded bezel came from a medieval site (Site 76). In some other cases circumference was decorated with a row of studs.

IX. GENERAL DISCUSSION

It is quite apparent from the foregoing discussion that the use of shell-bangles was on the decline in the medieval period; its place was being substituted by glass. The frequency of shell bangle at Brahmagiri III and Maski III was not so high as that of Nāgārjunakonda. Moreover, glass forms a good percentage at both the first-mentioned sites. It may tend to show that the impact of glass during the first few centuries of the Christian era was more potent in those places than at Nāgārjunakonda. References in Sangam literature and other ancient Tamil classics furnish indubitable evidence of the existence of shell-cutting industry in the far south during the early Christian era. That the manufacture of shell objects attained a great proficiency in ancient India is evident from a passage in the Mahāvamsa,¹ which refers to Śāṅkhavālayakāra and his trade. It also gives us a list of articles like bracelets, arm-lets, rings, lids, vessels for perfume, oil etc., mat, palanquin, etc., which were manufactured in shell.

Shell bangles and armlets were not merited simply as ornaments. At least, the findings at Nāgārjunakonda point to a similar conclusion. In view of the facts that a large quantity of them were unearthed from religious edifices like Hārithī Temple, Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple and that no effort was made to decorate them in some way or other so that they could be used simply as decorative ornaments, we may possibly assume that some belief might have been in currency regarding the apotroptic quality of shell-bangles. The frequency of shell armlets may point to the same conclusion, since amulets are generally worn on the upper arm till to-day. Mentions have already been made

¹J.J. Jones, The Mahāvamsa, Vol. II.
regarding the use of shell as talisman by different peoples of India. Hornell\(^1\) records that children under two year old of the Parawa caste, who still monopolize the shore industries of Tinnevelly, are often given roughly made shell bracelets to wear in the belief that such will protect them against evil eye. The practice of using shell bangles on ceremonial occasions is still to be found amongst some people of the south. These are, however, only vestiges of a very ancient custom, once widespread all over the south.

Hornell\(^2\) remarks that although evidence is strong in favour of the belief that the custom of wearing chank bracelets was in old times prevalent throughout the length and breadth of India, more especially in the Tamil country, in the Deccan, in Kathiawar, Gujarat and Bengal, at the present day only in Bengal and to the hill districts to the west, north and east does the custom continue to be widely observed and of notable social importance. Every Hindu Bengali woman is bound to posses a pair of chank bangles lacquered in vermillion as one of the visible tokens of her married state. It is also usual for the widows to break and throw away the shell-bangles on the first occasion after the death of their husband; Tavernier\(^3\) even records the burial of widow’s bangle along with the dead. It will not wholly be a conjecture if we assume that an usage, akin to what we now find in Bengal, was possibly in existence at Nāgārjunakonda during the Ikshvāku period.

But we cannot say emphatically that the practice of wearing shell-bangles was widespread throughout the length and breadth of this country. That shell-bangles were in use in ancient Bengal may be gathered from the evidence of Bangarh.\(^4\) But sites like Kumrahār, Vaisali, Sonepur, Mahābhirghat and other neighbouring sites in the city area of Pataliputra did not yield any shell-bangle from the historical levels.\(^5\) It is difficult, no doubt, to work out the regional variations so far as the custom of wearing shell-bangles is concerned; nevertheless, the absence of shell-bangles in the sites of Bihar and their comparatively high frequency in the majority of sites of the peninsular India, suggest the existence of some regional variation in this respect also in ancient times.

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\(^1\) Hornell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 767
\(^2\) \textit{ibid.}
\(^3\) Mentioned by Hornell, \textit{op. cit.}
\(^4\) K.G. Goswami, \textit{Excavations at Bangarh}, p. 16
\(^5\) I am grateful to Shri S.R. Ray, Patna, for this information.
(viii) STUCCO OBJECTS

Stucco mouldings were extensively used for decorative purposes in the constructional activity from the period of the Sātavāhanas in the Andhra region. Whenever lime was employed in the construction, either as mortar or as plaster, it appears to have been accompanied also by stucco decorations. The use of burnt brick and plaster in all likelihood were coeval with the stucco art. A torso of a larger than life size image of Buddha, in a seated posture, fully moulded in stucco, was exposed in one of the chaitya-grihas at Salihundam.

Stucco moulding was serving as an alternative process of decorating a stūpa instead of encasing it with carved slabs. It was on the one hand not only cheaper but a quicker and easier process which recommended itself readily for those who were in need of finishing the construction of a stūpa or a monastery swiftly. It was comparatively less permanent no doubt but it would readily lend itself to quick renovation also from time-to-time and renovation work was also in practice from remote times. In this connection, the renovation effected by Chantiśiri for the Mahā-stūpa Site 1, may be recalled. The Mahā-stūpa of the Sātavāhana times was preserved by renovation during the Ikshvāku times. Though evidence is now lacking, some of the earlier Sātavāhana structures which were provided with stucco decorative embellishments were later renovated and in some cases, instead of restoring the stucco work, the stūpa was encased with carved slabs as well. Site 32, where excavations were conducted in the earlier phases, give enough clues for such a possibility. This site had yielded a good number of casing slabs which are now preserved in the museum but no inscriptive date was found here to ascertain the authors of this extensive structural activity.

Lime was widely employed for plastering work in the Ikshvāku period. In general, plastered structures were decorated with stucco mouldings below the roof level with running designs of leaves and flowers, twisted and knotted rope patterns. At still lower levels, anthropomorphic and conventionalized animal forms were employed less frequently.

Stucco work was almost the first victim of ruin from an abandoned structure. Immediately after the collapse of the roof, the mouldings get exposed for the ravages of weather, during which period, the delicately formed features got rolled and obliterated. Again, as these mouldings form part of the upper portions of architecture, none of them remain in situ for an excavator of an ancient site. Their fragile nature contributes for innumerable fragmentation and pulverization and only a very small fraction would have the chance of being picked up in an identifiable condition of their original features.

The meagre data now available thus does not even present a passing glimpse into the original splendour of buildings with stucco ornamentation. Stūpas constructed in rubble stone were invariably plastered and probably covered with extensive stucco plaster decorative festoons and designs. A thick plaster cover smoothens the angularities of the rubble stone and facilitates stucco working. The

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1 This chapter has been contributed by Shri B. Vidyadhar Rao.
2 Technically, stucco in the west, is an expert process involving several stages of coat. But, it is also, as a category, applied to simple mortar, brickhat and plaster (pointed) forming a relief figure or that in the round.
3 A set of eight stucco decorative moulders mostly recovered from Site No. 26, Sector NXVII, were illustrated in Indian Archaeology 1955-56 – A Review, p. 26, pl. XL-A, and again their occurrence was mentioned in the volume for 1957-58, p. 9.
monastery where the stūpa was not encased in sculptured slabs was, in all probability, a structure of extensive stucco ornamentation.

Longhurst seems to have encountered a considerable quantity of stucco ornamental fragments from the stūpas. "The ornamentation of the decorated stūpas was a curious mixture of the stone carving and stucco work. When stone was used, it was applied to the brick-work in the form of carved limestone slabs fixed in mortar and extended from the plinth to the frieze encircling the middle portion of the dome, a point which marks the springing of the dome. Above this frieze, all ornamentation had to be in stucco owing to the difficulty of fixing flat slabs to the curved surface of the dome. Open joints and other faults in this stone facing were rectified in plaster. Whenever, the masons ran short of the stone slabs, the panels were completed in stucco and when the decorative work was finished, the structure was given a coating of white-wash from top to bottom to hide any faults in the work". 1

Whatever the uncertain inferences of Longhurst may be, they conclusively establish that he found considerable quantities of stucco ornamental pieces in the debris which buried the stūpas. He further added the hypothesis, "This method of decorating a stūpa partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation was also employed by Gandhāra Buddhists and in all probability, it was the later who introduced this practice into the Krishna valley about the second century A.D.". 2

Ikshvāku rule in the Krishna valley began around the ending of the first quarter of the third century AD and Longhurst did not find any Buddhist structure datable to pre-Ikshvāku period at Nāgārjunakonda. He described at considerable length about the Mahā-chaitya and came to the conclusion that the dhātu which was found in it would have had a pre-Ikshvāku origin3. His discussion thus served as a preliminary lemma for the hypothesis that stucco work on lime plastering may have been introduced in the Āndra country by Sātavāhana rulers.

Ramachandran echoed the notions of Longhurst after his later excavations in 1938 with regard to stucco work4. He illustrated the stucco pieces he unearthed at Site 6, now renumbered as Site 3, in this report. As many as one hundred and seventeen fragments were available to him at a single site, which in turn suggest that the collection of Longhurst might have been still extensive because, during his period, the valley was naturally protected by its insulation from human contact. Again, this established the association of stucco work predominantly with Buddhist monuments, confirmed later even by the meagre date available.

It is significant that Ramachandran’s collection did not include even a single animal or anthropomorphic form. It was merely comprising patterns of designs and floral pieces. Longhurst, on the other hand, may have come across all the varieties, which led him to believe that the brick work of the stūpas was covered simultaneously with sculptured limestone and stucco work as well.

DISTRIBUTION

It has already been indicated that the too meagre data now available does not permit us to have an idea of the content of stucco work in Ikshvāku architecture. In particular, the extent and variety in

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2 Ibid., p. 15.
3 Longhurst, op. cit., p. 19.
design was irretrievably lost, and the few floral pieces do not admit even a hypothetical reconstruction of the original running patterns. But at the same time, however meagre the data may be, the frequency of occurrence clearly points out that stucco work was associated more with Buddhist edifices and monasteries compared to Brāhmaṇical or secular structures. Out of a total fifty-six pieces on record, forty-seven were available from stūpas and monastic units. Two of the lotus medallion fragments around the neolithic graveyard region at Site 68 point out that these were picked up and displaced by later agencies, probably of a recent origin. Likewise, two samples of floral design fragments were found in a barren region in-between an ancient tile kiln and Site 40 where the remains of an insignificant residential structure were noticed; thus adding further evidence to the fact of periodical displacement.

Only a solitary specimen of a running loop design in fragments came from Site 91, a habitational complex. Asṭabhujasvāmi Temple Site 29 provides a fragmentary head of a garuda and pieces of lotus medallion from a clear Brāhmaṇical context. The memorial site of Chariapulusa, the Commander of the Ikṣvāku forces, yielded a piece of stucco but whether this is another case of a displaced find is difficult to ascertain. The design fragment from this site was picked up from a regular Ikṣvāku level and leads to the supposition that even memorial constructions were decorated with stucco work.

Site 26, the monastic unit in Sector N XVII accounts for the major fraction of the latest collection yielding seventeen out of a total of fifty-six, and this seventeen is representative of all types and varieties of the stucco decorative features. But on this score it cannot be concluded that it was the only site with extensive stucco ornamentation. It may be recalled in this connection that both Longhurst and Ramachandran had drawn several inferences which were, no doubt, based on their collections which were substantial, as compared to the one from the final phase of the excavations. Site 26 was a bit away from the lattice of crooked pathways of cow-herds in the shrub jungle of the valley and therefore remained beyond the reach of the casual and uniformed hand. The pattern of distribution is shown at a glance in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Floral patterns</th>
<th>Animal forms</th>
<th>Anthropomorphic forms</th>
<th>Other varieties</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Site No.</td>
<td>Floral patterns</td>
<td>Animal forms</td>
<td>Anthropomorphic forms</td>
<td>Other varieties</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Tile kiln at 40</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Area around 68</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Barren area in N III</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sites 5, 6, 9, 12, 23, 26, 32, 38 and 79 are either monastic units or structures associated with Buddhist bearing. These eleven sites account for forty-seven pieces of the whole collection of fifty-six.

The pieces found near Sites 40, 68 and 76 and the barren area in N III were picked up after these were displaced, by later agencies from their original context and account for six of the collections.

Ashtabhujaszvami Temple finds are the only examples from a clear Brähmanical context, while the unique specimen of a knotted rope pattern occurs from the habitation Site 91.

The over riding frequency of thirty-nine pieces of floral pieces may be explained as the consequence of two factors. Firstly, these forms can be moulded easily and less time consuming. Alternatively these patterns exhibit less depth in relief compared to animal and anthropomorphic forms.

Only two patterns are in the collection, one exhibiting the palm-leaf and the other a knotted rope from Sites 6 and 91 respectively. When the stucco pieces were too fragmentary, the design on the available pieces becomes obscure and hence runs the risk of escaping the attention at the time of digging. It may be recalled here that Ramachandran could collect large number of design fragments from a single site.1

Anthropomorphic and animal forms have less chance of survival in view of the depth of the features done in clear relief on a very fragile medium which explains their low frequency of occurrence.

Most of the Brähmanical structures, particularly the temples of Hindu gods came to be built from the time of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla,1 not much of stucco decorative activity was evidenced from these constructions. At the same time, the fairly large monastic-complex of 106 of Sector N III, dated to the 24th regnal year of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla by the inscription of the merchant Kumāranandī also did not yield any worthwhile stucco pieces.

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1Ibid. pl. XVII-A.
STUCCO OBJECTS

Stucco thus tended to be less and less popular during the later part of the Ikshvåku rule and that probably accounts for its absence or its meagre use in Brähmanical buildings. It does not, however, sound as though that stucco decorative work was the hall-mark or characteristic feature of the Buddhist mason alone. The date coming from a non-Buddhist context, however, meagre it might be, seems to suggest that stucco work was employed to all types of buildings during the earlier part of the Ikshvåku rule.

The following sample pieces are illustrated:

1. Set of three pre-moulded bricks with the layer of lime plastering still sticking to the sections. Spot around floral designs appear attached to the first two examples. From Site 23, Ikshvåku level.

2. Set of five samples, 1, 3 and 4 representing human face fragments while 2 and 5 represent animal forms. The first, which is somewhat well preserved, is a specimen of its type indicating the dexterity of the workmen and comes from Site 26 wherefrom the third and the fourth samples also came. Second and fifth animal forms were picked up at Site 5, all from Ikshvåku levels.

3. Set of eight floral and design fragments, all hand-made. The floral fragments 1 and 3 and five were unearthed at Sites 15, 4 and 5 and possibly fragments of rope designs from Site 6. The indeterminate shaped No. 7 was picked up at Site 40 out of its original context. No. 8 appears to be central fragment of a spoked wheel from Site 23, all from Ikshvåku levels.

4. Set of five samples, the first three floral designs, the fourth being a fragmentary leaf pattern. 1 and 2 possibly precast from a mould came from Site 15 while 3 came from Site 12 and 4 from Site 28. No. 5, the human right palm fragment was unearthed at Site 36, the memorial site of the Senāpati Chaitapalusa. All from Ikshvåku level.

METHODS OF PRODUCTION

Although a certain quantity of sand was mixed with lime for plain plastering work, the stucco mouldings were free from sand particles. On a rough analysis, varying amounts of gypsum were found mixed in the mouldings possibly to ensure fast setting. As gypsum hastens the process of setting, the masons cannot leisurely mould the desired forms and apparently permanent moulds of terracotta were employed to obtain running patterns quickly. A specimen piece of such a terracotta mould picked up at one of the sites confirms this supposition. The stucco worker and the terracotta manufacturer were possibly co-ordinating this artistic talents in producing a well decorated stūpa or monastery and in turn both were keeping the sculptor's work as a model. The mould of terracotta mentioned above, was a negative part of the end portion of a frieze slab depicting a standing lady on a reclining lion.

However, in occasional cases, the mason might have directly worked on the moulding, while the plastering mortar and stucco work mixture were still green. The front portion of a leograph from Site 5, shows a brick piece in its core which confirms such a supposition. The presence of gypsum in the stucco mixture in such a circumstance would be a hindrance for the stucco artist. So, it is most probable that gypsum was kept separately and the mason used to add it little by little to the wet lime used for moulding to the required consistency for his moulding work, a process which does not differ in detail in the finishing work of a modern modeller. The variation in the quality of gypsum in the different layers of the stucco moulding also gets explained by this supposition.

No indication is available from the recent collection whether some of these patterns were cast separately and were later fixed to the plaster by the process of sprigging, i.e., keeping tenon like
projections behind the mouldings which go into the corresponding sockets provided for them in the plaster. These tenons would be tapering towards the back of the moulding to ensure proper mounting of the desired place. The back of some of the floral patterns apparently have been cast separately but it is difficult to establish this notion as no spring projection is noticed on any of them.

A few specimens of bricks were picked up with the original plaster still sticking to the section but these do not suggest precasting of stucco patterns which were later fixed over the plaster. Three such examples unearthed from Site 23, Sector N XX, indicate that moulding was directly done along with plastering over bricks which were previously moulded for this purpose. Unfortunately, not much evidence of this type was available to illustrate the various methods adopted for stucco decorative work as a principal factor of ornamentation in the Ikshvaku architecture.

As regards the workmanship, the range of variation is appreciable. Some of the floral patterns directly worked on spot exhibit lack of control suggesting the work of novices. The well formed floral designs were obtained from moulds as it appears but it is difficult to stress this point any further as we don’t come across over stray examples of replicas.

The animal and anthropomorph forms, on the other hand, display the work of veterans in the field and the deftness in handling the work attracts the attention of the spectator at once.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

In most of the stūpas of Nāgārjunakonda where stucco was in evidence, stone sculpture was missing. The Mahā-stūpa itself, where Longhurst must have got stucco fragments in quantity, was provided with only limestone Ayaka pillars and no sculpture was found. This stūpa or at least the dhātu found in it was believed to be pre-Ikshvaku in origin1 which in turn implies that it was housed in a pre-Ikshvaku structure. Now that Ikshvaku were known to be immediate successors of Sātavāhanas in the Krishna Guntur region, the pre-Ikshvaku structures, if any, in the valley were only of Sātavāhana origin. It was already stated that Sātavāhana structures in brick and lime-plaster were associated with stucco work in general.

It is, thus, likely that Ikshvaku continued the stucco craftsmanship as an integral adjustment of their architectural activity by subscribing to Sātavāhana traditions. A sort of resurgence of Buddhist religion seems to have taken place during the reign of Virapurushadatta, during which period the old Sātavāhana structures were renovated, a number of new stūpas and monasteries were constructed all of which closely bordering on earlier Sātavāhana traditions. It is significant that temples of Brāhmanical learning datable to Virapurushadatta’s reign were not found in the valley.

The rule of Ehuvala Chāmtamūla gave a dynamic turn to the Ikshvaku period. It saw the vigorous revival of Brāhmanism as evidenced by temples of Pushpabhadrasvāmi, Kārttikeya and Nodagisvāra, to mention only the clearly identified and dated structures. Sanskrit entered the valley as an effective rival of Prakrit. Sculptural activity had witnessed manifold increase which tended to limit the extent of stucco ornamentation. The absence of appreciable quantity of stucco decorative work in Brāhmanical edifices was thus based more on a change of tradition in later Ikshvaku period, during which time even Buddhist buildings did not have sizable stucco ornamentation.

1Ibid., p. 7
IVORY AND BONE OBJECTS

But the less frequent use of stucco by the later Ikshvāku Masons seems to be a short lived tradition in view of the fact that stucco pieces were available in Ashtabhujaśvāmi Temple, an edifice of Ābhira origin though presumably with local craftsmen essentially.

(ix) IVORY AND BONE OBJECTS

INTRODUCTION

The total number of articles under this group from the excavations does not exceed more than thirty-four, amongst which dice form the main bulk. A limited number of combs, antimony rods, etc., were also recovered in the excavation. The distribution of these objects was confined mainly within the citadel and the habitational area to the east of the former. Barring a few specimens of dice, these materials were rarely found in the monastic or other ritualistic sites. The utility of these articles was as toilet or game-objects, and as such, they were unearthed generally from the areas of residential structures, either of the royalty or commoners. But dice were recovered mostly from, on or near public edifices.

These objects may be classified according to the following four groups viz., (A) dice, (B) combs, (C) antimony rods and (D) miscellaneous articles. The identification of objects under the last category is not above doubts.

A. DICE

Twenty-two dice, including unfinished and fragmentary pieces, came from the levels coeval with Ikshvāku period. Two unfinished examples, one from Sector S II and the other from Sector N III, may indicate its local manufacture. In some cases, they were possibly even re-utilised. Unlike Taxila, not much effort was made to decorate them in one way or another.

In length also, Nāgārjunakonda specimens are smaller than those from Taxila. The average length of dice from the latter site is 9.1 cm, the largest one has a length of 9.83 cm.² From the point of view of length, the dice from Nāgārjunakonda may be divided into three groups, namely, large-sized (5.90 cm), medium-sized (4.75 to 4.9 cm) and small-sized (3.20 cm to 3.70 cm). The cross-section is generally square, the side varying in dimension between 0.7 cm to 1.05 cm. Dice may also be grouped under three categories according to thickness viz., large-sized (1.35 to 1.50 cm), medium-sized (0.9 to 1.05 cm) and small-sized (0.7 to 0.8 cm). The major concentration, so far as the length is concerned, is in the first group but in thickness the second group (medium-sized) definitely shows a higher frequency. The large-sized specimens were discovered mostly from the citadel area, whereas the mandapas or their nearby locations yielded both large-sized as well as medium-sized dice. But the smaller variety came invariably from the residential rubble structures of the common people.

There is another interesting feature connected with the provenance of dice in the Valley. Site 70 brought to light two dice; the main building here was a pillared hall, but to its south-east corner was laid bare an unique platform made of diagonally placed bricks, the only counterpart of which come from site 101 situated to the north of the Āsvamedha-complex. A fragment of dice was unearthed from its adjoining region. These platforms were probably recognised places for the game of dice. The

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¹ This section has been contributed by H. Sarkar and B. Vidyadhara Rao.
² Marshall, op. cit., p. 663.
sample or specimen discovered from the Assembly Hall (Site 71) was also from a brick-platform, unconnected with the main structures. A total number of seven specimens were discovered from inside or in the proximity to pillared-halls. This evidence is not without any significance. Possibly these public structures were occasionally turned into games-sports. The Yaksha Temple (Site 64), Hill Monastery (Site 85), Kumāranandi Vihāra (Site 106) and the As̄ṭabhujāsvāmin Temple each yielded a dice. The implication of its association with religious structures need not be over emphasized, in view of the meagerness of data at our disposal.¹

Typologically, all the specimens from Nāgārjunakonda confirm to one group alone. They bear 1, 2, 3 and 4 marks on the respective faces of the dice. Invariably, 1 is opposite to 3. But at Taxila 1 is occasionally placed opposite to 2 or 4. Marks are indicated by 1, 2, 3, or 4 concentric circles around a central dot. The sign represented by 3 concentric circles was most popular in the valley.² Taxila has revealed similar type no doubt, but the usual method of showing the marks is by means of “circles with different centres within a large circle”. Kumrahār³ brought to light both oblong as well as cubical dice. The latter type is, however, represented by a solitary terracotta example.

Both Taxila as well as Nāgārjunakonda specimens bear maximum of 4 marks and are oblong in shape. But the Harappan dice⁴ specimens are cubes having the maximum number of 6 marks. It appears that the Harappan type, which was found at Tepe Gawra also, was not popular in the historical period. The modern dice⁵ are similar to Taxila and Nāgārjunakonda and it is played on a board having a chequer pattern (Chaturanga). The Mahāvastu⁶ alludes to the use of checker board for playing with akṣ ha or dice while narrating the episode of Padmāvatī and King Brahmadatta. Board for playing dice at Nāgārjunakonda, therefore, seems to be the primary desideratum. One of the slabs in the Bathing Ghāt as well as two flooring and two basement slabs in the Burning Ghāt area were found to have been scored with lines making out different types of games. They were probably meant for playing dice or some other game which involves elements of chance⁷ only.

The following selected specimens are described

1. An oblong playing dice of ivory with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on the respective faces; marks consist of 4 concentric circles around the central dot, mark 1 placed opposite 3, length 5.3 cm, cross-section a square of 1.40 cm. From Sector N VIII, Site 123 (Area between the Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple and Dock-tank), Upper Layer.

¹Mahāvastu (translated by J.J. Jones, Vol. I, p. 75) refers to the gambling with the dice as one of the fourteen lapses for which Bodhisattvas, though in the third bhūmi, fail to reach the fourth. It may suggest that the Buddhist possibly indulged in such vices in contravention of the prevalent rules.
²There is only one example, that too a fragment of a die having marks indicated by one concentric circle around a central dot.
⁴They are made of pottery and were used possibly in pairs. There is only one dice from Mohenjodaro which is rectangular (see Marshall, Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation, Vol. II, pp. 551-52, also Wheeler, The Indus Civilisation, p. 60)
⁵Cubical dice are still in use in games like Ludo etc., in modern time.
⁷For detailed descriptions of game-board, see Appendix A.
2. An oblong playing dice of ivory with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on sides; marks on three sides consist of 3 concentric circles around a central dot; mark 1 opposite to 3. Length 5.0 cm, cross-section a square of 1.50 cm. From the same locus as that of above.

3. The longest example of dice, of ivory, with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on four faces (see illustration) marks indicated by 3 concentric circles around the central dot, mark 1 opposite to 3. Length 5.9 cm. Cross-section a square of 1.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 93 (Aśvamedha), Ikshvāku level.

4. A dice of bone with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on sides, indicated by 3 concentric circles around central dot, incised lines of the circles are inlaid; it bears bluish tinge, which is just uniform, and hence it only the accidental mark 1 opposite to 3. Length 5.45 cm. Cross-section square of 1.05 cm. From Sector N II, Site 92 (Residential structures within citadel), Ikshvāku level.

5. An ivory dice with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on respective faces, marks consist of 3 concentric circles around a central dot, incised lines inlaid, mark 1 opposite to 3. Length 4.9 cm. Cross-section a square of 1.0 cm. From Sector N II, Site 106 (Kumāranandī Vihāra), Ikshvāku level.

6. An ivory dice with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on respective faces, marks indicated by 2 concentric circles around a central dot, mark 1 opposite to 3. Length 4.5 cm., cross-section a square of 0.9 cm. From Sector S.III, Site 70 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

7. The smallest dice, of bone, with 1, 2, 3, and 4 marked on respective sides, marks consist of 2 concentric circles around a central dot, 1 opposite to 3. Length 3.2 cm. Cross section a square of 0.75 cm. From Sector S.IV, Site 58 (Residential Rubble structure), Ikshvāku level.

8. A dice of bone having the thinnest cross-section, irregular thickness may indicate re-utilisation, marks 1, 2, 3, and 4 on respective sides, consist of 3 concentric circles around a central dot, incised lines hazy, possibly due to re-utilization. Length 3.3 cm. Cross-section roughly a square of 0.7 cm. From Sector N III, near Site 57 (Rubble structures near Kārttikeya Temple), Ikshvāku level.

**B. COMBS**

Though the number of ivory combs is only three, they conform to two types, namely (i) comb with curved top and (ii) straight top. No. 10, with curved top, is an exquisite piece having its parallel at Taxila and Ujjain.1 Ivory combs wih straight top is reported from Nagda III,2 Tripuri,3 Sirkap4 and their terracotta counterparts from Bahal.5 Ivory combs from Taxila are highly decorated, even carved with beautiful reliefs. Marshall6 is of opinion that this was introduced from the west. Ghosh,7 however remarks on an excellently carved comb from Sirkap that "on the whole, a family-likeness between the Sirkap comb and Begram plaques is unmistakable and suggests a common Indian origin, Possibly in the Mathura region."

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1Indian Archaeology -1956-57 A Review, pl. XXXIII, A-4.
2Indian Archaeology -1955-56 A Review, pl. XXIV, B.
3Dikshit, Tripuri -1952, p. 131
4Marshall, op. cit., 656.
5Indian Archaeology 1956-57 - A Review, pl. XXI, B.
7A. Ghosh, Taxila (Sirkap), 1944-45, Ancient India, No. 4, p. 80.
The following examples are illustrated; (pl. XLII B)

10. Hair comb of ivory with curved top, which is ribbed but with no other decoration; barring four, all the forty teeth are broken; the average length of each tooth 1.5 cm, length of the comb 9.5 cm, width 5.5 cm. From Sector N II, Site 88 (Mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

11. Ivory comb with straight top and slightly splayed-out bottom, one of the sides dusted minutely at more or less regular intervals, the restored length 6.6 cm, present breadth 5.1 cm. From Sector 8 II, Site 71 (Assembly Hall).

C. ANTIMONY RODS

There are two examples of ivory ‘antimony rods’ or collyrium rods. Both of them came from the citadel area. They were found in fragments but one of the specimens could be restored completely. Similar ivory objects with decorated heads have been discovered at various sites and sometimes are described as hair-pins. The present specimens, in view of their comparatively greater length, may be identified as antimony rods, which, as the evidence of Mahāvagga shows, could also have been made of ivory. There is another reason for this identification. Sector N III produced two ivory mouth-pieces or fixed lids with aperture; these ivory sticks can nicely be fitted into the former. The antimony paste might have been kept in some ivory phials with perforated mouth-piece into which the rod can be easily moved, whereas the thickened decorated top may serve as some sort of stopper as well.

9. Ivory antimony rod with pointed end and decorated knob-head, the restored length 12.1 cm. From Sector N III, Site 92 (Residential structures inside the citadel), Ikshvāku level (pl. XLII-C).

D. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

12. An ivory disc-like (3.3 cm diameter) mouth-piece with chamfered side and a central aperture having a diameter of 1.0 cm, top is slightly convex, bottom possesses a restricted projection. Possibly a mouth-piece of an antimony phial. From Sector N III, near Site 57 (Rubble structure near Kārтиkeya Temple), Ikshvāku level (pl. XLII-C).

13. Similar to the one above, with projection at the bottom. Diameter 2.9 cm, diameter of central perforation 1.0 cm. From Sector N III, Surface (pl. XLII-C).

14. An ivory object of uncertain use, the lower part simulating fish-tail, the upper part decorated; possibly a handle of some luxury toilet article. From Sector N III, Site 57 (Rubble structure near Kārтиkeya Temple), Ikshvāku level (pl. XLII-C).

15. Fragment of a pin-like object of ivory, horizontal perforation near the broken end may indicate its use as pendent. From Sector N II, Site 97 (Residential structure within the citadel), Ikshvāku level (pl. XLII-C).

16. A reel-like object of bone but the central segment bulging out, two projections on two sides suggest insertion into tubes on both sides; possibly a pendent. From Sector N II, Site 101 (platform to the north of the Asvamedha), Ikshvāku level (pl. XLII-C).
APPENDIX -A

Games-board at Nāgārjunakonda and its survival in Andhra Pradesh

The game of chance, specially dice play was a favourite partime for the Ikshvāku patricians and commoners. The practice of playing such games in shady nooks and pavements has come down to the present time right from the period of Harappan culture; it is observed even in the proto-historic Egypt and Mesopotamia. This game seemingly attained a great popularity in India, during the Vedic period. The rural population, women-folk and children of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, also of other parts of India, play similar types of chance-games by means of dice, cowries or tamarind seed. Generally, they are played on some draughts-board. We do come across such boards engraved on the floors of mandapās and other shady corners within temple precincts of south India. It is, therefore, certain that dice revealed in the excavations at Nāgārjunakonda were also played in association with games-board, the evidence of which came from the following sites (fig. 34 A):

(a) A pavement slab at Bathing Ghāt contained a board consisting of sixty-four squares.

(b) Two basement slabs and three flooring slabs of the māndapa in the Burning Ghāt area revealed three types of board:— (i) 1 board of 4 squares, (ii) 2 boards of 9 squares and (iii) 1 board consisting of 15 squares with tail end, the latter divided into 5 segments.

(c) A broken flooring slab of the last phase of the vihāra of the Mahāvihāravāsin sect., exposed a fragment of such a board, not a single line of which is intact.

Thus, the games-board at Nāgārjunakonda may be divided into the following categories, namely, boards of (i) 4 squares, (ii) 9 squares, (iii) 20 squares and (iv) 64 squares. The modern chess or dice-board contains 64 squares in chequered patterns. The board with 15 squares with a tail-end divided into 5 parts also seems to have been meant for dice-play. The tail-end possibly marked the place for final entry, which in the case of boards with 64 squares, was possibly in centre.

A study of local games of identical type will definitely prove that the game of dice or any such chance-game is not played on an uniform board. Nevertheless, basically the majority of these games are similar to one another, though the movement of counters differ according to the variations offered by a particular type of board. These games, as already indicated earlier, are played either by dice, cowries or dried tamarind seeds and common to Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Small pebbles, intact tamarind seed or anything can be used as counters. In this connection let it be mentioned that all such boards are not necessarily meant for chance-games. Some of them are also games of wit. The most popular amongst the last category is the game in which two or four tigers are to be captured by means of twenty goats. These can be played by four players. Counters move to reach the destination, generally situated in the centre, according to the score obtained by throwing the dice etc. Some restrictions are often imposed upon the player for the first entry into the board. For example, a coin cannot enter the first house unless a particular score is made. The counters travel on the board anticlockwise perhaps suggesting their unethical character.

It appears from the name of some of the games that they are not autochthonous to this region; names like Satranj (chaturanga); pachāti (board with 25 squares), attachama\(^1\) may suggest northern

\(^1\)Dīgha Nikāya mentions games like Ashtapada, Daśapada, Ākāśa, Aksha, Parīhapatha, Sanākā, Khalika, Ghaṭika. Some of them were possibly games of chance, but it is not known how they were played.

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influence. On the analogy of the games-board now in vogue, we may safely indenitify the boards unearthed at Nāgārjunakondā as meant for playing chance-game, played most probably by dice, though the possibility of the use of cowries etc., cannot wholly be precluded.

(X) IRON OBJECTS FROM THE HISTORICAL LEVELS OF NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA\(^1\)
(pls. CL IX.A - CLV B)

I. GENERAL REMARKS

The excavations in the valley of Nāgārjunakonda between the years 1954-60 brought to light a total number of one thousand five hundred and one iron objects. They belong primarily to the Ikshvāku period. About a dozen objects may, however, be attributed to the medieval phase, which unfortunately is not very well represented so far as structural remains are concerned. It is obvious from the variety of types among the artefacts that iron had pervaded practically every walk of life in the Ikshvāku period.

The iron objects recovered in excavation give a convincing picture of the life and activities during the rule of the Ikshvākus. Iron tools and artefacts not only show high development in the art of building construction but also offer us glimpses of various pursuits of life. The collection includes agricultural implements, tools for carpenter, cobbler, objects of weaving, animal equipments, transport and other household articles. There are few awl-like objects which might have been used for sketching the outline of a figure before the mallet and the chisel were employed to carve out the relief. A few chisels possibly for stone-cutting have also come to light. An engraver, a chisel and a bit were found almost together at Site 39 which produced the unique sculpture of Devasenā, consort of Kārttikeya.

But it must be admitted that the weapons of war and chase are better represented in sculptures than in the collection of the excavated materials. Swords, either sheathed or unsheathed, ankuṣas or elephant goad and shield are oft-repeated things. Clubs with ornamental body like the sheathes of swords, lance, dagger, bow, arrows often kept in quiver, are depicted in various scenes. Lance appears generally in the scenes associated with the bearded Śaka figures.

The iron objects from Nāgārjunakonda bear close resemblance to those from other contemporary sites. The period possibly anticipates a stage of standardization. This is specially apparent with the building materials. The knob-headed nail from Maski Period-II,\(^2\) wedge and tanged knife of dagger from Sanur.\(^3\) Megaliths offer comparison with those from the historical levels of this valley.

India was famous for high quality of iron and steel from a very ancient time.\(^4\) This fame, as we see in the writings of the ancient foreign writers, spread far and wide. Nāgārjunakonda produced not only objects of wrought iron but also of steel, the latter was in use for making specialized tools, agricultural implements, etc. The excavation did not reveal any evidence of iron smelting, etc., from the Ikshvāku strata. But subsequent period provide us with sufficient data on the technique of iron-smelting. Iron slags have been found strewn on the surface over a wide area not only in this valley but also at

\(^1\)This chapter has been contributed by H. Sarkar and T.V.G. Sastrī.
\(^3\)N.R. Bannerjee and K.V. Soundara Rajan, Sanur 1950 & 52: A Megalithic Site in District Chingleput; Ancient India, No. 15 (1959), p. 36, figs. 10, 9, 11 and 12.
IRON OBJECTS

Yellesvaram and on the top of the Nagarjunakonda hill. These are possibly vestiges of medieval iron works. Site 18-A near the stadium in Sector S VII, brought to light several lumps of slags around a furnace near which were also discovered fragments of cylindrical terracotta pipes. Thus the wrought iron was probably obtained by heating the ores in small blast furnaces. The function of the terracotta pipes was possibly to channelize the molten iron through the tubular passage.

II. DISTRIBUTION OF IRON OBJECTS IN THE VALLEY

The valley may be divided into following eight areas in order to study the frequency and distribution of various types of iron objects in the background of structural remains:

Area A: Citadel which includes Aśvamedha structures, walls near the Aśvamedha site, barracks, gateways, core of the rampart, etc.

Area B: Area to north and west of the citadel: important structures are Hindu edifices like Kārttikeya Temple, Sarvadeva Temple, Dock-tank, Pushpabhadraśvāmi Temple, Bathing Ghāṛ etc.

Area C: Area to the east of the citadel which includes structures like Senāpati Memorial of Kulahaka Chāmpapāla, 24-pillared mandapa, Site 37 etc.

Area D: Buddhist sites outside the citadel like Kumāranandi's Vihāra, Site 9, Dharani Vihāra, Stūpa No. 9, Site 85 (Monastery) etc.

Area E: Monasteries, etc., lying in the northeastern part of the valley along the slope of the Phiranghimotu hill; important structures are Stadium, Hārīti Temple, Nakatara Vihāra, Monastic units like Sites 26, 28 and 33, Asattabhujaśvāmi Temple, etc.

Area F: Rubble structures to the east of the citadel falling in Sectors N-III, N-IV, etc.

Area G: Sites 126 and 127.

Area H: River bank near Putlagudem village, important structures are Assembly Hall, Sites 76, 77, 78, 79 etc. Medieval Śiva temple, a few residential structures, etc.

It will be evident from Table-I (pp. 363-65) that nails are constant features for all the areas, and that iron objects are more profuse in and around the citadel. On the other hand they are meagre in percentage in Areas F, G and H (3.26%, 2.53% and 1.33% respectively). It may tend to show that the better class structures situated in and around the citadel are associated with a higher percentage of iron antiquities. Specialized tools show relatively higher frequency in Areas E & F. The residential character of the rubble structures manifests itself in the varied type of tools and implements unearthed from this region (Area F). Site 93, the main structural edifice within the citadel, is not only rich in constructional artefacts but also in household objects.

It is also apparent from the accompanying table that the constructional equipment (94.34%) like nails, rod fragments and revetted plates outnumber any other class. The reason for the paucity of weapons is difficult to determine unless it was that battles were fought mostly outside the city over the kingdom. The contemporary strata of Ujjain, Kausambi, Taxila etc., have exposed far greater number of war weapons.

The large number of nails came from three edifices, namely, the stepped tank identified by Ramachandran as the Avabhrita Kunda, Sarvadeva Temple and the mandapa near the memorial pillar
of Kulahaka Chāntapūla. The first mentioned structure revealed eight hundred and four iron objects consisting of nails, rod-fragments, tools, lamp or lamp-holders, door-rings, a rapier and a mace, all of them being recovered from an ashy and burnt debris inside the tank. These objects bear sign of conflagration and quite a good number of specimens are found fused with each other. There are reasons to assume that a grand edifice was completely gutted and the collapsed burnt material formed the debris inside the tank. One interesting find from this deposit is a tile fragment in which a piece of wood and a fragment of an iron nail were seen fused together. Iron hooks and nails often bear impression of wood fibres, and on some occasion even wooden fragments are found sticking to them. The Sarvadeva Temple was also, probably, another victim of a great conflagration. It brought to view a large quantity of charcoal and ash, and iron objects reveal the same character as those from the Avabhrīta Kunda. These two structures yielded nails in greater number. On the contrary, a Buddhist monastery did not yield more than a dozen specimens on an average. Stūpa No. 9, Monasteries numbered as Sites 23, 24, 26 exposed only a total number of 7, 16, 11 and 4 nails respectively. This is also true in cases of Hindu shrines and other structures. The reason for such disparity in the frequency of nails between the two groups of structures, namely, Asvamedha and Sarvadeva Temples, on the one hand, and the monasteries and temples, on the other, may be sought possibly in the different methods of building construction. Mandapas were generally built entirely of dry bond or with roof mortar where nailing and revetting were not necessarily involved. Pinning devices used for fixing up the tiles with battens or beams should perhaps have been of wood and not iron nails. The Buddhist monasteries generally yielded double-holed tiles which required to be tied possibly by string. In Area E, two stacks consisting of hundreds of double-holed tiles were discovered near two monastic units.

The high frequency of nails, revetted plates etc., may indicate that wood was profusely used in the frame work of some structures and edifices. It is not even unlikely that wooden superstructures were in existence in the places which produced large number of nails and revetment plates.

It may be mentioned here that the majority of iron objects used in building construction came from the destruction phase of the structures, whereas objects like arrow-head; sporadically mainly from the areas along the river bank.

III. CLASSIFICATION

A rigid classification of objects or artefacts is extremely difficult to work out. There are tools which are subject to more than one functional use. Nevertheless, the classification here is made under the following seven main groups, viz.,

A) Construction devices;
B) Household objects;
C) Weapons of war and chase;
D) Specialized tools;
E) Agricultural implements;

1Kautilya mentions (Arthashastra translated by Shama Sastri, Book III, Chapter VIII, page 188) of "The fastening of the roof of a house to the transverse beam by means of iron bolts".
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F) Objects of transport and animal harness, and

G) Miscellaneous objects.

Specialized tools include objects used by carpenters, stone-cutters etc., Miscellaneous group may further be divided into (a) weaver’s object, (b) sockets and handles, (c) rings and bangles and (d) other object.

(A) Constructional devices (Building materials)

1. Nails: Nails form the bulk of iron objects. They have either a square or a rectangular cross-section. In length they vary between 1” to 11” (2.54 cm to 27.9 cm). Nails varying in length between 1” to 5” (2.54 cm to 12.7 cm) are more profuse and equally distributed all over the valley. On the other hand, higher length groups are limited only to a few sites and also meagre in number. The big sized specimens are well represented in the Asvamedha area. Nails over 7” (17.8 cm) in length are rare. There is only one specimen each in the gradients of 8” (20.3 cm) and 9” (22.86 cm) and both the examples come from the upper levels of Site 127.

The percentage of nails under various length-groups worked out on the basis of intact specimens is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length (in)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1” to 2”</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3”</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4”</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5”</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6”</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7”</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8”</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9”</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10”</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11”</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though 7” (17.8 cm) nails are fairly large in number they are found mostly from the Asvamedha site. They are thick knob-headed nails, used possibly on the door-leaf as a measure of protection against trespass. It appears that nails having more than 5” (12.7 cm) in length might have been used for different purposes. It will be appropriate to call them as spikes.

Generally, nails have their head bent on one side though flat, and knob heads are also found. They however, vary considerably in thickness. Thus, the nails unearthed at Nāgarjunakonda may be classified on the basis of head-type under three groups namely, (i) bent head, (ii) knob-head and (iii) flat head. Bent heads are generally achieved by flattening the top part of the shank and then to bend the flat and expanded portion to one side. Bent-head is further divisible into (a) bent squarish head, (b) bent triangular head and (c) bent semi-circular head. In one case (No. 15) however, the top of the shank is turned without flattening but it has been made thin at the point where the head takes a turn. No. 18 is an example of bent semi-circular head. Nail with bent head are found at Taxila,1 Śiśupālghar,2 Ujjain,3

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2B.B. Lal, Sisupalgarh, 1948; an Early historical fort in eastern India, *Ancient India*, No. 5 (1949), p. 92, fig. 9, No. 2.
3Information from Dr.N.R. Bannerjee.
Tripuri, 1 Brahmapuri, 2 Mahesvar and Navdatoli 3 Kausambi, 4 and Kumrahar. 5 Such bent headed nails at Brahmagiri 6 may be compared with the bent headed nails from Nagarjunakonda. Knob-headed nails have also been found at other sites like Taxila 7 and Maski 8 (Megalithic level) and Kumrahar. 9 Siyupgarh and Kumrahar have yielded nails with expanded triangular head, a type almost similar to bent triangular head from Nagarjunakonda. Flat-headed nails though rare, in the Ikshvaku level are generally widespread in other parts of the country.

Such bent headed nails are not reported from Maski, though Period II (400 B.C. to A.D. 50) is quite rich in nails. The Bahmani period of Brahmapuri has also not yielded such examples in spite of the fact that bent headed nails are common in the Satavahana levels. Possibly, this type of nail is the characteristic of a particular type of construction, probably a construction in which wood is used profusely in superstructure. This method of building-construction became common in the Satavahana and the post-Satavahana periods of the Deccan. Sites like Nalanda, Kasia, Sahet–Maheth, Sarnath etc., have also revealed identical type, but it is not possible to ascertain whether they were employed for fixing the tiles with the rafters. 10 Nagarjunakonda evidence does not point to such a conclusion; nails here seem to have used mainly for the wooden framework and the nailing of the tiles is not generally followed in this valley.

The following selected specimens are described below

plates A (pl. CXLIX A)

1. Knob-headed, square cross-section. From Sector N XIV, Site 127, Medieval level.
2. Bent triangular head, rectangular cross-section. From Sector N II, Site 36, Ikshvaku level.
3. Flat squarish head, rectangular cross-section. From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple), Ikshvaku level.
4. Bent squarish head, rectangular cross-section. From Sector S VII, Site 17 (Stadium), Ikshvaku level.
5. Bent triangular head, square cross-section. From Sector N III, Site 106 (Monastery), Ikshvaku level.
6. Flat squarish head, square cross-section. From Sector N VIII, Site 122, topmost level.

8. Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 119, fig. 38, No. 26
9. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 9, No. 4
8. Bent triangular head, other end also twisted, square cross-section. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku level.


10. Bent squarish head, sharp pointed end, square cross-section. From Sector N I, Fortification Trench B, make-up of the rampart.


12. Bent head, head broken, thinnest example, rectangular cross-section. From Sector N VIII, Site 34, (Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.


14. Bent squarish head, and slightly broken, very small specimen, rectangular cross-section. From Sector N XXIV, Site 29 (Ashtabhujasvāmi Temple), Ikshvāku level.

15. Bent head obtained by turning the top of the shank, square cross-section. From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple).

16. Boss or knob head of thick larger variety, end slightly broken, roughly circular cross-section. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku level.

(Not Illustrated)

17. Bent semi-circular head touching the shank, longitudinal cracks, roughly squarish cross-section. From same site as above.

18. Bent squarish head, square cross-section. From same site as above.


20. Bent triangular head, square, cross-section. From Sector N II, Site 91, Ikshvāku level.

21. Bent triangular head, rectangular cross-section. From same site as above.

22. Bent squarish head, squarish cross-section. end broken. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Maṇḍapa), Ikshvāku level.

23. Bent triangular head, end broken, rectangular cross-section. From Sector N XXI, Site 24 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

24. Almost flat squarish head, end flattened and made sharp, rectangular cross-section. From Sector S III, Site 64, Ikshvāku level.

2. ROD FRAGMENTS (pl. CLA)

Only the debris inside the recessed tank in the Asvamedha site yielded rod-fragments, about one hundred and twenty-five in number. They are of circular cross-section and of uniform thickness.
3. **Revetted Plates**:

Large number of such revetted plates have been discovered in the *Asvamedha* site. Very often flat iron plates, generally rectangular in shape are found with one or more nails revetted. Such examples are discovered at Taxila\(^1\) also. Ornamental pieces with a central perforation have also come to light. Some of them might have been used as washers.

The following selected specimens are illustrated

(pls. CL A-B)

16. A thin rectangular plate with a bent headed nail at the intact end. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku level.

28. A squarish plate revetted with a thick nail (not illustrated). From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku debris.

29. Two thin rectangular plates with bent headed nails revetted at both ends (not illustrated). From same site as above.

30. A circular plate with a central perforation. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble structures), Ikshvāku level.

32. A 12-petalled plate with a central perforation. From N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple), Ikshvāku level.

37. A 4-petalled plate with a central perforation. From Sector N III, Site 113, Ikshvāku level.

38. A thin rectangular plate with a perforation at broader end. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble Structures), Ikshvāku level.

39. A rectangular plate with a central perforation. From Sector N Vīṭī, Site 122, top level.

4. **Long Spikes**

The largest specimen measures 10.5" (26.67 cm) in length. Possibly they were used for retaining the sculptures on the wall. There are two lotus medallions in the Nāgārjunakonda Museum in which remnants of such iron spike can still be seen suggesting that they were fitted on to the background. These spikes might have been used for several other purposes. The rotary quern now in the Museum has a long spike, about 12" (30.5 cm) in length attached to it as an axle. Such thin spikes could also be used as spindle-pin meant for twisting and winding the thread.

The following is the description and the locus of the specimen

40. Long spike, 10.5" (26.67 cm) in length. From Sector N I, Site 97 (Triple shrine) Ikshvāku.

5. **Hooks**

There are various shapes and sizes of hooks unearthed in excavation. The larger variety is confined only within the *Asvamedha* area and has a flat rectangular cross-section. Such big hooks

\(^1\) *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1948), p. 78, pl. XVIII-B, No. 20.
IRON OBJECTS

might have been fixed with the beam. The sculptured panels of Nāgārjunakonda are replete with scenes in which things are shown hanging from the brackets etc.

(pl. CL C)

41. Bent head, flat rectangular cross-section, very pointed end; similar to some modern specimens. From Sector S IV, Site 9 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

42. Hook almost similar in shape to that of anchor hook, used possibly for lifting things fallen down into well or tank. From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple), top level.

43. Hook, bent head forming a loop; shank has a square cross-section. From Sector NXI, Site 10, Ikshvāku level.

44. Possibly a clamp with pointed ends, rectangular cross-section. From Sector N I, Site 97, Ikshvāku level.

46. Possibly a clamp, circular cross-section. From Sector N XXIV, Site 29 (Ashtabhujasvāmī Temple), Ikshvāku level.


49. Fairly long hook with both the ends bent, rectangular cross-section. From same site as above.

50. Fragment of hook, circular cross-section. From Sector N XI, Site 10, Ikshvāku level.

52. Large sized hook or hook-terminal, flat rectangular cross section, another piece fused together. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku level.

53. Same as above, wooden piece sticking to its body. From same locus as above.

6. DOOR-RINGS:

They were meant possibly for big doors and bound only in the Aśvamedha site. They also reveal sign of conflaguration. Their sizes clearly indicate the use of huge door-leaves. Boss-headed or knob-headed nails might have been fixed on such doors.

The following specimens is described:

54. Fragment of a large-sized door-ring, another piece of iron fused together, circular section. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku debris.

7. DOOR LATCH

Door latch either of copper or iron, came from Nāgārjunakonda. One end of such object was fixed permanently with a nail.

The description of the only iron door-latch from this valley is as follows:—

51. A rod of irregular thickness with squarish cross-section, eyes on both ends but one of them damaged and the other end holds a nail (pl. CL C). From Sector N I. Site 97, Ikshvāku level.

8. KEY

Almost similar object has been identified by Marshall\(^1\) at Taxila as Key. It has four or five

\(^1\) Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 164, Nos. 48, 49. Also see *Ancient India*, No. 4, No. 79, XIX, No. 20.
prongs at the end whereas head is bent to form a nice loop. Both the specimens (Nos. 46 and 49; pl. CL C) are from the Ikshvāku level of Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpatī Memorial).

(B) HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

1. KNIFE

They may be divided under two types, namely, (i) tanged knife with rectangular blade having a thicker back, may be termed as a chopper knife, and (ii) tanged knife with comparatively narrower blade and crescentic cutting edge.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CL I A)

55. Knife with long rectangular blade, tang slightly broken. From Sector S XII, Site 68-A, post-Ikshvāku level.

56. Comparatively thinner but fragmentary blade with longer tang. From Sector N IX, Site 35, Ikshvāku level.

57. Comparatively thicker back with a nice crescentic cutting edge and incipient tang. From Sector N XII, Site 13, top level.

58. Same as above but top slightly broken. From Sector X XII, Site 68-A, post-Ikshvāku level.

59. Knife with a narrow blade and still narrower lower half, later serving as tang. From Sector N I, Site 92, Ikshvāku level.

60. Fragment of a knife-blade in which pieces of wood are fused together. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku debris.

2. NEEDLE

There are two types of needle. Generally they are longer specimens. In one type the eye for threading is obtained by piercing the upper end, the other end being pointed. Such type is found also at Taxila.¹ In other type, eye is formed simply by twisting the upper end.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CL II A)

66. Needle, eye formed by piercing the broader end. From Sector N IX, Site 35, Ikshvāku level.

67. Needle with eye formed by twisting one end. From Sector S XIX, Site 54 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

68. Needle: eye formed by piercing the broader end. From Sector N II, Site 92 (Residential structure inside Citadel), Ikshvāku level.

3. LAMP

All the examples are fragmentary and come from the Aśvamedha Site 69 is a fairly intact specimen and 70 seems to be the lower part of a bigger specimen similar to the former. Lamp represented on Nāgārjunakonda sculpture is reminiscent of the aforesaid examples. There are several

HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

fragments of plates and deep bowls from the Āśvamedha area and in all probability they are fragments of lamps.

The following specimens are illustrated

69. A deep bowl-like object meant possibly for keeping oil, is revetted by means of a nail with an inverted plate serving the function of a stand. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikṣvāku level.

70. A plate-like object with a hole at the flat base. It was possibly used in inverted way as a stand. From Sector N II, site 93, Ikṣvāku level.

4. SPOON-LIKE OBJECT

No. 77 may be a spoon for pouring liquid etc., but No. 72 may be identified as a camphor-burner used commonly on ceremonial occasions.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CLII-B)

71. Possibly a spoon but handle broken. From Sector S IV, Site 9 (Monastery), Ikṣvāku level.

72. It has a thin handle attached to a disc-like object, possibly a camphor-burner. From Sector N III Site 112 (Rubble Structure), Ikṣvāku level.

77. A spoon with a flat handle. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikṣvāku level.

5. PESTLE

It is a heavy conical object about 7" (17.8 cm) in length and the maximum diameter being 1.5 (3.8 cm); thicker end is analogous to those used for crushing or grinding medicinal herbs, spices, etc. But actually it was found from goldsmith's workshop.

95. From Sector N III, Site 89 (Rubble structure), Ikṣvāku level. (pl. CLIV A)

C. WEAPONS OF WAR AND CHASE

1. ARROWHEAD

Arrowheads from Nāgārjunakonda show three main types, namely (i) tanged arrowhead with a square cross-section, tang usually longer than the blade; comparable types come from Taxila,1 Ujjain (where its bone prototypes are also found),2 Kauśāmbī,3 Śīsupālgārh4 and Nasik;5 (ii) socketed leaf-shaped or triangular arrowheads with a thin lenticular cross-section; blade longer than the tang; identical types come from Kauśāmbī, Ujjain, Mahēsvar6, but it is absent at Taxila though socketed spearheads are found; and lastly (iii) arrowheads with a long pointed tang and a long pointed tip; the middle part, however, is flat.

1Sir John Marshall, op. cit., p. 548, pl. 165, No. 80.
2Indian Archaeology 1956-57 – A Review, pl. XXXV A.
3Sharma, op. cit., fig. 5, Nos. 2 and 3.
4Lal, op. cit., p. 94, fig. 10, Nos. 19 & 21.
Nāgārjunakonda did not yield ‘double tanged’¹ type of arrowhead so peculiar to Taxila. But there are spearheads with ‘double tang’ from Nāgārjunakonda. Barbed arrowhead, either tanged or socketed are entirely absent in this valley, though contemporary deposit from Śiśupālgarh has revealed barbed and socketed example. They are more common in the Megalithic sites like Brahmagiri and Adichanallur. Sanur has yielded barbed and tanged variety, a type also found in Period III of Hastinapura and from the Megaliths of Nāgārjunakonda. This particular type of arrowhead is, however, absent at Maski in all periods. It is noteworthy at Nasik² in Period II whereas other types like tanged leaf-shaped blade with diamond-shaped section are present. Taxila and Kausambi have revealed three or four edged arrowheads or Scythian or Hun origin.

Arrowheads with square cross-section, either of iron or of bone, seem to be the commonest type at Ujjain and have wider distribution like simple-tanged or double-tanged types. These varieties may be considered as belonging to an earlier tradition. Socketed leaf-shaped arrowhead though recovered from various sites does not appear to be a common type like other three varieties mentioned above. They are absent at Brahmagiri. These arrowheads were possibly meant for bamboo-shafts (venu) and salakā arrows, as mentioned in Kautilya’s Arthasastra. The third variety from Nāgārjunakonda may be compared to sūchimukha (needle-shaped) variety of arrowhead as referred to in ancient Indian literature.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CLIII A)

78. Socketed leaf-shaped arrowhead, type (ii) the size is no doubt big but it is also too small for a spearhead. From Sector N XI, Site 10, top layer.

79. Arrowhead with square cross-section, type (i), From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāt area), Ikshvāku level.

80. Arrowhead with pointed tip and tang, type (iii); From Sector N II, Site 36, Ikshvāku level.

81. Socketed arrowhead with triangular blade, type (ii) From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple), top layer.

82. Arrowhead with square cross-section, type (i). From Sector N XX, Site 24 (Monastery, associated with Rudrapurushadatta’s inscription), Ikshvāku level.

83. Same as No. 80 and from same locus.

84. Same as No. 81. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble Structures), Ikshvāku level.

2. SPEARHEAD

Double-tanged type has relatively a higher frequency than the simple tanged variety. Two double-tanged spearheads have been discovered from the core of the rampart. On the basis of tang as well as of the shape of the blade, spearheads from Nāgārjunakonda may be divided under four types

¹Marshall considers (op.cit., p. 547) double-tanged arrowheads as a compromise between the tanged and socketed varieties, an adoption caused due to the impact of the Bactrian Greeks; but Taxila has not brought to light any socketed arrowhead.

WEAPONS OF WAR AND CHASE

viz. (i) simple-tanged, leaf-shaped blade; (ii) double-tanged, leaf-shaped blade; (iii) double-tanged triangular blade and (iv) double-tanged trapezoid blade with a medial rib.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CLIII B)

85. Double-tanged, trapezoid blade having a medial ridge and thin rectangular cross-section; though tang has a circular cross-section, the shank above the tang shows hexagonal cross-section; blade has a tendency to thin out as it approaches the shank. From Sector N II, Site 92 (Inside citadel), top level.

86. Double-tanged, blade triangular in shape, thin lenticular cross-section. From Sector N II, make up of the rampart.

87. Double-tanged, triangular blade, thin lenticular cross-section. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāṭ area), Ikshvāku level.

88. Simple tanged, leaf-shaped blade, thin lenticular cross-section. From Sector N VIII, Site 122, Ikshvāku level.

89. Simple-tanged, leaf-shaped blade, thin lenticular cross-section. From Sector S VIII, Site 17 (Stadium), Ikshvāku level.

90. Simple-tanged, leaf-shaped blade, thin lenticular cross-section. From Sector S VIII, Site 17 (Stadium), Ikshvāku level.

3. DAGGER

They are tanged, double-edged dagger but the shape of the blade may be leaf-shaped or triangular. The leaf-shaped blade may be compared with a similar specimen from Sanur¹ and the one discovered from Meg. II of Nāgārjunakonda.

The following specimens of dagger are illustrated

91. Almost two parallel sides converge abruptly into a pointed tip; lenticular cross-section. From Sector N II, Site 92 (Residential Structure inside Citadel), upper level.

92. Triangular blade with a short tang, possibly broken, thin lenticular cross-section. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.

93. Long leaf-shaped blade with a prominent tang, thin lenticular cross-section, tang rectangular in cross-section. From same locus as above.

4. RAPIER

It has a long, slender but roundish blade with a sharply tapering end and decorated loop handle. It was found in eight fragments and the restored length is about 2½ feet (76.2 cm). Possibly this is a sword for thrusting.

94. From Sector N II, Site 93 (Aśvamedha), Ikshvāku level.

5. MACE (?)

It appears to be a fragment of a heavy knob-headed object, possibly a mace; a small iron plate is found revetted to its body.

¹Banerjee and Soundara Rajan, op. cit., No. 9, fig. 10.
95. From Sector N II, Site 93 (Aṣvamedha) Ikṣvāku level debris. (pl. CLIV A)

D. SPECIALIZED TOOLS

1. WEDGE DOUBLE (pl. CLI B)

Roughly rectangular in shape with rectangular cross-section, its convex cutting edge is about 2.5" (6.35 cm) in width. Its top portion is slightly damaged and the present length is about 6.5" (16.5 cm). Wedges discovered at Sanur¹ and also from Meg. I (l) of Nāgarjunakonda are similar to this type. This implement could have been used both by a carpenter as well as a stone cutter.

63. From Sector N XXI, Site 23 (Monastery), Ikṣvāku level.

2. PUNCH DOUBLE

This is an unique tool-type possibly used for cutting holes in leather, metal etc. It is a small but heavy and solid object having a circular cross-section; the upper part is, however, damaged.

99. From Sector N XXIV, Site 29 (Ashtabhujaśvāmi Temple), Ikṣvāku level. (pl. CLIV A)

3. ENGRAVER Double (pl. CLIV-A)

This is another unique tool from Nāgarjunakonda. It has a pointed end, bruised top and square cross-section. The pointed end and bruised top evidently suggest that this type of tool was used to cut lines on metal plates or stones. Nāgarjunakonda brought to light some epigraphs, apart from those known as shell-character, in which dotted character is followed. This type of implement could easily have been employed for such engraving. Furthermore, this example was recovered in association with a chisel from Devaśenā Temple, and as such may be considered as a tool of a stone cutter of a sculptor.

100. From Sector S III, Site 39 (Devaśenā Temple), top layer. (pl. CLIV A)

4. SAW DOUBLE (pl. CLIIIA)

It is a small straight-edged saw found in two fragments. Its comparable type comes from Taxila² but the present example bears vertical strokes, teeth do not show sharpness.

65. From Sector N III, Site 112 (Rubble Structure), Ikṣvāku level.

5. TONGS

A pair of tongs possibly used by goldsmith and also found from the area identified as goldsmith’s residence. Taxila has also yielded almost similar object.

98. From Sector N III, Site 89 (Rubble Structure) Ikṣvāku level. (pl. CLIV A)

6. Bit

It is narrow in width and flat rectangular in cross-section with one end tapering into a point; the other end though worn out or broken seems to be the working edge; the pointed end is meant to receive possibly a wooden handle. No. 104 has a prominent but thin tang for receiving wooden handle; it has a square cross-section.

¹Banerjee and Soundara Rajan, op. cit., Nos. 11, 12, fig. 10.
²Marshall, op. cit., pl. 167, No. 129.
SPECIALIZED TOOLS

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CLIV B)

102. Its working end damaged. From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple area), upper level.

104. A thinner but most typical example, length from Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.

105. Comparatively longer specimen and broader in width. From Sector N II, Site 93, Ikshvāku level.

106. An intact specimen with pointed ends square in cross-section. From Sector S III, Site 39 (Devasenā Temple), upper level.

7. AWL OR POINT

These tools could have served the purposes of awl for cobblers or as point used by sculptors for engraving the outline on the stone. It appears from No. 101 that long pointed end was used as the working end.

The following specimens are illustrated (pl. CLIV B)

101. Thicker in section, long pointed end is twisted possibly indicating the use, it is square in cross section. From Sector N XVIII, Site 28 (Monastery), upper level.

103. An intact specimen measuring about 5.75" (14.6 cm) in length; it has roughly an octagonal cross-section. From Sector N XVIII, Site 28 (Monastery), upper level.

7. CHISEL (pl. CLIV A)

96. A stone cutter’s chisel; rectangular cross-section; cutting edge worn out; sign of hammering on the flat squarish hand. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial), Ikshvāku level.

97. Small chisel with squarish head, square cross-section. From Sector S III, Site 39 (Devasenā Temple) upper level.

E. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

1. SICKLE

Sickles from Nāgārjunakonda may be divided under two types, namely (i) semi-circular blade relatively smaller than the handle; cutting edge is almost straight though the top portion is slightly oblique; it has a thin handle tapering down to a pointed end possibly for inserting it into a wooden handle; its comparable type is found at Maheswar\(^1\) from Early Historic III (100 to 500 A.D.), Sisupalgarh (Period III), Brahmagiri and Megalithic levels of Maski, and (ii) long crescentic blade longer than the flat but broad handle with a thin rectangular cross-section; it appears to be a developed type.

The following selected specimens are illustrated (pl. CLV A)

107. An evolved and intact specimen, cutting edge possesses teeth, type (II). From Sector XCH, Site 28, (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

\(^1\)op. cit., p.825
108. An intact specimen, type (i). From Sector NXX, Site 23 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

109. Handle broken it does not possess any teeth, type (ii). From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple area), Ikshvāku level.

110. A fragmentary specimen, type (i). From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial), Ikshvāku level.

2. Hoe

These tools have a broad, splayed out edge. Blades have a rectangular cross-section. Similar implement is still in use for purposes of weeding etc., in Telugu it is known as dant.

The following specimens are illustrated:

112. Fairly intact specimen, length 5" (12.7 cm), and maximum thickness about 0.5" (1.3 cm). From Sector N VIII, Site 99, (Sarvadeva Temple area), Ikshvāku level.

113. Also an intact specimen, length 4.5" (10.3 cm) and thickness 0.5" (1.3 cm). From Sector S III, Site 85 (Hill Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

3. Ploughshare

It has a rectangular cross-section and obtuse angled longitudinal profile. The broader end is more than double the width of the other one. It has a length of 6" (15.2 cm). Ploughshare having a length of 6" (15.2 cm) is employed in Baroda, Indore and Gorakhpur region. ¹ One type of ploughshare with a square cross-section 8" (20.3 cm) to 6" (15.2 cm).

111. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble structure), Ikshvāku level.

F. OBJECTS OF TRANSPORT AND ANIMAL HARNESS

In sculpture we often notice wheeled-vehicle, caparisoned horses etc. Objects unearthed in excavation also corroborate the use of wheeled-vehicle. It is also attested to by the discovery of cart-ruts on the then level of the eastern gateway of the citadel. There is only one example of elephant-goad which is so well-represented in the sculpture. It appears from the examples found at Taxila as well as those depicted on the sculptures of Nāgarjunakonda that this object was made of two detachable parts. Possibly a pointed rod with handle, later often decorated, was inserted into a tubular socket with which was joined another pointed rod turned at a right angle part, i.e., the tubed socket and the attached pointed rod which is so much bent that it runs parallel to the tube. The area wherefrom this was discovered also yielded maximum number of elephant bones. An elephant foot-ring has also come to light.

The following are the descriptions of the illustrated specimens (pl. CLV B)

27. Upper part of an elephant goad or aṅkusa having a tubed socket and a pointed rod attached on the top; the later is too much bent, possibly as a result of use. From Sector N VIII, Site 34 (Bathing Ghāṭ area). Upper layer.

OBJECTS OF TRANSPORT AND ANIMAL HARNESS

116. Elephant foot-ring: two rings, one small and the other quite big-sized. The smaller ring has a looped rod inserted into a revetted plate which is also looped with the bigger ring. From Sector N VIII, Site 100, Ikshvāku level.

111. A fragment of an iron wheel, original diameter was possibly 3'7" (10.66 cm); it bears four straight grooves meant possibly to receive the spokes. From Sector N VIII, Site 102 (Servant Quarters), upper level.

G. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

This group includes objects like sockets, handles, iron rings, harpoon head etc., and one or two objects of weaver's use.

The following specimens are illustrated

1. WEAVER'S OBJECTS (pl. CLII A)

64. Bobbin, double-grooved reel in which a pointed but square sectioned bit is inserted. From Sector N VIII, Site 99 (Sarvadeva Temple area), top level.

119. A long spike having circular cross-section with pointed ends and two grooves in the expanded centre looking like a real possibly for winding threads. This was possibly fixed with the spinning machine. From Sector S XXI, not associated with any structure; upper level.

2. SOCKETS AND HANDLES (pl. CLII B)

75. Handle or a hilt with hollow interior and conical top. From Sector N VIII, Site 121 (Pillared mandapa), Ikshvāku level.

76. Handle or hilt with hollow interior and conical top. From Sector N I, Fortification Trench A, topmost level.

114. Circular socket, broken. From Sector N VII, Site 98 (Back wall south of Sarvadeva Temple), Ikshvāku level.

115. Rectangular socket used possibly for spade. From Sector N III, Site 109 (Rubble Structure), Ikshvāku level.

3. RINGS AND BANGLES

31. Ring or bangle, 2" (5.08 cm dia.). From Sector N II, Site 94 (Residential Structures inside Citadel), Ikshvāku level.

33. Ring or bangle piece. From Sector S II, Site 75 (Śiva Temple), Medieval deposit.

34. Ring or bangle piece. From Sector N I, Site 96 (Western Gateway), Ikshvāku level.

35. Ring. From Sector N II, Site 36 (Senāpati Memorial), upper level.

36. Ring. From Sector S XI, Site 79 (Monastery), Ikshvāku level.

4. OTHER OBJECTS (pls. CLII B and CLIV B)

73. Circular disc. From Sector N, II/Fortification Trench ‘F': Core of the rampart.

74. Hollow bicone. From Sector N XIV, Site 127 (Burning Ghāt area), medieval level.

118. Harpoon head possibly meant for fishing similar object was found at Sisupalgarh also From Sector S II, Site 72 (Residential house), Ikshvāku level. (pl. CLIV A)
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**Total**: 1,416

**Percentages**

- Building materials: 94.33%
- Weapons of War and chase: 1.19%
- Specialized tools: 0.86%
- Agricultural implements: 0.53%
### MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

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<thead>
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<th>Name of Object</th>
<th>Area A</th>
<th>Area B</th>
<th>Area C</th>
<th>Area D</th>
<th>Area E</th>
<th>Area F</th>
<th>Area G</th>
<th>Area H</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Household objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spoon-like object</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.73%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pestle</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wheel</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Objects of transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant ring</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>and animal equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant goad</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Spinning real</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Other Objects 0.99%</td>
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<td>Rings and Bangles</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>Harpoon head</td>
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<td>Hollow Bicone (?)</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>106</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Percentage</td>
<td>57.69</td>
<td>18.05</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>7.06</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>1.32</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER VIII
COINS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS

INTRODUCTION

It is interesting that the coin count from hoards totalling to more than three thousand (excluding those which are too worn out) in the valley from excavations, show that, broadly speaking, Virapurushadatta coins are the largest in number next coming Ehuvula, next Chântamûla-I and last Rudrapurushadatta. This, while, suggesting prima facie, that perhaps among the Buddhists, Virapurushadatta was very popular and hence, compared to Ehuvula’s reign. Virapurushadatta’s reign though shorter, decidedly had more of his coins in circulation. It could also show that the second and third king’s coins together dominated; and further that the last king had the least number of his issues found. It should be noted that all the three thousand, odd coins were from different hoards in the valley and since only the last king’s reign would have influenced these secreting of ‘hoards’, owing to a period of significant disturbance, one may surmise that, firstly, the hoard implied that the owners expected to retrieve them when better days dawned, but this was not to be. Hence, we may think that after Rudrapurushadatta’s times, the later period up to the medieval times, gave no coins. This would confirm that there was no post-Ikshvâiku life as such in the valley, though desultory movement of people could not be excluded.

Secondly, at least of the two hoards from Sector N III (Main habitation) included Sâtavâhana copper (fifty-four), one Kushan coin, one Pallava coin, two Vijayanagara, twenty-five muslim coins, and hence this also confirms that Islamic times along brought again some life into the valley. These two hoards were from layer 2 which was, again, the beginning of the “desertion layers” and hence the desertion period lasted perhaps the entire fourth century when Pallavas were in evidence as rising fast. Thus Ikshvâiku coins were the chief issues which had been hoarded, and could be restored only through the excavations long after.

(i) EARLY HISTORIC

The excavations at Nâgârjunakonâda have yielded large number of coins in all metals, gold, gold-covered silver, copper, potin and lead belonging to various dynasties that rose to power in this valley. These have been found by way of hoards as well as stray pieces in stratified sites. Two coins of Roman emperor and two imitations of the Roman coins, copper coins covered with gold leaf besides gold bullae, bearing representation of Roman emperors, presumably used as ornaments, were found. These are interesting and indicate flourishing trade contacts with the Mediterranean world.

Of the other varieties, there are three thousand and thirty-two lead coins, copper coins and two silver coins. The lead coins which form the bulk of the collection have been examined in detail though

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1 This introductory note has been from the Editor.
2 This chapter has been contributed by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.
many of them have not been chemically cleaned. The Archaeological Chemist in India to whom two samples of lead coins of the Ikshvākus were sent for chemical analysis reported that the lead content of these coins was 99.56% and 100.16%. Silica, tin, copper and zinc were absent, while iron was found in traces only. From the report of the Chemist,\(^1\) it is clear that the lead used in minting these coins of the Ikshvākus was very pure and it is quite likely that the lead mines located round about Karampudi and Vinukonda in Guntur district, which are reported to have been worked sometime back, might have been the source from where they got the necessary quantity of lead for minting their coinage. A majority of the copper coins discovered, pertains to the issue of Muslim Sultans and they betray better workmanship in technique and execution.

These coins are described chronologically in the order of their occurrence as well as the dynasties that ruled over Vijayapuri.

(a) Roman Coins (pl. CLVIA)

The occurrence of Roman coins at Nāgarjunakonda is not new. Earlier excavators have reported about the discovery of Roman bullae and coins of Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 37).\(^2\) These Roman coins should have found their way into the city through the medium of commerce and kept as prized possessions mostly for their bullion value and workmanship. One of the coins under description was actually used as a pendant for a necklace and was found along with the jewellery in a pot. The other coin was a stray find, found inside a monastery and has been tentatively identified as an issue of Tiberius (A.D. 37).\(^3\)

**Obverse**

1. Figure of the Emperor Laurate.
   The legend round the figure reads, "Di Aug Favstine (c. A.D. 47)."

**Reverse**

Standing figure holding a staff in the left hand and the object in the right hand held in extension has been damaged by the hole made in the attempt to use the coin as a pendant. The legend, round reads: "Peter Nitas"

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\(^1\) B.B. Lal, Archaeological Chemist of the Survey says — "The two coins supplied for chemical analysis are found to be more or less fresh and free from corrosion except for a very superficial oxidation layer which was removed before the specimens to chemical analysis. The results of analysis show that both the coins are made of lead which is present to the extent of 99.56% and 100.16% in the two coins. Silica, lime, copper and zinc were found to be absent. Iron was found in traces only. It is significant that both the coins were found free from Silver. From these results, it is concluded that the two Ikshvākus coins were made of pure lead."


At Nāgarjunakonda in Stūpa No. 6 among the relics were found two tiny coins like medallions. These are not to be mistaken for coins. Each one had two holes showing that they were used as pendants, one bears the portrait of a woman and the other a young man, both showing marked Roman influence. See also JNSI, Vol. XXI, 1959, p. 188; T.N. Ramachandra, Nāgarjunakonda, 1938, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 71 (Delhi, 1953), find spots of Roman coins have reported from Guntur, Krishna, Nellore and other districts of Andhra Pradesh besides interior regions of Telengana, indicating commercial contacts of these tracts with Mediterranean regions in the early centuries of the Christian Era (first century B.C. to fourth century A.D.). Ancient India, No. 2, p. 116 ff.

\(^3\) Coins of Tiberius have been found in many places of south India such as:

a) Salihundum in Chickakole taluk, District Visakhapatnam (cf. Madras Museum Annual Report, 1899, pp. 5-6);
b) Kotpad in Jeypore taluk, District Visakhapatnam (cf. Madras Museum Annual Report, 1915, pp. 5-6);
c) Vidyadurapuram, Bezwada taluk, District Krishna (cf. Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Annual Report, 1888, pp. 2-4, 5);
d) Chandravalli, District Chinalur, Mysore State, Ancient India, No. 4, p. 287;
e) Pollachi, District Coimbatore, Madras State (cf. Indian Antiquary, IV, p. 302, and Madras Museum Annual Report, 1912, pp. 4 & 9);
COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

2. Figure of the Emperor Laureate. Legend around the figure reads: *Jaye Pasna Inv Savpi* tentatively assigned to Tiberius (37 A.D.) 3

Seated figure holding a staff and branch of a tree in his hands. Legend around reads, *'Avinaiv Cptnoi'*

Weight 6.4970 gms

Imitating the Roman coins as motifs for jewellery, particularly pendants or bullae seems to have been the fashion of the day.

(b) Imitation Roman Coin and Bullae Covered with Gold (pl. CLVI B)

Curiously, two coins of copper, imitation of Roman aurie, have been found in the citadel area. Their symbolism and legends are so much worn out rendering their identification impossible. However, on the obverse, traces of standing figure with the typical Roman attire holding a bowl-like object in the right hand is discernible. On the reverse, the symbols as well as the legends are completely worn out. The other coin which contains only traces of gold leaf is badly worn out and from the holes pierced through near the rim, it looks more like a pendant than a coin.

This small circular gold bullae is similar to the copper one but is very thin. It is also pierced through along the rim near the head of the Roman figure perhaps to use it as a pendant. The exact Roman-culture and the value of these coins is also difficult to conjecture in the absence of any evidence, pointedly referring to that.

Gold coins worn as ornaments is a practice of hoary antiquity. *Rāmāyaṇa* (V-5.25) described the jewel worn by Sita called *Nisha* (*Nisha* is a gold coin mentioned in *Jātakas*). The Jaina chronicle work *Kalpasūtra* supplies us the description of coin jewel – *Vrettha dināra-mālya*-string of Dināras on the breast – a common ornament met with in the sculptures at Nāgārjunakonda.

Copper Coins

As has been alluded to already, ninety-nine copper coins were found during the excavations at Nāgārjunakonda. Of these, fifty-four belong to the issues of the Sātāvāhana emperors, one is Kushan coin, one Vishnukundins or Pallava, two Vijayanagara and twenty-five muslim. A detailed description of these Muslim coins has been prepared by Shri Abdul Waheed Khan, (then Assistant Superintendent, Nāgārjunakonda Excavation Project and later Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad), which is an adjunct chapter further below, while the others are described and illustrated below.

c) SĀTĀVĀHANA COINS (pls. CLVI C-D)

These Sātāvāhana coins in two hoards (A & B) were found deposited in small pots and picked up from Stratum 2, Trench B1, Sector N III, Div. 177. These compare very well with the coins of Sātāvāhana found in Madhya Pradesh region particularly Chanda area. They have not been chemically cleaned and analysed for their metal content; however, in view of their colour which resembles very much copper they have been designated here as copper coins. It is not unlikely that they may be an alloy of lead or silver, in small proportion which is generally designated as ‘potin’.

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The following names of Sātavāhana emperors are represented in this collection:

Gautamiputra
Sri Śatakarni
Pulumāvi
Śri Khada Sata (Śri Skanda Śatakarni)
Yajña Śri.

The coins under report agree both in fabric and type with the issues of the first two mentioned rulers already noticed and published by Rapson and in the *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, by scholars like V. V. Mirashi, A. S. Altekar, P. L. Gupta, M. Rama Rao, etc.

Curiously, none of the coins supply us the metronomics which are invariably present in the issues of the same rulers found in "eastern India. The coins of Pulumāvi with the symbol of ship or chaitya with svastika and wavy lines, found in other parts of Andhra Pradesh are conspicuous by their absence. It may be mentioned in this connection that part of a terracotta coin mould bearing chaitya with arch surmounted by a crescent with svastika on its side and a wavy line below, a legend in Brāhmī characters was found in the excavations at Nāgarjunakonda. The legend which is obliterated is rather difficult to read. Tentatively, it has been read as a coin mould belonging to the reign of Pulumāvi but no coins taken from this mould bearing these symbols were picked up during the excavations at Nāgarjunakonda.

But the discovery of the coin bearing the legend ‘Śri Khada Sata’ (item 22) is very interesting, since no coin bearing the similar legend has been published so far. The name Śri Khada Sata can be taken as Śri Skanda Sata. From a reference to the list of Andhra Pradesh contained in the *Purāṇas*, we find the name of Skandasvati (No. 11 of the list) or Śivaskandha (No. 26) of the *Purāṇas*. The palaeography of the legend does not warrant an earlier dating and identifies him with any of earlier rulers since this is definitely assignable to first-second century A.D. Its occurrence along with the coins of Pulumāvi, Śatakarni and Yajña Śri (i.e., Nos. 24, 24 (a) and 27 of the list) naturally leads one to feel that he was perhaps connected with one of these later rulers. Actually in the list, Śivaskandha was mentioned as the predecessor of Yajña Śri and we may not be far from truth if we identify Khada Sata of our coin with Śiva Skanda of the *Purāṇas* and if the identification hazarded is acceptable, then this coin found at Nāgarjunakonda is another corroborative evidence for the *Purānic* versions of the list of Andhra Kings.

"Rāja cha Gautamiputra eka-viṁśat tato nripah ashta viṁśah sutas tasya Pulumā vai bhaviṣyatī (ed-one-triṁśatiḥ bhavyah Śatakarnis tat ho prphaḥ) Śivasir Pulomā tu sapta śīva bhavita nripah Śivaskandhaḥ Satakarnir bhavitasasyātmaḥ samah nava-viṁśati varsani Yajñaśrīḥ satakarnir kah Ek-one viṁśatim rāja Yajñaśrīḥ Śatakarni athā.

1 By the last named who was also the last best known Sātavāhana king, together with Vijaya Śatakarni as represented in the valley, should be hoards of his time only.

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

The provenance of these Sātavāhana coins at Nāgārjunakonda thus prove the baselessness for the belief of the scholars, that Gautamiputra Śatakarni did not rule over Āndhradeśa\(^1\)

Hoard A consisted of 25 coins, mostly copper, found in Stratum 2, Trench B1, Sector N III, Div. 177 while hoard ‘B’ contained 28 coins. Of these, 39 which are in a fair state of preservation are described below. These are all circular with a maximum diameter of 20 mm and a minimum 17 mm. Their weights also vary between 3.11 gms and 1.04 gms.

(pl. CLVI C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Circular; dia 17 mm, elephant standing facing right, head and trunk portion of the elephant missing—legend obliterated.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol completely obliterated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Circular; dia 18 mm, standing elephant with uplifted trunk, facing right with a rope hanging down the neck. The legend portion is missing.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol—four circles connected by a cross.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Circular; dia 19 mm, elephant with uplifted trunk, trunk as well as the portion containing the legend are missing.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol with all the four circles extant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Circular; dia 19 mm, elephant with an uplifted trunk, advancing facing right. Legend above reads ‘-Ta Kanasα’.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol. Only one circle with a central pellet extant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Circular; dia 20 mm, elephant with uplifted trunk, trunk portion missing. The legend which is not quite legible can be read as ‘t’ -Ta Kanasα’.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol with four circles with central pellets connected by a cross, punched to a side of the coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Circular; dia 20 mm, elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the animal missing. Legend above reads ‘Pula Māvīsa’</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol—three of the four circles connected by a cross, punched at a corner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Circular; Dia 19 mm, elephant with uplifted trunk, facing right. The legend above is completely obliterated.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol—two of the four circles extant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Circular in shape; dia 19 mm, elephant with uplifted trunk, a rope hanging down from the neck facing right. The legend above reads ‘Satakanasa’.</td>
<td>Ujjain symbol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, p. 25 ff.
9. Circular; dia 20 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk advancing. The legend above reads as *Pulamāvisa*. Three circles perhaps two Ujjain symbols along the rim of the coin extant.

10. Circular; dia 19 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk. The legend portion missing, the legend above is fragmentary and is difficult to make out. Symbols not clear.


12. Circular; dia 18 mm. Elephant advancing with trunk uplifted. Trunk portion missing; Legend above is fragmentary and reads *Sataka* – Ujjain symbols with four circles connected by a cross.

13. Circular; Dia 18 mm, Elephant with uplifted trunk; the lower part of the animal missing; legend above is fragmentary and reads *Sataka*.

14. Circular; dia 18 mm, elephant with uplifted trunk; the lower part as well as the trunk portion of the animal missing. The neck appears to be jewelled. The legend which is fragmentary reads *Sataka*…'. Ujjain symbol.

15. Circular; dia 19 mm, Elephant with uplifted trunk. The lower part the animal is missing. The legend above reads – *Māvisa*. Ujjain symbol.

16. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant standing with trunk uplifted. The legend above is fragmentary. The lower portion of the letter only are extant. Ujjain symbol.

17. Circular; Dia 20 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk; leg portion of the animal is missing. The legend above reads *Satakani* – Parts of the Ujjain symbol extant.

18. Circular; Dia 17 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, leg portion of the animal missing. The legend engraved all round the coin above is fragmentary and reads *'(Siri) Yaña Sa'*. Ujjain symbol connected by a cross.
19. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant advancing trunk and head missing. The legend above is fragmentary and reads as 'Sataka...'.

20. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part of animal is missing. The legend above reads as 'Ta Kanasa'.

21. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend above is fragmentary and is difficult to make out.

22. Circular; Dia 17 mm. Elephant with trunk portion missing. The legend above reads 'Siri Khuda Sata'.

23. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant standing—head and trunk portion are missing. The legend which is fragmentary is difficult to make out.

24. Circular; Dia 20 mm. elephant with uplifted trunk advancing; the legend portion is missing.

25. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the legend portion is missing.

26. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk. The legend portion is missing.

27. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part as well as the trunk portion are missing. The legend reads 'PU La Mavisa'.

28. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant standing with trunk uplifted; the legend above is completely obliterated.

29. Circular; dia 19 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk; a tusker, the legend above is fragmentary and read as — 'Ta Kanisa'.
30. Circular; Dia 20 mm. Elephant standing with trunk uplifted. The legend above reads 'Sa Ta Kanisa'.

31. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant standing with trunk uplifted. The legend is missing.

32. Circular; Dia 20 mm. Elephant slightly smaller in size, standing with trunk uplifted. The trunk portion is missing. The legend above which is in a fair state of preservation reads (Siri) Sa Ta (Na)

33. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, rear portion of the animal is missing. It is a tusker with a rope hanging down from the neck. No legend

34. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the legend above is fragmentary and difficult to make out.

35. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part as well as the trunk portion of the animal are missing. The legend above which is fragmentary reads 'Ya Na Sa (Ta)'

36. Circular; Dia 19 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the trunk portion missing. The legend above which is fragmentary reads '(Yana) Sa Ta Ka'

37. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, trunk portion missing. The legend above is completely obliterated.

38. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the trunk portion is missing. The legend above which is fragmentary can be read as '{Siri} Sata Ka (Ni)'

39. Circular; Dia 18 mm. Elephant with uplifted trunk, the trunk as well as the legend portion are missing.
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40. Circular; Dia 20 mm. Chaitya with six arches surmounted by a crescent and flanked by Svastiaka and star marks. Below the chaitya there is a serpentine or wavy line while the legend which is around the coin reads ‘Raño Gotamiputa Sāriyāna Sāta’.

41. Circular; Dia 20 mm. Chaitya with a crescent. The arches of the chaitya are not clear. The Svastiaka and star symbols are conspicuous by their absence; but there is a faint wavy line below the chaitya. The legend all round the coins is damaged and worn out and can be read with difficulty as ‘Raño Gotamiputa Sā’.

42. Circular; Dia 17 mm. Horse, the legend which is fragmentary reads – ‘Miputasa Sāriyāna’.

(d) LEAD COINS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS

The coinage of the Ikshvākus are imitations both in fabric and in symbols of the coins of their overlords—the Sātavāhanas. In this connection, the remark of Mr. Rapson that Indian coin types are essentially local in character. At no period with which we are acquainted, whether in the history of ancient or of medieval India, has the same kind of coinage been current throughout any of the great empires. Each province of such an empire, has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remain unchanged not only by changes of dynasty but even by the transference of power from one race to another ¹ is very significant. Same symbols viz., elephant with uplifted trunk on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse, have been adopted by the Ikshvākus. The technique of coin modelling is practically the same, but the workmanship is cruder and of a poorer quality. The elephant of the Sātavāhanas described above is well formed and is a tusker, well-proportioned in its representation, but the same animal is crudely shown on the Ikshvāku coins. It is of a smaller size and ill-shaped.

Three types of elephant symbols are met with in the coins of the Ikshvākus viz., (1) small ill-proportioned animal fully shown within a circle facing right or left with trunk hanging down; (2) head portion of the elephant, rear and lower portion of the animal missing and trunk in uplifted position showing out the tusks as well as a rope hanging down the neck; (3) the uplifted trunk of the elephant is shown with a double curving, imitating the ‘U’ or ‘S’. But none of the coins with this type of uplifted and full body of the elephant, is available. Both the types of elephants facing right or left are met with (pls. CLVII A-C).

¹ Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Shamiwala (Bijnor District). Hoard of Silver Punch-marked coins, p. 13.
The legend on the coins in most cases is fragmentary and very often starts from the top left corner and ends near the head portion of the elephant. The letters are also crude and ill-formed in many, though the typical Ikshvâku script with it flourishes is noticeable in some. The script used is invariably Brâhmi of the southern type belonging to second-third centuries A.D.

Of the orthographical peculiarities, the following deserve special mention. The letter 'MA' has two strokes to the two arms to the right besides one lower down on the right arm to denote a mātrā. The arms themselves are longer and disproportionate to the size of the loop. The letter 'VA' has not developed the angular formation and shows persistence of the earlier type (coin No. 5). In Hoard B, coin No. 31, the letters are well developed and the loop of the 'VA', of the Ikshvâku Inscriptions. While 'SA' in the same coin has got a prominent serif. Coin No. 41 of Hoard B, the horizontal stroke in the letter 'KA' is peculiar. It has a circular formation making the letter look more like 'YA'. However, inspite of the fragmentary nature of the legends, the names of the Ikshvâku kings who issued these coins could be made out.

They are circular in shape and their diameter vary considerably. The weights of two coins also are not uniform.

Inscriptions found at Nâgârjunakonda refer to the names of certain coins, presumably in vogue during the period of the Ikshvâkus. One of them is Mahâ Chaitya inscription1 which refers to the donation made by Mahâtalavâri Chântisirinika of the Pukiya family, 170 Dinari Masakas; and the other inscription that refers to these coins was found near the Hârî Temple above the Auditorium at Nâgârjunakonda in 1954 at S. No. NK XVII 'Dinâri Mâsha............Satam'.

Kârshâpâna was the name of the silver punch-marked coin of which numerous hoards have been reported from different parts of India. It was the standard medium of exchange from about sixth century B.C. onwards with all its submultiples of which Pânini himself mentions 1/2 ardha bhâga (bhâga sabdopi râpa kardhasya vachakah), 1/4 as pâda and 1/16 as mâsha.

Jâtaka also refers to the name of current coin as Kshpana or kârshâpâna while the Ashrâdhâyâyi used both the words pâna and Kârshâpâna. Later on, the name Prati for Kârshâpâna is mentioned in Mahâbhârata and Nasik cave inscriptions of Ushavadata records one pratika as the interest on 2000 and 31/4 pratika or pâdikâ on 1000 kârshâpanas. Sûtra V of Pânini mentions Mâsha. Mâsha was both the silver and copper coin. The silver Mâsha is 1/16th part of Kârshâpâna and weighs 2 rattis, i.e., 3.6 grams.1 Actually, specimens of Mâsha coins were found at Bhir mound, Taxila and at Thatari in old Central Provinces. These are minute coins with a single symbol stamped on one side, weighing 2 to 3 grains.2 The copper mâsha is a sub-multiple and weighs 5 rattis, i.e., 1/16 of Tâmrikapana. According to Kautilya, the lower division of copper series were ardha-mâshaka, kâkânî and ardha-kâkânî. Jâtaka also refers to arddha-mâshâ though the other two varieties kâkânî and arddha-kâkânî were not mentioned by Pânini, they seem to have been current after the days of Pânini, since they are mentioned by Kâtyâyana.

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1 E.I., Vol. XX, p. 19, Ayaka Pillar Inscription B-5.
2 See also Manu, New Volume VIII, p. 168.
3 JNSI., VIII, 41, XIII, 168.
COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

A silver punch-marked coin of 20 māsās is called Vimsatika. Evidently, this was a silver coin in use. Buddhagosha in his commentary on Vinayapitikā (Samantapasādikā) mentions that in the time of Bimbisāra, in the Rājagriha, a kṣhapana was equal to 20 māshakas. Therefore, one pāda is equal to five māshkas. Yājñavalkya Smriti mentions a pala weight to be equal to 4 or 5 suvarnas on the basis of which the Mitakshara notes: Paņchasuvarnas-pala-pakshe Vimsāti-māshāh pano bhavati (Yājñavalkya Smriti, I, 365) i.e., in the case of a pala equalling five suvarnas, the pala had a weight of 20 māshās.

As has been alluded to already, the inscriptions found at Nāgārjunakonda refer to Dinārī Māshaka i.e., coins in currency during the period of the Ikshvākus. Some interesting information about the coin names is also available in a Jaina Prākrit text 'Nāgavijjā' which deals with prognostication on the basis of bodily signs and other physical objects.¹ This interesting manuscript has been dated by the Editors to the closing period of Kushan, i.e., circa third-fourth centuries A.D. and therefore contemporary to the Ikshvāku period at Nāgārjunakonda. It supplies a list of coin names that were in vogue during that period:

1. Suvarna Māsakha ... (Suvarna Māshaka);
2. Rayaya Māsaka ... (Rajata Māshaka);
3. Dināra Māsaka ... (Dinārī Māshaka);
4. Nānā Māsaka ... (Nānaka Māshaka);
5. Kṣhapana ... (Kārshāpana);
6. Khatrapaka ... (Kṣatrapaka);
7. Purāna ... (Purāṇa);
8. Sataraka ... (Stater).

Of these, Dinārī Māsaka has been identified as a sub-multiple of the standard Dinarius coin weighing 121 grains, which was the standard, adopted by the Kushans in imitation of the Roman Aurei.

Unfortunately, no silver or gold coins of the Ikshvākus, bearing their legends, have been discovered at Nāgārjunakonda. We have the samples of imitation Roman coins in copper, sometimes, covered with gold leaf. Can they be the Dinārī Māsaka, referred to in the inscription?

As has been mentioned already, more than three thousand lead coins have been found at Nāgārjunakonda. Of these, some were cleaned by the Chemical Assistants in the field laboratory, which has rendered it possible for one to decipher the legends as well as symbols.

The lead coins form bulk of the numismatic material found at Nāgārjunakonda. They were found by way of hoards, sixteen in number as well as stray coins. Of the numerous hoards discovered, the one found in the house of goldsmith is perhaps the largest, containing as many as seven hundred and ninety-two coins. Very few of them are in a fair state of preservation and many of the coins, after cleaning, were found to contain practically very little core metal and the legends very much obliterated. Generally speaking, the weight of these coins ranges between 3.5 to 2.7 grams though it is not possible to fix on the basis of their weight any denominational variations. The diameter of the coins also is not uniform. It also ranges between 19 mm to 16 mm.

¹ 'Angavijjā', 1857, Prakrit Text Society, Benaras, edited by Munisri Punyavijaya. A detailed analysis of it contained with historical notes has been attempted by Dr. Motichandra and V.S. Agrawala.
The legends are in early Brāhmī characters and in most cases betray lack of skill and neater execution. The letters also show variations in shapes and sizes even among the issues of the same monarch. No coin has given us a complete legend. However, the inscriptions help us in reconstructing the names in full. From the fragmentary legends it has been possible to decipher the following names of the Ikshvākus rulers:

‘Siri Cāta’ (Sīri Chāntamūla);
‘Siri Vīra’ (Sīri Virapū) – Sīri Virapurushadatta;
‘Sīri Eha’ or Sīre Ehu – Ehuvala Chāntamūla; and
‘Sīri Ruda’ or Sīri Ru’ – Sīri Rudapurushadatta.

These names, as has been discussed earlier, belonging to the dynasty of the Ikshvākus that rose to power after the fall of the Sātavāhanas and ruled with glory between A.D. 225 and 310 at Śrīparava Vijayapuri.

The symbols of these coins betray the fact that the Ikshvākus, who succeeded the Sātavāhana, had appropriated the elephant symbols of the Sātavāhanas, particularly those of Yajña Siri and Pulumāvi with the difference, the elephant of the Ikshvāku is crude and sometimes ill-formed. ¹ The technique of the coin casting, as revealed by the fragmentary symbolism both on the obverse and the reverse on the coins, also is not perfect. Invariably, on the obverse, we see the elephant entering the circle from the left with the trunk and the legend, is rarely met with. Even in the posture of the elephant, there are variations. Sometimes, it is shown as facing right and in other cases, facing left; some advancing or simply standing. In another variety, if you can call it a different type, the trunk is shown hanging down instead of the uplifted posture, which is generally met with in these coins; on the reverse, we meet with the well-known Ujjain symbol and four circles, connected by a cross. Sometimes, these circles have pellets whereas in other cases, they are simply shown as rounds, without any cross markings between. It is also noticed that the number of circles were improved on the reverse side of these coins, indicating that the coin mould contains the number of circles and while coupling the moulds, proper care was not taken. For purposes of illustration, a few well preserved coins of these monarchs have been selected and they are being described below. While a documentation of all the coins discovered is also made available for record.

**Obverse**

(pls. CLVII A-C , Type -I, Chāntamūla’s)

1. Circular, Dia 19 mm. crude elephant with uplifted trunk. The legend above reads ‘Siri Cha Ta’ typical Ikshvāku script of third century A.D.

2. Circular, Dia 15 mm. A crude elephant with uplifted trunk with a rope hanging down from the neck. The legend above, which is fragmentary reads ‘Siri Cha’

**Reverse**

Ujjain symbol completely obliterated.

Ujjain symbol.

¹ For further description see the *Catalogue on the Ikshvaku coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, 1962 by Dr. R. Subrahmaniyam published by Government of Andhra Pradesh.
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3. Circular, Dia 16 mm. A crude disproportionately shaped elephant, a tusker; trunk portion missing. The legend above reads ‘Siri Ca’—
   Ujjain symbol – four circles unconnected by a cross.

4. Circular, Dia 14 mm. Elephant symbol with two holes pierced. Perhaps to be used as a pendant in the necklace.
   Ujjain symbol; not clear.

5. Circular, Dia 17 mm. Elephant standing, the legend above is completely obliterated.
   Ujjain Symbol

6. Circular, Dia 18 mm. Elephant with the trunk hanging down. The legend above read as ‘Siri Cha Ta’
   Ujjain symbol not clear.

7. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 3 of Hoard A); Elephant, standing with trunk portion missing. The legend above as ‘Siri Cha’—
   Ujjain symbol

8. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 19 of Hoard A); Elephant, a tusker, standing with the rope hanging down the neck. The legend above reads as ‘Siri’—
   Ujjain symbol.

9. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 23 of Hoard -A). Elephant with uplifted trunk; lower and rear parts of the body were missing. The legend is not clear.
   Ujjain symbol.

10. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 81 of Hoard A). Elephant standing with the uplifted part of the trunk missing. The legend is not clear.
    Ujjain symbol.

11. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 114 of Hoard A). Elephant advancing, the trunk portion of the animal is missing. The legend above reads as ‘Siri Cha’—
    Ujjain symbol.

    3 of the 4 circles of the Ujjain symbol connected by a cross.

13. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 132 of Hoard -A). Elephant standing with the trunk portion missing. The legend is not clear.
    Ujjain symbol.

14. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 132 of Hoard A). Slightly smaller elephant, trunk portion missing; only one letter of the legend — ‘Cha’ extant.
    Ujjain symbol.

15. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 31 of Hoard-B). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk; the legend reads — ‘Richa’—
    Ujjain symbol.

16. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 2 of Hoard-D). Elephant standing with trunk portion missing; the legend above is not clear.
    Ujjain symbol, 2 of the 4 circles extant.

17. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 11 of hoard-D). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, body and legs missing; the legend above reads as— ‘Cha Ta’—
    Ujjain symbol is not clear.
18. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 30 of Hoard-D). Elephant standing rather crude and disproportionate. The legend above reads ‘Strī Cha’

19. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 12 of Hoard-G). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body missing. The legend reads –Richa

20. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 18 of Hoard-G). Elephant symbol is completely missing. The legend ‘Strī Cha’ is discernible. Along the rim of the coin there is a ridge perhaps formed by pressing the mould.

21. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 2 of Hoard-H). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing; The legend above reads as ‘(Si) Richa Ta Mu’

22. Circular, Dia 18 mm (No. 5 of Hoard-H). Elephant with uplifted trunk, rear part of the animal is missing. The legend above which is blurred reads ‘Strī Cha Ta’

23. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 15 of Hoard-H). Elephant with uplifted trunk, rear part of the animal is missing. The legend is not clear.

24. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 36 of Hoard-H). Elephant with uplifted trunk, the animal is too small and the legend above reads –Cha Ta’

25. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 32 of Hoard-I). Elephant standing; the legend above reads as ‘Strī Cha’.

26. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 142 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing, the trunk portion missing. The legend above is not clear.

27. Circular, Dia 18 mm (No. 242 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing disproportionately shaped is standing; The legend above is not clear. Symbol is not clear.

pls. CLVIII A-B , Type II (Vira Purusdatta)

28. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 6 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, trunk portion missing. The legend above reads as ‘Strī Vi’

29. Circular; Dia 15 mm (No. 12 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing. The legend reads as ‘Strī Vi’

30. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 15 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing, trunk portion missing. The legend in the typical Ikshvāku character ‘Strī Vi’
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31. Circular; Dia 14 mm (No. 43 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing. Ujjain symbol.

32. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 64 of Hoard-A). Elephant advancing, trunk as well as the front legs are missing; the legend above which is obliterated reads 'Śrī Vi' Ujjain symbol.

33. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 74 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing, a tusker, with a rope hanging down from the neck. The uplifted part of the trunk is missing. The legend reads...('Ravi') Not clear.

34. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 101 of Hoard-A). A crude elephant with the legend reading as 'Śrī Vi' along the rim. Ujjain symbol.

35. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 168 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing; hind part of the body is missing. Ujjain symbol.


37. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 173 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, trunk portion is missing. The legend above reads — 'Rivi'

38. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 208 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk; with double loop. The lower part of the body is missing. The legend above reads — 'Rivi'

39. Circular, Dia 19 mm (No. 14 of Hoard-B). It is an ill-shaped coin. Elephant standing with uplifted trunk with a double loop. The legend reads — 'Rivi Ra'

40. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 1 of Hoard-C). Elephant standing; trunk portion missing. The legend reads 'Śrī Vira' Ujjain symbol.

41. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 3 of Hoard-D). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk. The legend here is incomplete. Ujjain symbol.

42. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 39 of Hoard-D). Elephant standing with trunk hanging down. The legend above reads 'Śrī Vi' Ujjain symbol.

43. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 41 of Hoard-E). Elephant standing, lower and back portion of the animal missing. The legend is fragmentary. Only one letter — 'Śrī' — is visible. Ujjain symbol.

44. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 2 of Hoard-F). Elephant standing, rather crude representation. The legend reads 'Śrī Vi' Ujjain symbol.

45. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 16 of Hoard-G). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, trunk portion missing. The legend reads as 'Śrī Vi' Ujjain symbol.
46. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 27 of Hoard-G). Elephant advancing, head and trunk part of the animal missing. The legend above is badly obliterated.

47. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 36 of Hoard-G). Crude elephant, the head and trunk portion of the animal are missing. The legend reads 'Sīrī Vi'

48. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 38 of Hoard-H); Elephant standing with uplifted trunk. Lower part of the body as well as the trunk missing. The legend reads as 'Sīrī Vi'

49. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 25 of Hoard-P). Small elephant; trunk and head portion missing; the legend reads 'Sīrī Vi'

50. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 37 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk; lower part missing. The legend reads 'Sīrī Vi'

51. Circular, Dia 11 mm (No. 96 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing with trunk, portion missing; the legend reads 'Sīrī'

52. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 227 of Hoard-P). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body missing. The legend reads 'Vīra'

53. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 228 of Hoard-P). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing; The legend above reads 'Vīra'

54. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 238 of Hoard-P). Crude standing elephant. The legend above is fragmentary. Only one letter 'Vī' is extant.

55. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 244 of Hoard-P). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part is missing. The legend reads 'Sīrī Vi Ra'

56. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 244 of Hoard-P). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part is missing. The legend reads – 'Sīrī Vi'

57. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 249 of Hoard-P). Elephant with uplifted trunk and lower part of the body is missing. The legend reads 'Vīra Pu'

58. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 308 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk; trunk portion is missing. the legend above reads 'Vīra Pu'

59. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 316 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing, facing left, a tusker, trunk hanging down. Only one letter of the legend 'Vī is extant.
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60. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 333 of Hoard-P). Crude elephant with trunk and head portions missing; the legend above reads as ‘Rivi’

61. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 363 of Hoard-P). Elephant advancing with trunk uplifted and the rope hanging down the neck. The legend above ‘Vira’

62. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 376 of Hoard-P); A crude elephant with trunk portion missing. The legend reads ‘Vira Pu’

63. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 400 of Hoard-P); Elephant standing with a rope hanging down the neck. Trunk portion missing. The legend reads ‘Strī Vi’

64. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 431 of Hoard-P). Elephant crudely formed with trunk hanging down. The legend above reads ‘Rivi’

65. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 475 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing with trunk uplifted. Trunk portion is missing. ‘Rivi’ of the legend extant.

66. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 570 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing with trunk portion missing. The legend above reads ‘Vira Pu’

67. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 608 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing, trunk portion missing. The legend reads ‘Strī Vi Ra’

68. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No 634 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing; trunk portion missing – ‘Rivi’ of the legend visible

69. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 759 of Hoard-P). Elephant standing. The legend reads ‘Strī Vira Pu’

(pls. CLVIII C-D, Type III, EHUVAĻA CHĀMTAMŪLA)

70. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 10 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, the trunk portion is missing. the legend above reads ‘Strī Eha’

71. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 21 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk. The lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads ‘Strī Eha’

72. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 27 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads ‘Rī Eha’

73. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 31 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part missing. The legend reads as ‘Rī Ehu’

Ujjain symbol; two of the four circles extant.

Ujjain symbol.

Ujjain symbol.

Ujjain symbol.

Ujjain symbol.

Symbol not clear.

Ujjain symbol.

Symbols not clear.

Ujjain symbol.

Ujjain symbol.

Ujjain symbol.

Ujjain symbol.
74. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 97 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads ‘Ra Eha’

75. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 25 of Hoard-B). Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part of the animal missing. ‘Sri Eha’ of the legend extant.

76. Circular; Dia 14 mm (No. 1 of Hoard-B). Elephant with uplifted trunk—the trunk portion is missing. The legend reads ‘Sri Eha’

77. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 3 of Hoard-C). Elephant with uplifted trunk, the lower part is missing. ‘Ri Eha’ of the legend visible

78. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 4 of Hoard-D). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, the lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads ‘Ri E’

79. Circular, Dia 18 mm (No. 1 of Hoard-E). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk—a tusker. The legend reads ‘Sri Eha’

80. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 10 of Hoard-F). Elephant standing, the trunk portion missing. ‘Ri Eha’ of the legend seen.

81. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 2 of Hoard-G). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part as well as the trunk missing; the legend reads ‘Sri Ehu’

82. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 1 of the Hoard-H). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body as well as the trunk are missing; the legend reads ‘Sri Eha’

83. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 38 of Hoard-I). Standing elephant; only the letter ‘Ra’ is extant

84. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 1 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing; the legend above is not clear.

85. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 3 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing—a tusker with uplifted trunk. Lower part of the body is missing. The letters ‘Eha’ of the legend extant.

86. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 5 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk. Lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads ‘Sri Eha’

87. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 5 of Hoard-J), Elephant standing, with uplifted trunk. Lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads ‘Sri Eha’
88. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 8 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing, facing right; uplifted part of the trunk is missing. The letters *Stri Eha* of the legend are available.

89. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 9 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk; lower part of the body is missing. The legend reads *Eha-*

90. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No 10 of Hoard-F). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, trunk portion is missing. The legend reads as *Stri Ehu*

91. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 12 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, trunk portion missing. The legend starts near the tail above the head. The letters *Stri Eha* are clearly readable.

92. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 15 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing—a tusker. Fragmentary legend *Eha* is visible.

93. Circular; Dia 13 mm (No. 16 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk; trunk portion is missing. The legend reads as *Stri Eha*

94. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 20 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk. The lower part of the body is missing. Legend reads as *Stri Ehu*

95. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No 22 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing advancing with uplifted trunk. Only letter *Eha-* are extant.

96. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 27 of Hoard-J). A crude elephant with uplifted trunk. The lower part of the body is missing. The letters *Eha* extant.

97. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 34 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, trunk portion is missing. *Ri Eha* extant

98. Circular, Dia 18 mm (No. 133 of Hoard-J). A crude elephant, trunk portion is missing. The legend reads as *Eha-*

99. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 144 of Hoard-J). A crude elephant with uplifted trunk, the trunk portion is missing. The legend reads *Stri Eha*

100. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 152 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk is standing and facing right.

101. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 166 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk; rope hanging down from the neck; the legend *Ri E* extant.
102. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 176 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing. The legend reads ‘Ri Eha’

103. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 265 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing facing right with the legend in small letters reading ‘Sri Eha’


105. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 1 of Hoard-L). Small coin; Elephant standing, the trunk as well as the lower part of the body missing. 3 letters of the legend ‘Ri Cha’ are clear.

106. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 2 of Hoard-L). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body as well as the trunk portion missing. The legend reads as (Si) Ri E Hava’

107. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 3 of Hoard-L). Crude elephant standing, trunk and lower part of the body are missing. Only one letter of the legend ‘E’ available.

108. Circular, Dia 12 mm (No. 6 of Hoard-D). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, the legend is not clear.

109. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 1 of Hoard-M). Elephant with uplifted trunk. The lower part of the animal is missing. The legend reads as ‘Sri – E’

110. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 3 of Hoard-M). Elephant standing; lower part of the body as well as the trunk are missing. Ri Cha of the legend are available.

111. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 71 of Hoard-N). Elephant with uplifted trunk. The legend circumscribed by the trunk, Ri Cha’ are readable.

(pl. CLIX A-B, Rudra Purushadatta)

112. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 138 of Hoard-N). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, the trunk is abnormally longer – a tusker. The legend above is obliterated and difficult to make out.

113. Circular, Dia 17 mm (No. 154 of Hoard-N). Elephant standing – trunk portion missing. Two letters of the legend Ri Ru’ are clear.

114. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 5 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk. The legend reads as ‘Sri Ruda’
COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

115. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 9 of Hoard-A). Elephant advancing—a tusker with uplifted trunk. The legend 'Sri Ruda' is seen.

116. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 14 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, uplifted part of trunk missing. 'Ruda' of the legend is seen.

117. Elephant with uplifted trunk, a tusker; the legend reads as 'Sri Ruda'.

118. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 26 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk. The uplifted part of the trunk is missing. 'Ruda' of the legend is seen.

119. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 34 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing, a tusker, with uplifted trunk.

120. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 34 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing with uplifted trunk, uplifted part of the animal missing. Siru ru' of the legend is clear.

121. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 38 of Hoard-A). A crude representation of the elephant with trunk uplifted. The legend above is not clear.

122. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 52 of Hoard-A). Elephant standing perhaps with an uplifted trunk which is an uplifted trunk which is missing. The legend reads 'Sri Ruda'.

123. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 63 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk. Uplifted trunk as well as the lower part of the body are missing. The legend 'Ru' discernible.

124. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 123 of Hoard-N). Elephant standing. The legend above is not clear.

125. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 11 of Hoard-J). Elephant advancing with uplifted trunk. 'Sri Ru' of the legend can be made out with some difficulty.

126. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 13 of Hoard-J). Elephant—a tusker with uplifted trunk. The legend is not clear.

127. Circular, Dia 18 mm (No. 18 of Hoard-J). A crude elephant standing; the legend is not clear.

128. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 24 of Hoard-J). Elephant standing, perhaps a tusker with uplifted trunk; — 'Ri Ru' of the legend are extant.

129. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 31 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk, advancing, lower part of the body completely missing. The legend 'Sri Ru' can be made out.

130. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 32 of Hoard-J). Only the trunk of the elephant is extant. The legend reads '—Ri Ruda'—'.
131. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 62 of Hoard-J). A small coin with a crude representation of elephant, perhaps with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing; the legend reads ‘Sri Ru’.

132. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 71 of Hoard-J). A small coin with a crude representation of elephant perhaps with uplifted trunk, lower part of the body is missing; the legend ‘Ri Ruda’ is discernible.

133. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 72 of Hoard-J). Crude elephant with trunk as well as lower part of the body are missing. ‘Sri Ru’ are extant.

134. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 167 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend is not clear.

135. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 197 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend is not clear.

136. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No. 198 of Hoard-J). Elephant with an uplifted trunk. The legend is not clear.

137. Circular, Dia 16 mm (No 207 of Hoard-J). Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend is not clear.

138. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 172 of Hoard-N). Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend is not clear.

139. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 8 of Hoard-O). Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend is not clear.

140. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 69 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk; the legend is not clear.

141. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 83 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, uplifted trunk as well as the lower part of the animal are missing. The legend ‘Sri’ discernible.

142. Circular, Dia 13 mm (No. 109 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk. Lower part of the body is missing. The legend above reads ‘Sri Ru Da’.

143. Circular, Dia 14 mm (No. 110 of Hoard-A). Standing elephant with uplifted trunk. The legend above reads ‘Sri Ru Da’.

144. Circular, Dia 15 mm (No. 131 of Hoard-A). Elephant with uplifted trunk, only the portion of the trunk is extant. The legend above is completely obliterated.

Puri-Kushan Coins (pl. CLIXC)

It is interesting to note that we got a copper coin which belongs to the Kushans or most probably, the Puri-Kushans and is described below. The occurrence of this Puri-Kushan coin in a
COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

distant place like Nāgarjunakonda is difficult to explain. It must have found its way into the city of Vijayapuri either through the Kshatrapas who had marital relations with the Ikshvākus, or as a presentation of the visitors to the monasteries of Nāgarjunakonda.

Reg. No. 505-A:

Standing figure of a man with a shirt-Kaṇchuka, holding a spear in his left hand, while the right hand is stretched touching something. This part of the coin is damaged. The image is sunk and therefore is one of the punctured varieties.

Similar representation of a man standing, holding a bowl-like thing in his left hand while the right hand is stretched and is in the posture of offering incense. On either side of the standing image, there are some crude representations which are difficult to identify. No legend is found engraved.

VISHNUKUNDINS OR PALLAVA COINS

The coins of Vishnukindin or Pallava are very scarcely represented in the collections. Only one coin, which can very well be a stray piece that could have found its way into the city, has been picked up in the upper layer during excavations.

Reg. No. 2089; Dia 8 mm; weight 3.4470 gms.

Obverse

Contains on its counter sunk surface representations of a standing bull with symbols of Śaṅkha circumscibed by a ring with date around.

Reverse

Look like a solar disc with a central orb containing two lamp-posts and thick lump cylindrical object presumably a liṅga.

CHĀLUKYAN (?) COINAGE (pl. CLIX D)

A tiny gold coin, containing Bull or Varāha on the obverse and the Brāhmī letter ‘lā’ on the reverse, has also been found in the excavations. Similar coins have been found in Krishna and Godavari districts and is tentatively assigned to the Chālukyas of Vengi. Paucity of the coins of Chālukya at Nāgarjunakonda, though we have references to their rule in this region in the lithic records discovered at Yellesvaram, needs a satisfactory explanation.

Obverse

A standing Bull or Varāha, facing right

Reverse

The Brāhmī letter ‘lā’

VIJAYANAGARA COINS . . . :

The coins of the first and third dynasties of the Vijayanagara are also to be found in this collection. Gold Varāhas of Harihara, silver and copper coins — of Krishna Rāya (A.D. 1509-30) were also picked up. These small coins of the Vijayanagara emperors called dumpy pagodas with their half and quarter divisions set a new fashion in the minting of coinage of medieval India. This ‘pagoda’, on which a god and goddess sitting side-by-side, was struck by both Harihara I and Devarāya (A.D. 1406-1410). Tiny silver coins seem to have been issued by the same emperor, the specimen of which are represented in these columns. Both Harihara I and Devarāya have tried to extend their dominion to the coastal tracts at the expense of the Reddi rulers and these coins picked up, must have reached Nāgarjunakonda during that period.
Since the Fort of Nāgarjunakonda was stormed and reduced by the Vijayanagara armies during their march against the Gajapati of Orissa (A.D. 1514-16), it is quite likely they might have found their way into Nāgarjunakonda during their raid and subsequent occupation of the Fort.

**Obverse**

1) Harihara’s coin (Gold):
   God and Goddess seated.

2) Harihara’s coin (Silver): weight 2.662 gms.
   A symbol of a numismatic figure of doubtful identity; perhaps the denomination of the coin.

3) A symbol or numismatic figure of doubtful identity; perhaps the denomination of the coin.

4) Krishṇa Rāya (copper): Reg. No. 1444, Dia 6 mm.
   A standing figure with two hands with a twisted tail behind in āṭihā or advancing pose. Round the head, there is Prabhāvalī and the figure appears to be God Hanumān.

5) Reg. No. 1529; Dia 6 mm. Weight 1.3982 gms.
   A kneeling Garuda in Aṅjali mudrā.

6) Doubtful — copper
   A standing figure with two hands, possibly Hanumān.

**Reverse**

In Nāgarī ‘Śrī (Pra) tāpa Harihara.’

In Nāgarī ‘Harihara’

In Nāgarī ‘Harihara’

Weight 2.186 gms.

Weight 2.5740 gms.

In Nāgarī — Pra (tāpa) Krishṇa rā (va).

In Nāgarī Pratāpa Krishṇa rāya.

Doubtful.
(ii) MEDIEVAL COINS

MUSLIM COINS (pls. CLX)

1. INTRODUCTION

The Excavation at Nāgārjunakonda revealed a total number of twenty-four Muslim coins belonging to the dynasties of Khilji, Tughlaq, Bahmani, Nizam Shahi and Mughal. The maximum number of coins come from a deposit formed over the destruction phase of the historical period. Only two specimens from surface are included in this collection. Sectors NI and R VIII, occupying the region on the river bank, to the south of the Nāgārjunakonda hill, yielded maximum number of Muslim coins. They have been found sporadically and belong to the dynasties cited above.

The regions between the citadel and the aforesaid hill brought to light twelve coins (forming the maximum number in the total yield) of Bahmani kings, namely, Alauddin, Hassan Gangoo, Muhammad Shahi, Feroz Shah, Muhammad Shahi III, and Kaledemullah Shah, the last king of this dynasty. It is noteworthy that only the coins of earlier and later groups of king of this dynasty were recovered from the sites at Nāgārjunakonda. No doubt that the discovery of a few coins of a particular dynasty cannot conclusively prove the extension of its sway over the region, but at the same time, it is quite tempting, specially when the other sources corroborate that Bahmanis possibly brought this valley under their scepter at the beginning of their career, and after some interregnum, once again they succeeded in wresting the territory from their opponents. It was a period of a tripartite struggle between the Vijayanagara, Bahmani and Gajapati kings of Orissa, and there is no wonder that the valley might have also witnessed the hegemony of Bahmani kings.

The exiguity of Muslim coins may, however, indicate that the valley never figured prominently during the periods of Muslim suzerainty. It was probably important only for its strategic position, because the River Krishna was and is still formidable near Ellesvaram. It was not a flourishing locality but possibly it was one of the Garrison locations.

It is, however, possible from the study of these coins to supplement the evidence from other sources for the construction of the political history of this valley in the age of Muslim rule.

2. CLASSIFICATION OF COINS IN CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

(a) KHILJI COINS

The early Muslim coins which we encounter in the valley, are those of Khilji dynasty, struck by Gurshasp Malik, the nephew and the son-in-law of Sultan Jalaluddin, who adopted the title of Sultan Alauddin after ascending the throne of Delhi.

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1 This chapter has been contributed by Md. Abdul Wahid Khan.
2 It is interesting that these Islamic coins have been picked up in Sector N I and N VIII between the citizen zone and the Nāgārjunakonda hill. It is noted elsewhere in the report that this area which contained the citadel, dock reservoir etc., was a natural creek and a river port for the boats to come and enter the valley. Obvously this zone was subsequent to the destruction of flood, still retained its creek character and in medieval times sporadic entry into the valley by river touched this spot (perhaps even as a convenient place of assault of the fortification on Nāgārjunakonda hill). In any case, it only confirms the fact that the Ghasti area was a more natural stopping point for boats and entry from river side into the valley even in medieval times sporadically and upholds the Dock-reservoir creek of the river in the early historic times, whose medieval repetition had brought these Muslim coins here on the top deposit.
In all, there are six coins of Allauddin Khilji, five are of copper and one of silver—an alloy of silver and bronze.¹

The above cited six coins are bilingual, they are more or less of uniform weight and size, and bear the legend ‘As-Sultanul-Azam-Allaad-Dunya Wad-Din’. On the obverse, ‘Muhammad Shah’ in double circle, with ‘Sri Sultan Allaudin’ engraved in Devanagari in the exergue. The regnal year and the name of the mint are absent on these coins. But parenthetically it may be mentioned here that during the reign of Allaudin Mauhammad, coins were minted at Siri, but in AH 714, another mint was established for southern India at the Fort of Deogir, which was subsequently renamed Daulatabad. This mint was also used by Tughlaq Sultans.

The coins of Alauddin Muhammad show evidences of Islamic invasion of a remote land, as well as their own intrinsic value as a special field of numismatic interest. Alauddin’s famous General Malik Naib, during his campaign of Telengana against Kākatiya ruler Pratāpa Rudra, must have invested the important fortresses (including Nāgarjunakonda) lying at the strategic position, to defend the frontiers of his realm and this is justified by the presence of Alauddin’s coins found from the sites in close proximity to the fortress.

(b) TUGHLAQ COINS

Two Tughlaq coins, one of Ghiyasuddin and the other of his son, Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, were found from the slope of the Nāgarjunakonda on which stands a medieval fortress.

The coin of Ghiyasuddin is almost similar to the one found at Maski,² and bears his title ‘As-Sultanul-Ghazi-Gheasud-Dunya Wad-Din’ on the obverse and ‘Abul Muzaffar Tughlaq Shah-As-Sultan’ on the reverse. This coin has not been carefully struck, most of the words are badly cut and hence complete inscription cannot be properly read.

The coins of Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq ‘is in a better state of preservation, with the title ‘Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq’ on the obverse, and ‘Hasbai-Rabbi’ (God is sufficient for me) on the reverse. The die used for this coin appears to be in accord with flan and no doubt it bears an eloquent testimony to the art of engraving which is of a high order. Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq stands out pre-eminently for the variety and for the interest of his coins. Indeed the currency policy of his reign is described as kaleidoscopic and the other feature of his coinage is the expansion of the mint system. Imperial issues are found from no less than nine mints from Delhi in the north, to Telengana in the south. The name of the mint as well as the date of the issue of the coin are not mentioned on the coin of Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq recovered from Nāgarjunakonda, but possibly it was issued from Warangal mint.³

It can be presumed from the Tughlaq coins found in the valley that prince Ulugh Khan son of Ghyasuddin Tughlaq, before he made incursions on the capital of the Rajah of Telengana viz., Warangal, must have despatched his army to capture the important forts lying at the periphery of his dominion. This fact is supported by Fereshta, who mentions that prince Ulugh Khan prior to his invasion of Warangal took many forts lying on the frontiers of Telengana by storm and left garrison.

¹ The famous numismatist, Sri H.N. Wright, in his book entitled ‘The Sultans of Delhi, their Coinage and Metrology’, refers to the passage from Kautiya’s Arthasāstra in which the use of alloy in Silver coins is emphasized as of paramount need. When the Muhammadan conquerors came to India, they probably incorporated this practice in their own currency, notable in the time of Tughlaq and followed by successive Sultans.
² B.K. Thapar, Maski-1954, A Chalcolithic site of the Southern Deccan, Ancient India, No. 13, p. 120.
³ A few coins in Hyderabad Museum bear the name of a province (Mulk-i-Telang), figuring as the mint in the place of Warangal known later as Sultanpur.
COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

The possibility of Nāgārjunakonda fortress being attacked by the army of prince Ulugh Khan cannot be ruled out. Numismatic evidence presented by these coins elicits a helpful answer. Though it is hazardous to draw such conclusions on the basis of these two coins, which might have been drifted to the valley due to commercial contacts or other agencies, all the same, it cannot be ignored that this region which was under the sway of Tughlaq, after the defeat of the last ruler Pratâpâ Rudra.

c) BAHMANI COINS

The maximum number of Muslim coins belong to Bahmani dynasty. In all, there are twelve coins, four of Alaûddin Hassan Gangoo, the founder of this dynasty, two of his son, Muhammad Shah I, one of Feroz Shah, and the other one of Muhammad Shah III, and the remaining three were struck by the last king of this line, Sultan Kaleemullah Shah.

During the last part of Muhammad-Bin-Tughlaq’s reign, chaotic conditions prevailed in Deccan; availing of this opportunity, Zafar Khan, the Commandant of the Centuries in Bidar unfurled the standard of revolt and was unanimously crowned King in 1347, under the title of ‘Alaûddin Bahman Shah’. Thus was founded the dynasty of the Bahmani Kings, whose coinage formed the important portion of this chapter.

The Bahmani line kings ruled over a large region of south and central India, between the fourteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries, of the Christian era. But it is noticed that the region in which the coins of Bahmani kings circulated varied in extent with the power of the individual monarch.

The coins of the Bahmani kings as noticed by the numismatists, derive in form, script and legend, from those of Pathân kings of Delhi.

The coins of Alaûddin Hassan Gangoo are diminutive in size, but inscribed in a delicately beautiful script and are rare. The legend on the obverse in very fine and artistic, with Muhammad II, we have a larger size which continued throughout the period of this dynasty. Varieties of dyes are noticed in Feroz Shah’s coinage. The coin of Muhammad Shah III (whose cognomen was Leshkari) in our collection is very similar to the one discovered at Brahmapuri, so far as the legend on the obverse and reverse are concerned.

The coins of the last king of this dynasty Sultan Kaleimullah Shah, are large and thick in size and the legend is inscribed in bold letters with taste and tact which speaks volumes for the ingenuity and skill of mint master. The legend on these coins is similar to the one published by Khwaja Muhammad Ahabb. It may be recorded here that the coins of the Bahmani dynasty found at Nāgārjunakonda are the usual thick dumby pieces circular in shape and do not represent any new type. They all belong to the known and published varieties. Except the usual legends, none of them bears any date. But these coins serve as invaluable adjuncts to historical study, and necessary rectification of Muhammadan history to be effected through numismatic sources. For example according to Farishta, Kaleimullah, the King of Bahmani dynasty was the son of Ahmad Shah II, but from the three coins found at Nāgārjunakonda, he is mentioned as Kaleimullah, son of Mahmud Bahmani.

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1 Excavation at Brahmagiri (Kolhapur), by Dr. Sankalia, for the year 1945-46, p. 38.
2 Dr. Speight in his article “Coins of the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan” in the Islamic Culture, April 1935, has also published this coin.
APPENDIX 2

COIN HOARDS

[This hoard comprised 236 (Two hundred and thirty-six) coins, out of which 59 (fifty-nine) were deemed as 'condemned' during chemical cleaning as not being useful for study. The hoard was recovered from Sector N-XI, Reg. No. 294]

Note

(i) Hoard 'N'

These one hundred and seventy-seven coins mostly revealed remnants of animal (Elephant) or Ujjain symbol and had diameters ranging from 11-15 mm and were of uncertain and eroded weight. They were both of Virapurushadatta (Sri Vira) and Ehuvala Chāntamūla (Sri Ehu).

(ii) Hoard 'O' (fourteen coins)

This comprised 22 (twenty-two) coins out of which 8 (eight) were deemed as 'condemned' during chemical cleaning, as not being useful for study. These were recovered from Sector No. VIII, Div. 68, St. 3, at a depth of 6'0" (Reg. No. 210).

Most of these coins were revealing no clear legend but for the traces of elephant and Ujjain symbols and were of diameters ranging from 12-15 mm.

(iii) Hoard 'P' (Seven hundred and sixty-two coins)

This hoard comprised 798 (seven hundred and ninety-eight) coins of which thirty-six were separated during chemical cleaning as too badly worn-out. Recovered from Sector N-III (Habitation area) – Reg. No. 496.

They were revealing no clear legend of king but traces of elephant and Ujjain symbol and ranged in diameter from 11-15 mm.

(iv)

These were also stray coins, 1237 (one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven) in number which were from different parts of the valley and various depths and apart part from traces of animal and Ujjain symbols in a few were not useful for study. They, however, go to show the quantitative picture of the Ikṣhvāku coins in circulation in the different monastic, Brāhmaṇical residential and other sites in the valley.
## APPENDIX 3

THE IDENTIFICATION OF MUSLIM COINS RECOVERED FROM THE SITES DURING THE EXCAVATION AT NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA ARE DETAILED IN CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size in diam.</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Provenance of find spot</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>3.415 gm</td>
<td>1.5 cm</td>
<td>Khilji</td>
<td>Alauddin Muhammad A.D. 1296-1316</td>
<td>Site N. VII, Layer 2: As-sultan-ul-Azam-Alau-d-Dinya wad-din</td>
<td>In double circles Muhammad Shah. In margin Sri Sultan Alauddin is inscribed in Devanāgarī script which apparently looks like vertical strokes</td>
<td>This coin was struck by Alauddin Muhammad, the renowned king of Khilji Dynasty. He was the first to experiment with square coins, but all his six coins recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa with the exception of one, are found in shape. They are all bilingual; on the reverse in margin Sri Sultan Alauddin is inscribed in Devanāgarī. The striking is done with care; but as the die was not in accord with the flan, we do not find complete legend. The words 'ud-dunya-waddin' are cut on the obverse.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.25 gm</td>
<td>1.65 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.I. surface. As-Sultan-ul-Azam-Alau-d-Dunya-Wad-din</td>
<td>In double circles- Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>In margin on the reverse Sri Sultan(n) is clearly inscribed in Devanāgarī script. The inscription on this coin is in a remarkably fresh condition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.283 gm</td>
<td>1.55 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.I. layer 4</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>The legend occupies the whole face of the coin. The name Sri Sultan is erased in the margin and a few vertical strokes appear connecting the two circles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.378 gm</td>
<td>1.6 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.VIII layer-2</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Many of the letters are cut on the obverse and hence complete legend cannot be read. Muhammad Shah in double circles on the reverse is clearly inscribed, but Devanāgarī letters in the margin are effaced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Size in diam.</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>Name of king</td>
<td>Provenance of find spot</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>3.384 gm</td>
<td>1.65 cm</td>
<td>Khilji</td>
<td>Allauddin MuHAMmad</td>
<td>N.XIV Layer-2</td>
<td>'As-Sultan-ul-Azam-Alaud Duniya was-din'</td>
<td>Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>The letter 'Sha' on the reverse is erased and a few letters in Devanagari are hardly legible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Billon</td>
<td>2.915 gm</td>
<td>1.5 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>S.VII</td>
<td>Faint traces of legend 'As Sultan-ul-Azam Muhammad Shah can be deciphered with some difficulty</td>
<td></td>
<td>This is a billon coin of Muhammad Shah somewhat oblong in shape. This coin shows sign of wear as it was probably long in circulation with the result that the inscription on both the sides are erased and cannot be deciphered in full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>3.486 gm</td>
<td>1.55 cm</td>
<td>Tughlaq</td>
<td>Ghiasuddin Tughlaq N.VII, Shah A.H. 720-725. (A.D. 1320-25)</td>
<td>Sector</td>
<td>'As-Sultan-ul-Ghazi-Ghiasuddin (Duniya-) wad-din'</td>
<td>Ab(ul) Mu(tafar) Shah As (Sultan)</td>
<td>This coin is of Ghiasuddin Tughlaq Shah, most of the letters are hardly cut, hence complete inscription cannot properly be read. The coin has been carefully struck, though with less regard for good execution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.64 gm</td>
<td>1.4 cm</td>
<td>Muhammad Bin Tughlaq</td>
<td>N.VIII Layer-2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad Bin-Tughlaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.45 gm</td>
<td>1.4 cm</td>
<td>Bahmani, Allauddin Hassan Gangoo Bahmani A.H. 748-759. (A.D. 1347-58).</td>
<td>Sector</td>
<td>Ala(ud)wad-(din)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Us-Sultan</td>
<td>This coin belongs to Zafar Khan, who led a sedition in 1347 against Muhammad Bin Tughlaq and declared himself to be the King of Deccan under the title of Allauddin Bahman Shah as is evinced from the obverse and reverse of this coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight (gm)</td>
<td>Size (cm)</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>Name of king</td>
<td>Provenance of find spot</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>1.648</td>
<td>1.3 cm</td>
<td>Bahmani</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Sector N.I. Surface</td>
<td>Alaud-Din</td>
<td>Bahman Shah, Us-Sultan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>waddin</td>
<td></td>
<td>This coin is beautiful and a tiny piece of rarity. It is inscribed in delicately beautiful script, but a few letters are cut on obverse and reverse because of the diminutive size of the coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>1.582</td>
<td>1.1 cm</td>
<td>Alauddin</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.VIII Layer 1</td>
<td>Alaud-Dunya</td>
<td>(Shah) Bahman, Us-Sultan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hassan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wad-din</td>
<td></td>
<td>It is also a small copper coin with the letters cut on both the sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.1 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.VII Layer 1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>On the obverse, the legend, 'Alaud-Dunya' is not clearly inscribed and appears like fine vertical strokes, and the other part of the legend 'Wad-din' is also engraved in similar way. On the reverse except the word Bahman, nothing is clear and distinct. The edge at one place is obliquely milled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.568</td>
<td>1.45 cm</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.XIV Layer 1</td>
<td>Abdul Muzafar</td>
<td>Ibn, Bahman Shah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shah I,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td>Shah, Us-Sultan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bahmani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.5 cm</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.I. Layer 1</td>
<td>Abul-Muzafar</td>
<td>Bahman, Bin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shah I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>(Us-Sultan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shah (H)</td>
<td>Shah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This coin was struck in the name of Muhammad Shah I, the second, Bahman ruler.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size in diam.</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Provenance of find spot</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>3.22 gm</td>
<td>1.5 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>N.VII surface</td>
<td>Abul-Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, Us-Sultan Shah</td>
<td>Bahman Bin Shah</td>
<td>'Us-Sultan' on the reverse is inscribed as four vertical strokes which apparently look like the number one hundred and eleven (111). These three coins of Muhammad Shah I, show his magniloquent title 'Abul-Muzaffar Muhammad Shah' on the obverse and Us-Sultan-Bin-Bahman Shah on the reverse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>3.388 gm</td>
<td>1.65 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Feroz Shah Bahmani</td>
<td>N.XI, Layer-2</td>
<td>Ul-Hakim-Bi-Umrillah</td>
<td>Feroz Shah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This coin in all probability belongs to Feroz Shah, the eighth king of Bahmani dynasty. It shows signs of wear and hence the common epithet 'Bahman' adopted by this line of Kings appears to have been effaced.

This coin is of Muhammad Shah III, son of Humayun Shah Bahmani, who is known in common parlance as 'Muhammad Shah Lashkari'. The script on both sides of this coin is very complicating, hence the legend cannot be deciphered with certainty, and is not beyond doubt, the legend could be read tentatively which is written in the respective columns. This coin, it appears, was probably struck from the silver die as it is palpable from the shining observed on both the sides or due to the formation of patina which is very effective.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Size in diam.</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Name of king</th>
<th>Provenance of find spot</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>16.97 gm</td>
<td>2.25 cm</td>
<td>Bahmani</td>
<td>Kalimullah Shah Bahmani</td>
<td>Sector S.VII Layer 1</td>
<td>Ul-Muwayyed Bi-Nasrullahi Malikul Owviyilghani</td>
<td>Kalim-ul-lah Us-Sultan, Bin Mohamood Shah Ul-Bahmani</td>
<td>The three coins of Kalimullah Shah the last king of Bahmani line are almost equal in size and weight. The inscriptions of them are thick and bold and in a remarkably fresh condition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>16.97 gm</td>
<td>2.25 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Kalimullah Shah Bahmani</td>
<td>Sector S.IV Layer 1</td>
<td>Al Muwayyed Bi-Nasrullahi Malikul (Qwviyul Ghani)</td>
<td>Kalimullah, Us-Sultan Bin Mohamood (Ul-Bahmani)</td>
<td>In all, the Bahmani coins recovered from Nágárjunakonda; the name of mint and the date of issue are conspicuous by its absence. But it may not be out of place to mention that the Bahmani kings had three mints, Ahsanabad (Gulbarga), Muhammadabad (Bidar) and Fathabad, as inscribed on a coin illustrated in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. Nizam Dominions for the year 1929-30, p. 53.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>16.74 gm</td>
<td>2.25 cm</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Kalimullah Shah Bahmani</td>
<td>Sector N.VIII Layer 2</td>
<td>Al-Mu-Wayyed Malikul (Qwviyul Ghani)</td>
<td>Kalimullah Us-Sultan Bin Mahmood (Ul-Bahmani)</td>
<td>One solitary coin of Murtaza Nizam Shah was recovered from Nágárjunakonda in the course of excavation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>7.29 gm</td>
<td>1.75 cm</td>
<td>Nizam Shahi</td>
<td>Murtaza Nizam Shah A.H. 975 A.D. 1567</td>
<td>Sector N. XI Layer 2</td>
<td>Murtaza Nizam Shah, Zarab-Admadnagar</td>
<td>Fi-Sanai Shukur Ahadi</td>
<td>The legend on this coin is very complicated and vague. This coin is rare for boldness of execution and artistic merit abetted by consummate workmanship. The script is somewhat florid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>13.52 gm</td>
<td>2.1 cm</td>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td>Muhammad Shah Bada Ghazi, Sikka Mubarak</td>
<td>Sector NI Layer 1</td>
<td>Muhammad Shah Bad-Ghazi, Sikka Mubarak</td>
<td>Mainmnanath Regnal year 4 Zarab (Mint) Machilipatan</td>
<td>These two coins (Sl. Nos. 22&amp;23) were struck in the years A.H. 1134 and 1149 respectively, by the East India Company in the name of Muhammad Shah as Machilipatan was their important mint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>Size in Diam.</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>Name of King</td>
<td>Provenance of Find Spot</td>
<td>Obverse</td>
<td>Reverse</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>13.89 gm</td>
<td>2.00 cm</td>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td>Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1719-1748</td>
<td>Layer 1</td>
<td>Muhammad Shah Bada-Ghazi, Sikka, Mubarak AH 1149</td>
<td>Mamanath Regnal year 19, Zarab Machili (Patan)</td>
<td>On the obverse of these coins the title of the King Muhammad Shah-Bada-Ghazi and the dates on which they were struck are inscribed. The regnal year can be deciphered. As these coins are much worn, the name of the mint can indubitably be read as Machilipatam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>d_o_</td>
<td>11.97 gm</td>
<td>1.9 cm</td>
<td>Alamgir II, A.D. 1759-1760</td>
<td>Sector XXI Surface</td>
<td>Alamgir (Badshah) Ghazi</td>
<td>Mainanath Julus</td>
<td>This appears to be a coin of Alamgir II, issued by the East India Company from Machilipatam mint. Inscriptions on both sides is much obliterated which made the complete identification of the legend difficult. The formula 'sana'-julus-Mainanath-Manus (i.e. the year of the reign associated with prosperity) was introduced by Aurangzeb and occupies the reverse side of his coinage. This was invariably used by all his successors as can be affirmed from the coins described above.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART D
CHAPTER IX
(a) CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

The latest and final phase of Archaeological salvage excavation in the context of the Nāgarjuna Sāgar Hydel Project of the Survey, under Dr. R. Subrahmanya and his colleagues of the Survey during the years 1954-61 expectedly brought to light a further large instalment of epigraphs which included those referred to in the *Indian Archaeology - A Review* volumes and in *Annual Epigraphical reports* (and were dealt with subsequently in *Epigraphia Indica* volumes which have been, in the order of their publication, given below. The substratum of sense of the words in the Prakrit inscriptions led Prof. Sten Konow to suggest that Ikshvākus migrated from the west into the lower Krishna Valley. The sandals shown on the feet of the portraiture of Śrī Chāntambūla added strength to such a supposition. Kushā sculptures originating from north-west seems to have introduced this into the Mathura school and it is needless to mention the portraiture of Kanishka himself in this regard. There is no reason, however, why it could not have travelled from the north-west into Ikshvāku sculpture. Another decisive evidence which supports then the western contact or migration from the west is found in the practice of the erection of memorial pillars for the departed. The memorial pillar of Rupiamma a Mahākṣamatha was one among the earliest of this type. The Śaka princess Rudradhara Bhāṭārika, had some relationship with Ikshvākus, and may be she was actually one of the many queens of Virapurusadatta though it is difficult to substantiate such an inference. Dr. D.C. Sircar was of the view that the Ikshvākus (Ikhakus) were originally an Aryan tribe which was closely connected with the aborigines of the southern country and consequently shared their belief and traditions. It is easier to agree with his theory.

The entire collection of epigraphical data from Nāgarjunaṇakonda is listed in the following pages. This has been discussed with Epigraphy Branch and the data are as furnished by them in the chronological order of publication from time to time. In a good number of cases, a transcript and its translation, if published by the Survey in *Epigraphia Indica*, are appended to facilitate further interest. A chronological order is attempted to be maintained, as far as possible, while undated and fragmented epigraphs are subjoined to the list. Reading of the unconnected and disjoined letters available on stray fragments are also included to complete the data, as available from the Epigraphy Branch of the Survey.

(b) CLASSIFICATIONS

The inscriptions from Vijayapuri may be classified into seven groups, viz., (a) The Āyaka Pillar inscriptions, (b) Inscriptions on the flooring of Cuddapah slabs, (c) Memorial records or Chāya Khambha inscriptions, (d) Pillared hall or Mandapa inscriptions, (e) Brāhmaṇical inscriptions in temples, (f) Inscriptions on the sculptural panels and (g) Miscellaneous inscriptions such as isolated names or stray numbers on sculptured limestone panels or flooring or roofing Cuddapah slabs, sometimes in association with guild symbols.

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* As supplied by the Director, Epigraphy (Mysore)
The above classification does not distinguish the difference in language. The bulk of the inscriptions of Nāgarjunakonda employed Prakrit only, save six examples of Sanskrit; three of the dated examples occurred in the brahminical temple sites; two fragments, with the date portions lost, were noticed in Buddhist monastic complexes. While a solitary but fairly long specimen was evidenced on an exquisitely sculptured panel, a gift of merchant Kumāranandī, in site No. 106, a monastic unit.

(a) Āyaka Pillar Inscriptions

Seventeen of the inscriptions under this category came from the Mahāstūpa, site No. 1 facing the Aparamahāvīna sēlīya monastery dated to the 6th regnal year of Viśarpurushadatta. In view of the crucial nature of the Mahāchaitya which is the oldest and the most important event in the valley and was clearly in the pre- or early Ikshvāku phase of our chronological classification (see chapter ........... pp. ............), the full set of inscriptions from Mahāstūpa has been included for repeated reference here. Otherwise, old inscriptions prior to the salvage excavation (1954-60) are not included in this chapter. Three were reported from the Bahusrutīya complex, dated to the second regnal year of Ehuvala Chāntamūla. A single example was noticed at the Mahissasaka monastery site No. 8, dated to the 11th regnal year of Ehuvala.

(b) Inscriptions on the Cuddapah Flooring Slabs:

Only two specimens are available in this category but each of these is elaborate and well executed. One of them was caused to be engraved by the lay worshipper Bodhisiri, while the other was that of Chāntisiri, during the 14th and 18th regnal years of Viśarpurushadatta respectively. The artistic excellence of the Ikshvāku script appears to have reached its peak in these examples. Cuddapah slabs with numbers and unconnected names also appeared at some of the sites, but the lettering in these cases cannot be compared with the above specimens in any measures. The engraver's name also appeared in one of the above (F-Bodhisiri's inscription) as Vidika. Cuddapah slab, being a laminated sedimentary rock, parts of these inscriptions were somewhat damaged by the peeling off of the upper layer. The texts of these inscriptions comprise only those which have been discovered between 1954 and 1960.

(c) Chhāya Khambha or Memorial Inscriptions:

As many as 22 examples are available in this category the earliest being that of Chāntamūla I erected by his mother, sisters and consorts. A date does not appear on the bulk of these records and only three cases of dated Chhāya Khambhas or memorial pillars occur out of this 22. In addition to the above, another dated example came from the vicinity of site No. 61, possibly a Hindu shrine with a pillared mandapa. This memorial pillar was of Prince Eli-Ehuvaladasa, a step-brother of King Ehuvala and belonged to his 13th regnal year. The latest in this series was that of Sirivammahīta, the step-mother of Rudrapurushadatta from site No. 24 and dated in the 11th regnal year. The rest are all undated.

The memorial pillar of 'Chamtapulasā', the Commander-in-Chief (Mahāsēnāpatī) was exposed at a pillared hall (site No. 36) which seems to have been specifically constructed for the purpose of raising the memorial pillar, where the commander was represented as riding on an elephant with royal insignias.

4. H. Sārkara and B.N. Misra, op.cit., p. 44.
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

Like-wise the memorial of Eli Ehuvaladasa was found in a pillared hall - site No. 24 with later additions also. Here again texts of old inscriptions are not given except for listing their references, as during the excavation are forwarded with their texts in this chapter.

(d) Pillared Hall Inscriptions:

The few examples available in this category appeared on the broken stumps of the pillared halls. Chāntisiri's inscription in the monastery Aparamaḥa vina sāliya vihāra, opposite to the Mahāstūpa, was estimated to have been done in seven redactions, i.e., the same purport and content conveyed in slightly differing phraseology.\(^1\) A short inscription of this type was noticed in the Hariti temple also, at site No. 17. The suspected seven replicas of Sarvadēva temple may also belong to this class, but now it is difficult to confirm in view of the unidentifiably mutilated condition of the pieces. These three examples might indicate the great importance of these sites for the city population. The inscriptions from the temples of Nodagīśvara and Pushpabhadra were engraved on the dhvaja stambhas may further be mentioned here, while that in the Ashtabhujasthāvī temple was engraved on a sand stone block with a wide slot intended for accommodating the wooden image of the god Ashtabhujas as referred to in the relevant record.

Two fragmentary Sanskrit inscriptions, both from the huge monastic complex.\(^2\) Site No. 3, also may belong to this category and are datable to Ehuvala Chāntamūla's times.

The isolated pillar fragment with a few letters or words were in evidence from a number of sites, but little can be made out of them.

It may be recalled in this connection that the Rentala Prakrit record of Chāntamūla I belongs basically to this category.\(^3\) Only the texts of inscriptions discovered during 1954-60 excavated and published are fully furnished here; other ones are fully listed.

(e) Brahmanical Inscriptions:

Of the four dated inscriptions in this category, only one, belonging to the temple of Nodagīśvaraśāi, site No. 127,\(^4\) was in Prakrit language. The Sanskrit record from Sarvadēvadhvīvasa dated in the 11th regnal year of Ehuvala appears to have been made in seven replicas, as already mentioned. The Pushpabhadrasvāmi and Ashtabhujasthāvī temple records were both in Sanskrit, the former dated to Ehuvala's 16th regnal year while the latter dated to the 30th year of Ābhīra Vasuśhēna.\(^5\)

Brahmanical temple erections seem to have drawn considerable incentive and encouragement during the period of Ehuvala Chāntamūla as all the datable inscriptions of this kind came into existence in his time.

The temples of Hariti, at sites 17 and 56, did not yield the inscriptive evidence ascribable to any of the Ikšvāku kings.

\(^1\) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, pp. 65-66, also Vol. XXXVII.
\(^2\) One of these was unearthed by T.N. Ramachandran in his excavations in 1938. The other is in the transplanted site at the 11/2 mile stone, on the Nāgārjunakonda - Macherla road.
\(^4\) That this may belong to the first regnal year of Ehuvala was suggested by Vidyadhara Rao, see *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, 1969, p. 234.
\(^5\) Mirashi found it difficult to agree with the Ābhīra interregnum theory at Nāgārjunakonda of Sircar.
The inscription of the temples of Nodagisvara and Pushpabhadrasvami were engraved on dhvaja stambhas or flag-staffs. A dhvajastambha was found at the Ashtabhujastrami temple also but it contained no inscription. As most of the Brahmanical inscriptions are belonging to the salvage excavation (1954-60), their texts are fully given and their translation also discussed to the extent necessary.

(f) Inscriptions on the Sculptured Panels:

This category comprises of two sub-groups (i) inscription on the bordering frame of a sculptured panel depicting incidents in the life of Buddha or a relief image and (ii) inscriptions on the Buddha-pada slabs. Such of these as are now discovered in (1954-60) excavations are fully dealt with.

(i) The first two inscribed panels were found only by Longhurst in his earlier excavations. The third specimen remarkable for the excellent execution both of its sculptural part as well as the engraving of the elaborate Sanskrit inscription on the upper bordering frame portion, came from the monastic complex of site No. 106. This panel, a donation of a merchant Kumāramañži provides us the latest known date of Ehuvala Chāntamila, viz., his 24th regnal year. A partial engraving consisting of some names only was available on a fragmentary seated image of Buddha, apart from other fragments from different panels, two of the sizeable pieces of which came from site No. 23.

(ii) The inscribed Buddha-pada slab from the earlier excavations was fragmentary. The later specimen unearthed at the monastic compact unit of site 38 contained a Prakrit inscription on its front section. It contained neither the name of the donor nor the regnal year of any king, but the similarity of its content with the text of inscription (of Bodhisiri's apsidal temple site No. 43) suggests a date not far removed from Virapurushadvatta's 14th regnal year which was the date recorded in E.1

(g) Miscellaneous Inscription:

All engravings of a few letters or mere numbers which cannot be grouped which any of the above six categories are included in this classification. These fall into three natural sub-groups, viz., (i) isolated names on sculptured slabs and pillar sometimes in association with symbols possibly of workingmen's guilds; (ii) Cuddapah slab fragments with mere numbers prominently carved and (iii) inscription on materials other than stone such as terracotta, pottery, and shell.

(i) Inscriptions of this type were observed on some of the sculptured slabs usually on the part intended to go into the construction. In all probability, these may be result of the mason or carver subjecting the stone to a preliminary test before choosing it for further elaborate carving. Thus the word 'dhamasa' was noted on three of the slabs. Another 'Bhiksha' was probably the name of the stone mason in view of the evidence from inscription F where at the end of the text Vidhaka was mentioned as Sela Vadhaka.6

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1 Ep.Ind., Vol. XX, 1930, p. 25, fragments S & K.
3 This was in Longhurst's collection (E.I., Vol. XX, p.-----). Again it may be recalled that Kesapalli excavation brought to light a foot print inscription dated to the 13th regnal year of Chāntalā (See Epigraphia Aśokica, Vol. I. Hyderabad, 1969, p. 148).
5 Ibid., Vol. XX, 1930, pp. 21-22.
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

Instances of names on Cuddapah slabs were noticed principally at the Bathing ghat, site No. 34, while isolated guild symbols were more frequent at site No. 17, the stadium. 'Venisri' appearing on a Cuddapah slab of the Bathing ghat may be the name of a pilgrim suggested in view of its crude execution. A number of game board squares on some of the slabs also are indicative of a possibility of these slab constructions being the favourite resorts of the pilgrims and civilian population.

(ii) A number of stray fragments of Cuddapah slab picked up from the surface in the southern sectors around the Yaksha temple and the hill monastery site (Nos. 14, 84, 85 and 86 respectively) contained mere numbers. The purpose of numbering the slabs on a permanent basis by engraving is difficult to guess now particularly when these samples are removed from their context altogether. Probably these were used as roofing slabs over pillared halls with a flat roof and proper setting of the slabs in their positions might have necessitated numbering. As many as seven such pieces were picked up from the region mentioned above, while isolated examples came from three other sites, invariably from surface only.

(iii) The inscribed conches picked up from the temple site of Ashtabhasvāmi and the terracotta sealings picked up from site Nos. 9 and 80 comprise this sub-group.

A mould of a Sātavāhana silver coin and a terracotta circular tablet with four letters around the periphery go as to make it a seal possibly, may not be included in this sub-grouping, because these were strictly the negatives for the inscription. In all probability, it was only a secondary mould obtained from a regular coin.

The terracotta circular tablet contained four letters which do not yield any plausible reading. It was an effort to produce a negative (seal) by etching it with a sharp instrument possibly pointed on and ready burnt clay tablet. The symbol in the centre is a 'phe' (?) sign within a circle representing the number 90.

Most of these miscellaneous records were discovered during the (1954-60) excavations and are furnished with full details.

A complete list of dated Ikshvāku inscriptions is briefly tabulated below giving references of their publications, as furnished kindly by Dr. M.D. Sampath, presently the Director (Epigraphy). These are followed by their transcripts, where necessary, and translations of all of them.
### (D) List of Inscriptions with Text and Translation Where Published

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Dynasty Publication</th>
<th>Name of King if Mentioned</th>
<th>Regnal Year</th>
<th>No. of Records</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sātavāhana, E.I., XXXVI, pp. 273-274</td>
<td>Vijayaśātakarni</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Memorial pillar of Chāntamūla I, E.I., XXXV, No. 1, pp. 3-4</td>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Mahāstūpa Āyaka pillar records, E.I., XX, Ikshvāku</td>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bodhisiri's Chaitya floor records, E.I., XX, 22-23</td>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Chantisiri floor records, E.I., XXI, pp. 65 ff</td>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Chantisiri's floor record, E.I., XX, pp. 21-22</td>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ikshvāku sculptured slabs in a step well in site 47, N.III, ARIE 67-68, Appendix B, No. 32 (published in full yet)</td>
<td>Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Nodagīsvarasvāmi's temple record, E.I., XXV, pp. 4-6</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Bahusrutriya monastery, E.I., XXV, pp. 62-63</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Chandrasirī mandapa record, E.I., XXV, pp. 7-9</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Kodābalisirī's Mahisāsaka monastery record, E.I., XX, pp. 24-25 (1929-1930)</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Eli Ehuvaladasa's memorial record, E.I., XXXIII, 1969, pp. 147-49</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pushpabhadravāmi's temple record (Sanskrit), E.I., XXXIV, pp. 17-20</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Kumāranandi's sculptured panel record (Sanskrit), E.I., XXV, pp. 11.13</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ikshvāku Vammabhata's memorial record, E.I., XXXIV, pp. 20-22</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Chāntamūla II</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ābhira dynasty Astabhujavāmi record (Sanskrit), E.I., XXXIV, pp. 197 ff</td>
<td>Rudrapurushadatta</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ābhira Vasushēna</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Classification of Records

#### C. Ikshvaku dated inscriptions discovered outside Nāgārjunakonda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rentala inscription, E.I., XXXVII, pp. 30-32</td>
<td>Chāntamūla</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kēsānapalli record, E.I., XXXVII, pp. 316-318</td>
<td>Chāntamūla</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ramireddipalli record, ARIE, 1934, p. 29</td>
<td>Vīrapurushadatta</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Uppugundāru record, E.I., XXXIII, p. 191</td>
<td>Vīrapurushadatta</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jaggayapēṭa record, Indian Antiquary, XI, pp. 256-59</td>
<td>Vīrapurushadatta</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gurgala record, E.I., XXVI, pp. 123</td>
<td>Rudrapurushadatta (Rulupurasadatta)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** 1 & 2 are again published here with text and translation.

#### D. Fragments and undated records from Nāgārjunakonda

1. Āyaka pillar record from site No. 9
2. Memorial pillar inscriptions
   (i) Memorial pillar record for Chāntamūla (Site No. 36)
   (ii) From site No. 13, p. 15; E.I., II, II, IV (E.I. XXXV, p. 13. Section 6), C.I. II.
3. Sanskrit Buddhist record from the University area (in Nāgārjunakonda Museum).
4. Sanskrit record fragmentary from 1938 excavation.
5. Fragmentary record Site No. 43.
6. Personal name records.
7. Undated Prakrit record from Site No. 17, Aanti temple.
8. Sculpturing panel records (J & K).
9. Records below images
   (a) Images record of Khanduvula
   (b) Freize slab record at site No. 23 (E.I., XXV, p. 19)
10. Foot-print slab record
11. Label records.
12. Inscriptions on terracotta/pottery pieces; on conches.

In view of the special importance from the point of view of the chronology of the Ikshvaku, inscriptions 1 & 2 of 'B' category are also provided with text and translation, where published by the Survey.

In addition, two of the post-Ikshvaku records for about a century after the close of this dynasty and its survey (C. 325-C 5th century A.D.) - only from Guntur District - are also provided with references, text and translation, where published by the Survey in their Epigraphical publications; as they have a bearing upon the development during the decline and fall of the Ikshvaku dynasty. There are categorised
as group E of this list. They indicate how the Ikshvāku period well and truly ended politically soon after C.325 A.D. and the valley was no more seeing any activity until the early medieval period of C.13th century A.D.


With the last king Sri Rudrapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku clan, not having any record later than around early second decade of the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. (his 11th regnal year), and with the record of the Ānanda-gōtra kings ruling from Kandarapura, seemingly on the upland parts of Guntur district, just outside the valley of Nāgārjunakonda, to the east of it, and with other kings like Pallavas also already in the fray, and with Nāgārjunakonda valley itself not having any activity ascribable to a time beyond C. 325 A.D. (upto the early medieval times), one may hold that the Guntur-Krishna district upland zone had been occupied by these smaller dynasties. What more, while the transition stages in this upland tract finds Buddhism still feebly patronised, these kings were essentially wedded to Brahminical Vedic religion. The transition records also continue Prakrit and Sanskrit in a mixed use. Until, under Pallavas of Kāñchi, of the Simhavishnu line, Sanskrit assumed the State language status.

E. **Inscriptions of the Ānanda Kings:**

1. Plates of Dāmōdaravarman from Mattepād, Guntur District. 4th Century A.D. are in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit language and in early Southern characters. The record is dated in the 2nd year of his reign and registers the grant of the village Kangura to a number of brāhmaṇas. He resided at a city called Kandarapura. (Ep.Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff and plate).

2. Plates of Attivarman from Gorantla, Guntur District. 4th Century A.D. are in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit language and in early Southern characters. It records the grant of the villages ‘Tanrikonra’ and ‘Antukkura’ to a brahmana named Kottisarman who belonged to the Kāsyapa-gōtra. (Bharati, Vol. IX, p. 102.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place of Inscription</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language and Alphabet</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>390</td>
<td>On a slab lying in ruined Siva temple within the fort on the Nāgārjunakonda hill at Pullareddi Gudem, same taluk and district</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mahāmandalesvara Rāmayadēva Mahārājula, son of Śrīnātharāju Krishnārayani Singarayya</td>
<td>Śaka 1413 Virūdhikrit Māgha su. 13, Friday</td>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>States that Sarvarāju son of Pēramāru of the Kuṇḍinya gōtra, constructed the stone temple with golden pinnacles over it to the god Nāgēśvara linga at Nāgārjunakonda and that for the worship and offerings of the god he presented half of the village... kalucha. Refers to sahasra- godāna made during a solar eclipse, by Singarayya for the merit of his father Ṥaramarāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>391</td>
<td>On a marble pillar set up on a stūpa-mound half a mile to the north of the same village</td>
<td>Ikhaśu...</td>
<td>Mahārāja Mādhariputra Śri Virapurushadatta</td>
<td>8th year, 8th month and 10th day</td>
<td>Prākrit and Brāhmī</td>
<td>Records this gift of a pillar by Chantisiri(?), the sister of the king, to the chaitya enshrining the dhātu of Sama-sambuddha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>392</td>
<td>On another marble slab set up in the same place.</td>
<td>Ikhaśu...</td>
<td>Mahārāja Vāsishthiputra Bāhubala Chāntumūla</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the construction of a Chaitya and a Vihāra for the Avariya by the king's mother, for the merit of her husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>On a third marble slab set up in a field called Kottampadugu to the north of the same village</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the construction of a Chaitya and a Vihāra by the king's sister Kadabalisiri, who was married to a member of the family of Vanavāsikas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>On a fifth pillar on the same side.</td>
<td>Ikhāku</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Prākrit and Brāhmi</td>
<td>Records the gift of this by the wife (name not given) of the Mahātālavara Mahākandasi of the Pukiyas, who was the mother of Vīnhusi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>On a broken pillar excavated on the north side of the same mound.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>[Lost]</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Latter portion lost. Evidently records the gift of the pillar by the sister of the king Chāntamūla who was the wife of the Mahātālavara Kandasir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>On a fragment of a pillar found on the same side.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Only a small portion of the inscription is preserved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>On another pillar excavated on the same side.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>6th year, 6th month and 10th day</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Gift of this pillar by Chantasiri, sister of the king’s father Chāntamūla and the wife of Kandasir, who is referred to as the mother of Khandasagaramnaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>On the floor of the apsidal chaitya excavated to the east of the same mound.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>18th year, Hēmantapakha (Paksha) 5th day</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Slightly damaged. Records the consecration of the stone mandapa by the same princess for the long life of her nephew the king, and for her own merit and for the welfare of all living beings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>On a pillar excavated in the mound called the Itikarallaboda (brick mound)</td>
<td>Ikhāku</td>
<td>Siri (Bahubala)</td>
<td>2nd year, Gimha (Grishma) Pakha, 10th day</td>
<td>Prākrit and Brāhmī</td>
<td>Records that this Dēvi Vihāra was the gift of the Bhatidēvi (queen) of Purisadatta, the son of Chāntamūla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>On the pavement of the floor of the apsidal chaitya on the mound called Nallarallaboda.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Mādhariputa</td>
<td>15th (year), Hēmantapakha 6, 13th day</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the construction of a number of chaityas, vihāras and stone maṇḍapas and the digging of wells on the hill by various persons who were related to one another. Seems to state that this hill (Siripavata) was sacred to pilgrims from Kasmira, Gandhara, China, Avaranta, Vānga, Vanavāsi, Tambapandīpa, etc. Mentions among other places Kantakasaila.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>On the margin of three pieces of an ornamental frieze excavated in the mound called Pajugubodu.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragmentary and damaged. Seems to record the (joint) gift (dēyadhamma) of this frieze (to this chaitya) by a few persons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX B:

**B. - STONE INSCRIPTIONS COPIED IN 1938-39**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place of Inscription</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language and Alphabet</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>452</td>
<td>PALNAD TALUK</td>
<td>Ikhāku</td>
<td>Ehuvula Chāntamūla</td>
<td>[6] th the year, Gimirapaka 4, day.</td>
<td>Prākrit, Brāhmi</td>
<td>Records the gift of a (stūne-mandapa) for the Ariya-sangha (Ārya Sangha) of the Mahānigāya by the Upāsaka Chamdasiri for the merit of his parents and descendants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX B:

**LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS COPIED DURING THE YEAR 1940-41**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place of Inscription</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language and Alphabet</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>470</td>
<td>PALNAD TALUK</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Prākrit in Brāhmi</td>
<td>Seems to state that this (image) was caused to be made by Khamdveulkā, the queen of Mahārāja Siri Ehuvula Chāntamūla, who was an avidhavā and a jīvaputa. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Nāgarjunakonda. Greyish marble plaster marked 1/28, deposited in the Museum on the site.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmī, Sanskrit</td>
<td>Fragment. In characters of about the 4th century A.D. Mentions a Dharmakathika whose name is lost. He is described as suddhāchāra-vṛitta and āgama-vinayopadesa-prakaraṇ-āchārya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Same place: another marble stone marked No. 1/27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmī, Prākrit</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>-Do-. No. 1/29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragment. Tentative reading:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Bhagavato Dēvarāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162-4</td>
<td>-Do-, Nos. 1/6(?), 1/18 and 1/30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 1/399/1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmī, Sanskrit</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 1/20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmī, Prākrit</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 1/26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragment. The name Chatisiri occurs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 1/24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 1/399</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmī, Sanskrit</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>Nāgarjunakonda.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmi, Prākṛit</td>
<td>Fragment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Another marble stone marked No. 1/19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171-184</td>
<td>Do-. Nos. 1/8, 1/5, 11/22, 1/13, 1/35, 1/15, 1/9, 1/25, 1/399/4, 1/11, 1/12, 1/14, 1/10 and 1/16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185-193</td>
<td>Do-. Nos. 358, 358/1, 358/2, 358/3, 358/4, 358/5, 404, 404/1 and 404/2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragments containing only numerals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Do-. Base of Dharmachakra sculptures.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the creation of the (sculptured) slab (pata) with a coping stone (unisa) by certain individuals as a dēyadhama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>Do-. Whitish marble pillar under a small shed in the courtyard.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragment. Seems to mention Vijayapura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>Do-. Base of a relief with different scenes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the erection of an edifice by certain individuals as a dēyadhama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nagārjunakonda (Nagulavaram) - Inscribed fragment recovered from the excavation site No. 7. Impressions from the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Excavations Branch, Nagārjunakonda.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Prākrit and Brāhmī</td>
<td>Refers to a perpetual endowment (akhyānī = akshayānī) for the feeding and clothing, apparently of monks. Mentions Kōlūra and aparāmahāsēlīya. In characters of the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-Do- From a field near the palace area. Fragment No. 1.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Seems to refer to a gift of the pillar. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Do. Mentions a kulaputra. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-Do-, No. 3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sam 3(?) grī. 2, dt. 1</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Mentions the vihāra to the east of Vijayapuri on the Chuladhammagiri. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>GUNTUR DISTRICT Nāgārjunakonda - Nāgārjunakonda Museum, Stone Tablet No. 1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prākrit and Brāhmī</td>
<td>Damaged and fragmentary. Records the gift of a pillar by several persons, one of whom was Padāna. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do., No. 2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Records that the pillar was the gift of a lady whose name is lost. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do., No. 3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Damaged and fragmentary. Seems to record the gift of a pillar. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nagarjunakonda - Pillar from Site No. 13 (Neg. No. 273/55), preserved at the local museum.</td>
<td>Ikshvaku</td>
<td>Rudapurusadata</td>
<td>Year 11, Varshapaksha 1, divisa 8.</td>
<td>Prakrit, Brahm</td>
<td>Seems to state that this is the Chhaya-stambha of Sri Vannabhati, daughter of Mahakshatrapa and mother of Sri Rudapurusadata. In characters of about the third century A.D. Published in Ep.Ind., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sculptured pillar in site No. NK(V)/55 with two figures riding on elephant.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Refers to the chhaya-stambha of Sri Chantapula of the Kula family, who bears the epithets atmahasta-dapadama, olabaka-hathigabaka and maheesapatiti. In characters of the Vol. XXXV, Ibid., p. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sculptured lintel lying in trenches C4 and D4 in Division 180 of sector No. 2(?)</td>
<td>Ikshvaku</td>
<td>Ehuvala</td>
<td>Year 24, Varshapaksha 4, Divasa 5</td>
<td>Sanskrit, Brahm</td>
<td>Records the installation of a stone image (sailamayi-pratima) of Bhagavan Buddha by Sreshthin Kumaranandin of Syandakaparvata, son of Ishvaradatta, for the good and happiness of himself, his family and all living beings. Ibid., pp. 11-13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Broken pillar in Division 109. of Sector No. 3.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dina 10</td>
<td>Prakrit, Brahm</td>
<td>Fragmentary and damaged. Seems to refer to the pillar; details lost. In characters about the second century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Another broken pillar in the same place.</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>Prākrit, Brāhmī</td>
<td>Do. Seems to refer to a <em>chhāya-stambha</em>. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>A third broken pillar in the same place.</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV, pp. 15-16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>A fourth broken pillar in Division 109 of Sector No. 3</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Damayod. Published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV, p. 15, pl. 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>A fifth broken pillar in the same place</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Ibid., p. 16, pl. IV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>A sixth broken pillar in the same place</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Ibid., p. 15, pl. I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Stone Buddha-pāda discovered from Site No. NK V(VI)/1955, now in the Antiquities section</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the installation of the Buddha-pāda at the Dharani-vihāra of the learned ācāryas who caused delight to Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, the Yavana country, Vana-vāsi and Tāmbraparni-dvīpa and were residing at the Mahā-vihāra, for the good and happiness of all living beings. In characters of about the second century A.D. Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 247 ff.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ARIE, 1957-58

#### B. - INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE AND OTHER MATERIALS, 1957-58

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place of Inscription</th>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language and Alphabet</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nāgārjunakonda. Pushpabhadravāmin temple site, pillar.</td>
<td>Ikshvāku</td>
<td>Ėhuvala Chāmtamūla</td>
<td>Year 16, grishma-pāksha 2, divasa 5</td>
<td>Sanskrit, Brāhmī</td>
<td>Refers to the construction of a temple of the god Pushpabhadravāmin and to the erection of a dhvajastambha in front of it by Vīrapurushadatta, the king's son by his wife Kupanāsī for his own merit and for the merit of her mother and her gōtra. Traces the genealogy of Kupanāsī. Published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kartikēyavāmin temple site, fragments pieced together to make up one record</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Year 11, Māgā śu. 11</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records the erection of a temple for Sarva by Tālavarā-Eliśrī, son of Gāndhi and grandson of Sēnāpati Anikki. The donor is described as a devout worshipper of Kārttikeya or Kumāra. Published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Broken limestone slab in the same site.</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Describes a person as satahāladāyi. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fragment of a pillar kept in the Antiquities section</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>One of the fragments seems to refer to the construction of a building. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Nāgārjunakonda. Pedestal of a broken seated Buddha image found at Sirc No. 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prākrit, Brāhmi</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Records the installation of the image by the wife of Kōdabudhi. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D. Published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Pillar in the so-called burning ghāt in Site No. 126 bearing the inscription written</td>
<td>Ikshvāku</td>
<td>Ehuvala, Chāntamula</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Damaged and worn out. Records the construction of a devakula and a sthala of a god and an akshayanīvī for their maintenance. The akshayanīvī consisted of 100 dinārī deposited into four śrēṇis. In characters of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Loc. cit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Pillar with a sculpture near the sixteen pillared mandapa in Site No. 61, Sector IV,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Records that the pillar was the chhāyā-stambha (i.e., a pillar bearing the representation of the person in whose memory it was raised) of Mahāśēnāpati Kumāra Eli Ehuvala-sannaka, who was a son of Vīrapurushadatta born of a queen named Yakhlinikā. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D. Loc. cit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Division 215, Trench D5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Stone fragment with sculpture found in Sector IV, Division 152, Trench A5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Damaged and Fragmentary. Refers to a chhāyā-stambha. In characters of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Isolated pillar in Section IV, Division 195, Trench A5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prakrit, Brahmi</td>
<td>Damaged. Refers to a <em>chhāya-sthambha</em>. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Pillar found near the Svastika-stupa in Site No. 59, Sector IV, Division 83, Trench A2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Damaged. Records that the <em>chhāya-sthambha</em> was of a person named Mūlabhūta. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D. Published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Pillar with sculpture in Site No. 60, Sector S IV, Division 189, Trench E 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Damaged. Records that the pillar was the <em>chhāya-sthambha</em> of a person styled <em>Mahāsēnāpati Mahātaivala</em>. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D. Do.Loc.cit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Pillar in the mandapa in Site No. 9, Sector IV, Stūpa No. 9 of Longhurst</td>
<td>Ikshvāku</td>
<td>Ehuvala Chāmiamūla</td>
<td>Year 8, grīhama- paksha 4, divasa 15</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Damaged and fragmentary. Records that an upāsaka named Chandrasrī made a pavilion of stone and a stone-room for the attainment of nirvāna and the longevity of the king at Sēthivara-vedhamāna. Do. Loc.cit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Nāgārjunakonda. - Slab in the 48 pillared hall near the so-called Burning Ghat No. 1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Brāhmi</td>
<td>Reads <em>Hayatī</em>. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Do. No. 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Contains two mason's marks. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Do. No. 3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Contains a few mason's marks. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Do. No. 4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Slab lying near the river bed</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Nāgari</td>
<td>Contains a few letters probably indicating a mason's name. In characters of about the 12th century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Mandapa pillar at Site No. 61</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Brāhmi</td>
<td>Contains 2 pilgrims' name reading Taralamagha and Kumārikāna. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Pillar in the 100 pillared Yaksha Kubēra Temple at Site No. 64</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Prākrit, Brāhmi</td>
<td>Pilgrim's record reading Vidhikasa. There is the representation of a bow with an arrow fixed in it. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Another pillar in the same place</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Do. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>A third pillar in the same place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prākrit, Brāhmī</td>
<td>Pilgrims' records reading: (1) Kurumanasa (2) Vīdhikasa, Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Stone floor slat at Site No. 64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Do-</td>
<td>Pilgrim's record. Reads Dhamasa. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Moon-stone in the Yaksha Kubēra Temple at Site No. 64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brāhmī</td>
<td>Contains a mason's mark reading 70. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Pillar on the south-west of the same place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prākrit, Brāhmī</td>
<td>Contains some pilgrims' records. One of them reads: Vasu sangha cha. Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>ANDHRA PRADESH GUNTUR DISTRICT PALNAD TALUK</td>
<td>Satavahana</td>
<td>Gautamiputra Vijaya-Satakarni</td>
<td>Year 6, Gi(Grimha) pa (paksha)-4, diva. (divasa), Vaisakha Purnima.</td>
<td>Prakrit, Brahmi</td>
<td>Stops with the date. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D. Published in Ep.Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 273-274 and plates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NAGARJUNAKONDA - VOL. II
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language and Alphabet</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>GUNTUR DISTRICT PALNAD TALUK</td>
<td>Ikshvaku</td>
<td>[Vīra]purisadatta</td>
<td>Year 24 divas 7</td>
<td>Prākṛti, Brāhmi</td>
<td>Partly worn out and fragmentary. Seems to record the setting up of a patima (i.e. the sculptured slab). Contains the expression Siripavatādhipatīsa and Bapusa in line 7. In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place of Inscription</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Language and Alphabet</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nāgārjunakonda. Slab No. 1. Court-yard opposite the Museum</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Prākṛt, Brāhmī</td>
<td>Fragmentary. Reads: dhā[pɔ/sa asa. Another line at the top of the slab reads: mā(?). In characters of about the 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do. Reads: Nāgutara ... (Nagatara) probably a personal name. The text of another in the same slab is noticed in A.R.E.P., 1959-60, No. B 88. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Slab preserved in the office of the Asst. Superintending Archaeologist for Museum. Find-spot: Etrupotala (Eti-tapashala), Palnad Taluk, Guntur District.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>Do. Mentions a mahārāja. In characters of about the 3rd century.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

(c) TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF NÄGÄRJUNAKÖNDA INSCRIPTIONS
(Both earlier to and as found during Excavations 1954-60)
- As published in Epigraphia Indica, Volumes

(1) EPIGRAPHIA INDICA (Vol. XX, 1929-30)

Ayaka-Pillar Inscription C3

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

Success. Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which have been conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, the perfectly Enlightened One, who is absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., by Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the Mahātalavari Chā[m]ītisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīthiputasa Ikḥākusa Sīrī-Chā[m]ītisiri-absorbed by Mahāsena the lord of Virūpakhas, the giver of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), unimpeded of purpose in all (his) aims. - (she who is) the maternal aunt of King Mādhārīputasa Sīrī-Vīrapurisadatasa, (she who is) the wife of the Mahāsēnāpati, the Mahātalavara. Vāsīthiputasa Kaṃdasirā of (the family of) the Pūkhyāsa; and the mother of Khamdāsāgaramnakā, she who, out of compassion for Śramaṇas, Brahmīns, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow of Velāmīc gifts, she, the great mistress of munificence, devoted to all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (members) of both the houses to which she belongs, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world, has erected this pillar: In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sīrī-Vīrapurisadatasa, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Additional Passage in C 1.

TRANSCRIPT

TRANSLATION

For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ananda, who knows the Dīgha- and the Majjhima-nikāyas by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Āyira-hангha (Skt. Ārya-sangha) who are resident in Parināgāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha, the Majjhima-nikāya) and of the five Mātukas. This pious work, the Mahāchetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sri-Virapulisadatta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 1.

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Sidham mahārāja...sena-parighatasa Agilo- (l. 2) t-Āgithoma-Vāja... [hi] rana koṭi-go-sata- (l. 3) sahasa-hala...savathesu apati- (l. 4) huta-sa[m]kapasa V[ā]se... Chātmulasa bhagini- (l. 5) ya mahātalava[ra][sa]...[si]nsa bha[ra]yāya ma- (l. 6) hātalavariya...mah[ā][ā]jasā (pl. CLXIII)

[The inscription is too fragmentary to admit of translation. It, evidently, opens with the string of epithets eulogizing King Sri-Chā[m]jumā. The donor, whose name is lost, was, perhaps, a daughter of Chā[m]tisiri.]

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 2.

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Sidham mahārājas Asamedha-vājisa aneka-hirama-koṭi-go-satasahasa-bala-sata- (l. 2) sahasa[paḍyasa] savathesu apathitha-samakapasa Vāsthuputasa Ikhákusa (l. 3) Sri-Chā[m]jumulasa duhutta ramito Sri-Virapulisadatasata bhagini mahāsenāpatisa mahā- (l. 4) talavarasa mahādamanāyakasa Dhanakānum Khamavisākhāmnaka baya mahātalavari (l. 5) Adavi-Chātisirsi apan ubhaya-kulag parināmē[ū]na atano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya (l. 6) bhagavato samma-sabudhasa ḍhātuvara-parighatasa Mahācheyye imah khambam patidharapita ti (l. 7) ramito Sri-Virapulisadatasata samya 6 vā pa 6 diva 10 (pl. CLXIV)

TRANSLATION

Success. The Mahātalavari Adavi-Chātisiri (who is) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsthuputasa Ikhákusa Sri-Chā[m]jumulā, the offerer of Asvamedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land), of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims; (who is) the sister of King Sri-Virapulisadata, (and who is) the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, the Mahādamanāyaka Khamavisākhāmnaka (of the family) of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahāchetiya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., by Nirvāṇa). In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sri-Virapulisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 4.

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bol[dhino*] savamūno sava-sa[t-ā-] (l. 2) nukampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgani-vasabha-gaṁdha-ha[thiṣa] (l. 3) samma-
sambugasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahācheti[ye] Kulahakāna[m] bālikā (l. 4) mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsithiputasa Hiramākānaṃ Khamdachalikirammanaka[sa] (l. 5) bhayā mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chāṭisirinikā apano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-ni- (l. 6) vānathanāya imam sela-khambham patiḥpattam ti ramno Siri-Virapurisadatasā (l. 7) samva 6 va pa 6 diva 10 (pl. CLXV)

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements (i.e., Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the Mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chāṭisirinikā (who is) a daughter of (the family of) the Kulahakas, and the wife of the Mahāsenāpati, the Mahātalavara, Vāsithiputa Khamdachalikirammanaka of (the family of) the Hiramākas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 5.

TRANSCRIPT

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savamānno sava-sat-[ānu-∗] (l. 2) kampakasa jīta-rāga-dosa-mohā-vipamutasa mahāgani-vasabha-gamdhā-hadhisa (l. 3) samma-sambudhhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiye Ujanikā mahārabali (l. 4) mahādevi Rudradharabhatārikā imani sela-khambham apano hita-sukha-nivānadhanāya patiḥpātim (l. 5) mahātalavarihi cha Pukiyānam Chāṭisirinikāhi imasa mahāvihārāsa mahāchetiyaṃ (l. 6) samuthapiyamāne mahātalavarśa ubhyātā dināri-māsakā satari-satam 100[+∗]70 khambo cha (l. 7) ramno Siri-Virapurisadatasā saṃva 6 va pa 6 diva 10 (pl. CLXVI)

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, etc., (see above, sub B 4). At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevi Rudradharabhatārikā, a Mahārāja’s daughter from Ujjeni (Skt. Ujjayini) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. And while the Mahāchetiya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the Mahātalavari, Chāṭisirinikā of (the family of) the Pukiyas, one hundred and seventy (100+70) dināri-māsakas and a pillar have been raised by the Mahātalavari. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 2.

TRANSCRIPT

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa samma-sammasambudhhasa dhātuvara- (l. 2) parigahitasa Mahāchetiya mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsenā-parigahutasa (l. 3) Agihot-Āgīthgithoḥma- Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājīsa hirana-koṭi-go-sata- (l. 4) sāhasa-hala-satasaḥa-paddāyisa savathesu apanнатa- samkapasa (l. 5)Vasithiputasa Ichākusa Siri-Chāṭamūlasa sodaraya bhagimiyā Hamma- (l. 6) sirimikiya bālikā ramno Siri-Virapurisadatasā bhayā mahādevi Bapisirinikā (l. 7) apano mātaraṃ Hamsasirinikām patimamatutam atanc cha nivāna-sampati-saripādake (l. 8) imam sela-thambham patiḥpattam achari[ya]nām Apara-mahāvinaśeyīnām suparigahita[m] (l. 9) imam Mahāchetiya-nakam Patimagāma-vathavānam
Dīgha-Majjhima-pāmāṇa m[ā]tuka-desa[ka-vā*][chakānam] (l. 10) arayāṇa[m] Ayīra-haghāna[m] amtevāsikena Dīgha-Manigaya-dharena bhadami-Ānandena (l. 11) m[ṭ]hapita[m] ima[m] navakama[m] mahāchhetiya[m] khambhā cha ṭhapitā ti ranno Sari-Viripurisadatasa (l. 12) samva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10. (pl. CLXVII)

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevi Bapasirinikā (who is) the daughter of Hammamasirinikā, the uterine sister of Mahāraja Vāsīthiputa Ikāku Sirī-Chātamūla, etc., (see sub C 3) and (who is) the wife of King Sirī-Viripurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammamasirinikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinasaṭiya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahāchetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the Dīgha- and the Majjhima-(nikāyas) (7) by heart, (who is) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-sangha who are resident in Pannagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the Dīgha and the Majjhima-(nikāyas), and of the five Mātukas. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sirī-Viripurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 4.

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasā samma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parighāhitasa (l. 2) mahādetiyamhi mahārajasā Virupākhaspati-Mahāsena-parighāhitasa Agīhāta- (l. 3) Agīhōma-Vājapēy-Āsamedha-yājika hirannya-kotī-gō-satasahasa-hala-sata- (l. 4) sahasa-padāyisa savathena apathihata-satikapasa Vāsīthiputasa Ikākusā (l. 5) Sirī-Chātamālasa sodarā-bhaginiya Hammamasirī bālikā mahārajasā (l. 6) Mādhariputasa Sirī-Viripurisadatasa bhayā mahādevi Chhathisirī apano (l. 7) mātaraṁ Hammamosirikāṁ parināmetuna atanam cha nivāna-sampati-sampādaka imaṁ bhamkham (l. 8) pātihapitāṁ mahārajasā Sirī-Viripurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6 dāva 10. (pl. CLXVIII)

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, etc., (see above, sub C 2) the Mahādevi Chhathisiri (Skt: Shashthiśri), (who is) the daughter of Hammamosi, the uterine sister of Mahāraja Vāsīthiputa Ikāku Sirī-Chātamūla, etc., (see above, sub C 3) and (who is) the wife of Mahāraja Mādhariputa Sirī-Viripurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammamosirikā and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) King Sirī-Viripurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 5.

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato samma-sambul[dha*]sā dhātuvara-parighāhitasa Mahāchetiye (l. 2) mahāsēnāpatisa mahātalavarasā Vāsīthiputasa Pūkiyānam Mahākāmasirisa (l. 3) bhavā mahāsēnāpatisa mahātalavarasā Vinhisirisa mātā mahātalavari apano (l. 4) ubhayaṅkāraṁ parināmetu[n*a*] atano ubhayaloka-hita-sukha-nivānathaya cha imaṁ (l. 5) selakhambham pātihapatum mahārajasā Sirī-Viripurisadatasa samva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10. (pl. CLXIX)
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TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahātalavāri (who is) the wife of the Mahāśeṇapati, the mahātalavāra Vāsithiputa Mahākamdasiri of (the family of) the Pūkiya and (who is) the mother of the Mahāśeṇapati, the Mahātalavāra Vinthuṣirī (Skt. Vishnuṣirī), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Sīrī-Vīrapurisadatta, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

First Apsidal Temple inscription E.

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A chetiya-ghara (chatiya-hall). Chātsiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsēthiputasa Sīrī-Chatamāla of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāśeṇa, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offered of Aṃghotra, Aṃghoṭṭho, Vājapey and Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāsēthiputasa Khamdasiri of (the family of) the Pugiyas and (who is) the mother of Khamdasāgararna, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, King Māthariputasa, Sīrī-Vīrapurisadatasa of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa having due regard to the past, future and present bliss (?) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (?) into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas. In the eighteenth year, anno 18, of King Sīrī-Vīrapurisadata, in the sixth-sixth fortnight of winter, on the fifth-sixth-day. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (which is) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikhabu's lineage, who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Mahā's hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the-Law (pertaining to) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (are marked with) the sign of the Wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth-14th-(year) of King Maṭhāriputa, in the sixth-sixth-fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth-13th-day. For the benefit of the... masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambaparni (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmir, Gandhāras, China, Chilā (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avarānta (=Skt. Aparantā), Vanga, Vanavāsi, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Pula ( and Dhamma Residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhimnaka and of his husband Budhimnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhimnaka and of his brothers Chamdamukhanā, Karumbudhinā (and) Haghama and of (his) sister Revatimnikā and of (his) brother's sons Mahā-Chamdamukha (=Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chandramukha (=Skt. Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (his) sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Chula-Mūla, and (for the sake) of her own grandfather Mūla-vānya and of her grandmother Budhavānikā and of her maternal uncle(s) (?), the treasurer Bhada (=Skt. Bhadra), Bodhisāmma (=Skt. Bōdhiśarman), Chaminda
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(=Skt. Chandra) (and) Bodhikka, and of her maternal grandmother Bodhi and of her own father Budhivānija and of her mother (?), of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhamānī, Mūlamānī and Nāgamahāmikā, of her daughter Vīramma, of her sons Nāgarma and Vīrama and of her daughter-in-law Bhadāsirī (=Skt. Bhadāsirī) and Misi (=Skt. Miṣrī). And even thus wise a chaitya-hall at the Kulahuvāhāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhala-vihāra one-cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a mandava-piller at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah and mandava at Puvasela (=Skt. Pūvasaṅga), a stone mandava at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kanṭakasela (=Skt. Kanṭakasela), three-3-cells at Hirumūtha, seven-7-cells at Papilā, a stone mandava at Puphagiri (=Skt. Puphagiri), a stone mandava at the vihāra. And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole word. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the thera Chandamukha, and the thera Dhammanarindha and the thera Nāga. (It is) the work of the stone mason Vidhika.

Detached Pillar inscription G.

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Leader of the Law of the Three Worlds. - Mahādevī Bhatīdevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Sirī-Chātamūla, of (the house of) the Ikhākus, etc., (see above, sub C 3); (who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mādhāriputo Sirī-Virarpisadato of the house of the Ikhākus; (and who is) the mother of Mahārāja Sirī-Ehuvula (?). - Chātamūla, has erected ...... this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the Masters of the Bahusutya sect.

Detached Pillar inscription H.

TRANSCRIPT

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the 11th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Vāsetṭhiputa Siri-Ehuvala-[Chāta]mūla of (the house of) the Ikākūs, the 1st (fortnight of ...?), the 7th day. Mahādevi [Ko]da[b]a[l]isiri, (who is) the granddaughter of Mahārāja Vāsetṭhiputa, Siri-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikākūs, etc., (see above, C. 3); (who is) the daughter of Mahārāja Mātharīputta Siri-Virapurisadatta of (the house of) the Ikākūs; (who is) the sister of Mahārāja Vāsetṭhiputa Siri-Ehuvala-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikākūs; and (who is) the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka has erected this pillar and monastery for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahājājīsaka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of the sentient beings. (It has been) carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the therā Dhamma[gho]sa.

Sculpture inscription J.

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

Success. Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of beings.

A meritorious gift (consisting of) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great Chaitya by Chhadakapavatica, Padumavāni his house-wife, together with their sons Hagasiri and Nagatara with his wife and together with their daughters.

Fragmentary Sculpture inscription K.

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

........ together with his sons Dhamas and Paduma, [Bha]da. Hugha and together with his daughters hadā, Budhā, Paduma, Misā, Chula-Budhā, and Nākā, together with his sons-in-law, together with his grandsons and granddaughters and together with his relatives, friends, and kinsmen, a meritorious gift [consisting of] a slab .............

(2) TWO ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA

One of these inscriptions occurs on a 'footprint slab.' It consists of one line of writing and comprises twenty-three aksharas; the concluding letter being written below the line owing to want of space. The aksharas measure from ½ to 1¼ inches in height. The lettering is distinct, except some of the vowel-
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marks. It will be observed that the inscription is crossed by a series of nine vertical lines which possibly have some connection with the footprint carved on the slab.

The inscription records the donation of a patipadā. It would follow that this word, corresponding to Sanskrit pratipadā, ought to indicate the object on which the inscription is engraved. The technical term, however, by which a footprint slab is indicated in the Amarāvalī inscriptions, is paduka-pata (i.e., pāduka-patā), or pātuka, patuka (i.e., pāduka).

The donor was Budhi (i.e., Buddhi), the sister of Moda, the Saka. If this interpretation is correct, the mention of a Saka or Scythian is a point of special interest. In this connection it should be noted that among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikonda there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

In the word bakiniya corresponding to Sanskrit bhaginyāḥ we note a disaspiration of the initial consonant and a hardening of the media ga into ka.

TRANSCRIPT


TRANSLATION

Success! A patipadā, the pious gift of Budhi, the sister of Moda, the Scythian.

The second inscription occurs on a carved stone slab. It consists of only three aksharas which I read:

Dhamasa

meaning "Of Dhamā". Whether this is the name of the donor or the mason, it is impossible to decide.

(3) ADDITIONAL PRĀKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NĀGĀRJUNIKONDA (E.J VOL. XXI)

The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Sirī-Ehuvala-Chātamūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (putta, samkappasa, Purisadattasa, bhavyāya, Bhagidēvāya) and even in "pati where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in Virāpakka, pattithapito, Ikkhākunam, pakkham. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in agithoma, savathesu, sarvachharaṁ, and in the genitive ending -sa.

The final m in siddham (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2.

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Siddham namo bhagavto Buddhasa Maharājasa (l. 2) Virāpakkaḥ-pattī-Mahāscena-parighaṭas aghot-*āgithoma-vāja-pe (l. 3) y-[*ā]samēda-yājisa anekha-hirānna-koti-go-sata-sahasā-hala-satasahā (l. 4) [sa-padāyi]sa savathesu apanihata-sumkappasa Vāṣṭhiḥputtasā Ikkhā[kunam] (l. 5) Sirī-Chamamulasa
sunhāya mahārajasa Māṭhaṛiputtasa Siri-Virapuri- (l. 6) sadattasa bhayāya mahādevīya [Bhaṭṭidevaṣya] deyadhama imam savajātaniyuto (l. 7) vihāro achariyānam Bahusutiyaṇā[m] patiṭhapito Raṇo Vāsiriputtasa Ikkh[ā]kūnām (l. 8) Siri-Ehuvula-Chattamulasa sannvachharaṁ bitiyam gimha-pakkhaṁ chhathāṁ 6 divasāṁ darāmāṁ. (pl. CLXXIV)

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-suttiya sect by Mahādevi [Bhaṭṭideva], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsiriputtasa Siri-Chāntamulasa of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāśēna, the lord of Virūppakkhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agniśtoma, Vājapeya, and Aśvamēdha, the giver of many eras of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māṭhariputtasa Siri-Virapurisadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Vāsiriputtasa Siri-Ehuvula-Chattamulasa of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 6 fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Āyaka-pillar Inscription G3

TRANSCRIPT

(L. 1) Sidham namo bha[gava]tio (l. 2) Budhasa Mahārajasa Vir[ū]pakhapati-Mahāsena- (l. 3) [pa]rigahitaśa agihoṭ-[*ā]githoma-vājapey-[ā]samedha- (l. 4) yājisa hirana-koti-go-sata-sahasā-ha- (l. 5) la-satasahasā-pādayisa savathesu apa- (l. 6) tihata-samkapasa Vāsethiputasa Ikkākuma[m] Si- (l. 7) ri-Chattamulasa sunhāya mahārajasa (l. 8) Māṭhariputasa Ikkhākumān Siri-Virapu- (l. 9) risadatasa bhayāya mahādevīya Bha- (l. 10) -tidevāya deyadhama avam Devī-vi- (l. 11) hār[o] sava-jātaniyuto ajarīyānam [Bar-] (l. 12) husutiy[*ā]nul[m] patiṭhapito Raṇo Siri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chattamulasa sa[m]vachhara bitiya gimhā- pakha (l. 14) [chhathām] divasām darāmām. (pl. CLXXV)

TRANSLATION

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-suttiya sect by Mahādevi Bhaṭṭidevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethiput[t]a Siri-Chāntamulasa, of (the house of) the Ik[k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G2), (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māṭhariput[t]a Siri-Virapurisadatta of (the house of) the Ik[k]khākus. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Siri-Ehuvula-Chattamulasa, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

INSCRIPTION ON CARVED PILLAR FOUND NEAR STŪPA NO. 9

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the relief's does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the jātakas. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a chāmara. In the third panel there is apparently
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the same royal personage, attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a rājā, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men, most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones. Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call \( L \), is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purpose, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsithiput[ṭ]a Siri-Chāmtamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7–13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāmtamūla’s son, King Mādhariput[ṭ]a Siri-Virapurisadat[ṭ]a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāmtamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāmtamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

Pillar-inscription \( L \)

TRANSCRIPT


(pis. CLXXVI A and B)

TRANSLATION

Success! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādhariput[m]a Siri-Virapurisadat[t]a of (the house of) the I[k]khākus, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chāmtamūla, the offerer of an Aṣvamēḍha, and the

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giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late Rājan Vāsī[.]hip[.]ta Svāmin Sīri-Chaṁtāmūla, etc., (see above, Sub-G 2), (to wit), by Sunītisiri, Khamdasiri, Vijhathavisiri, Mī[.]sa[.]siri, Samusiri, [Nā]ga[.]va[.]sir[.]siri, [Nā]gasiri, Khamdakotsisiri, Mahisarasiri, Ratumatisiri, Mūlsiri, Ayakotsisiri, Maduvisiri, [Nā]gasiri, Rāmasiri, Golasiri, Velisiri, Edhisiri, Khamdasiri, Satilisiri, Parajatisiri, Padidatisiri, Sivanāgasiri, Samudasiri, Bapisiri, Nadasiri, Ayasiri, Raṁtisiri, Si[.]vanāgasiri and by the subḥattarikās Sarasikā and Kusumalatā.

**Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (maṇḍapa) of Chaṁtisiri.**

Not far from the Mahāchettya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which, according to the long inscription on the pavement, was founded by Chaṁtisiri, the maternal aunt of King Sīri-Virapurusadatta in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of a large stone-paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove or mortice to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 1 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 16, 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways. From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few aksharas preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages, which are also found in the Ayaka-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchettya and in the first Apsidal Temple inscription E. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or maṇḍapa by the same lady Chaṁtisiri (or Chaṁtisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchettya and the Chetiyağharas or Apsidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (Āchariyas) of the Buddhist sect of the Aparāmahāvinasellayas. The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (M 4); it is the 15th year of the reign of Sīri-Virapurusadat(i)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (M 11), however, retains the aksharas -ta and -va which can easily be restored into maṃtava. It should be remembered that the first Apsidal Temple inscription E refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchettya (savaniyuta[.]ri] Chāṭusāla-parigaḥtim selamaitvata[.]ri]. There can be little doubt that this stone maṇḍapa is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the chatusāla mentioned in the inscriptions.
The inscriptions found at Nāgarjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist building were raised.

**Reign of King Māthariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta.**

6th year.- Mahāchetiya founded by Chāṃtisiri and dedicated to the Masters (Āchariyas) of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect.

14th year.- Second apsidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri.

15th year.- Pillared mandapa founded by Chāṃtisiri and dedicated as above.

18th year.- First apsidal temple founded by Chāṃtisiri and dedicated as above.

20th year.- Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāsethputta Siri-Chāṃtamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts.

[20th year.- Five āyaka-pillar erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggayyapeta) by the artisan Siddhattha.]

**Reign of King Vāsethputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla.**

2nd year.- Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhatt(ī)devā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (Āchariyas) of the Bahu(s)utiyā sect.

11th year.- Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodabalasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahisasāka sect.

_Pillar-inscriptions MI-19._

**TRANSCRIPTION**

_Pillar-inscription M 1_

(L. 1) Mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa (l. 2) aneka-hiramna-koti-padāyisa Siri-Chamtamulasā (l. 3) sahodara bhagini mahāśēnāpatisa (l. 4) mahātalavara-Vāsethpurapada Pākiyānām (l. 5) Kaṃdasirīsa bharī[ya] mahātalavari Chāṃtisiri (l. 6) [a]pano jāmatukasa ramnō Māṭharipul[*ta]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l. 7) [Siri]-Virapurisadatasā āyuvadhaniṣke veja[y][ke] (l. 8) [*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhani [*vānathanāya]. . . . . (pl. CLXXVII)

_Pillar-inscription M 2_


_Pillar-inscription M 3_

(L. 1) atichhī[ tam-anāgata-vatamānakē] . . . . (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivānathanāya (l. 3) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamulē pavajānām (l. 4) [nāma]desa-saman-āgata-nām mahābhikhu-samghasa pa[rigahe] (l. 5) Siri-Virapurisadatasā vasasanāya saṁvya 10 [* +] 5 vā . . . . . . (l. 6) [Aparamahāvin]aseliyanām parigāhe sa-chātus[a]la (l. 7) . . . . . [patihapitam] ti. (pl. CLXXIX)

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Pillar-inscription M 4

(l. 1) [ni]yutam châīsāla-parigâhita ....
(l. 2) [Si]ri-Vîrapurisadatasa samva. 10 [* +] 5 vâ. pa. 8 [diva] .... (pl. CLXXX)

Pillar-inscription M 5

(l. 1) .... [Kamdasirisa] ....
(l. 2) .... [-m]âtâ Châ̄ma[tirisa apã][no jãmâ'tukasa]
(l. 3) .... [ramño Mâtharipu]tasa Ikhâkūna[tâ]
(l. 4) .... [âyu-]vadhanike vijaya-vijayike
(l. 5) .... [hita-su]kha-nivânanâna[yâa bhagavato
(l. 6) .... mahâchetiya-pâdamûle .... (pl. CLXXXI)

Pillar-inscription M 6

(l. 1) .... savathesuapat[ihata-samkapasa ....]
(l. 2) .... Ikhâkusa Sîri-Charintamûlasa sa[hodarâ ...]
(l. 3) .... [ma]hâtalavarasa Vâsithiputasa ....
(l. 4) .... [mahâ]talavari ....
(l. 5) .... Mâtha[ri]putasa .... (pl. CLXXXII)

Pillar-inscription M 7

(l. 1) ..... ni ....
(l. 2) .... Kamdasirisa ....
(l. 3) .... Chã[m]tisiri apano .... (pl. CLXXXIII)

Pillar-inscription M 8

(l. 1) .... [asame]dhîyâjisa ....
(l. 2) .... [sata]sahasa-hala-satasa[hasa-[padâyisa] ....
(l. 3) .... [apati]hata-samkapasa Vâsithipu[tasa] ....
(l. 4) ....... [bha]gini mahâ[senâpatisa] .... (pl. CLXXXIV)

Pillar-inscription M 9

(l. 1) .... a[gi]hot-[ã]gîthama-vâjapeya-]
(l. 2) .... padâyisa savathesu ....
(l. 3) .... [Vâsithiputasa Puki[yânam] ....
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(l. 4) ... Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Vīrapu[risadatas] ...
(l. 5) ... [a]jpano ubhaya-kulasa ...(pl.CLXXXV)

Pillar-inscription M 10

(l. 1) ... na[nt] nānādesa-saman-[āgatān̄am] ...
(l. 2) ... api cha apano ubhaya-kulasa at[i]jchita ...
(l. 3) ... nikapani ke parināmetuna ma ....
(l. 4) ... parigahe savani[yutam] ....
(l. 5) ... patiṣhapitarin .......................... (pl.CLXXXVI)

Pillar-inscription M 11

(l. 1) ........... nivānathanāya
(l. 2) ............. tasa
(l. 3) ............. n-āgatānāṁ
(l. 4) ............. dhiva
(l. 5) ............. nāṁ
(l. 6) .......... [mar[m]tavan. (pl.CLXXXVII)

Pillar-inscription M 12

(l. 1) ..... -sa vasā- ...
(l. 2) ...... nikap[nike] ...
(l. 3) ...... parigahe ....
(l. 4) ...... vā pa 8 ..... (pl.CLXXXVIII)

Pillar-inscription M 13

(l. 1) ..... ma ....
(l. 2) .... agiho[t-ā] .....,
(l. 3) ... neka-hirainna-koṭi-go[-satasa]hasa ...
(l. 4) ...... [-padā]yi[no] ...... (pl.CLXXXIX)

Pillar-inscription M 14

(l.1) .......... [s]a[vajātan[yutam chatusāla] ....
(l. 2) ...... atano ubhaya-kulasa ...
(l. 3) ...... [ke] parināmetuna ....
(l. 4) ........... pu[tə] ..... (pl.CXC)
Pillar-inscription M 15

(l. 1) .... [putasa] ..... (pl. CXCI)
(l. 2) ... [mahāchetiya]-[pādamule] pavaji[tānān] ...
(l. 3) ... [mahābhi]khu-sam[ghasa] ..... 
(l. 4) ..... na pari[nāme]tuna ..... 

Pillar-inscription M 16

(l. 1) .... [-par]igahītasa 

Pillar-inscription M 17

(l. 1) .... [Siri]-Vīra[purisadatasa] ..... (pl. CXCII)
(l. 2) .... [ve]jayike api[cha] ..... (pl. CXCII A)

Pillar-inscription M 18

(l. 1) ... mahāsenapa[tisa]..... 

Pillar-inscription M 19

(l. 1) ..... [Si]ri-Vīrapu[risadatasa] ... (pl. CXCII B)

Ayaka-pillar inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9

The Stūpa No. 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with ayaka-pillars in the same manner as the Mahāchetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

TRANSCRIPT

(l. 1) ... rinamkānāri Mūlasirinaka[sa] Sidhatha- (l. 2) [ka]sa Chadamukha[sa Pudhinakasa bālikā(a)] 
(l. 3) Mahatuvantika Siddhatharmikā Jakhana ...... (pl. CXCIV)

(4) NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

The lower half is all that is preserved of the image now. Even so, the sculpture is of considerable iconographic interest. It depicts a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards. The image is profusely ornamented. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with what look like rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated pūrṇa-ghata, the representation of which is a common feature in the Buddhist sculptural art of this period at Nāgārjunikonda, Amaravati and elsewhere. The anklets and other jewellery adorning the ankles are again typical of the ornaments portrayed in contemporary sculpture. On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in a single line in Prākrit language and Brāhma characters assignable to the 3rd century A.C.
The inscription does not give us any clue as to the identity of the image. Nevertheless, the recording that it was caused to be made by a queen who is described as an a-vidhavā, 'one who has her husband alive', and jīvaputā (Sanskrit jīvaputrā), 'one who has her child or children alive', gives room for the surmise that it must have stood for a cult image and that its sponsor was a follower of that cult. The cult of worshipping the naked forms of either the male or female, the one in the form of the linga and the other in the form of the yoni, both representing the generative principle in nature, is a very ancient and wide-spread one. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have brought to light numerous female terracotta figurines skin to those discovered in Baluchistan and in countries of Western Asia, around the Aegian coast, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. These figurines are identified as the representations of the Great Mother or the Goddess of Nature. India is known to have been the home of the worship of the Divine Mother, Ādyā-Śakti, Prakriti or Prithvi, the Earth. Apart from the terracotta figurines referred to above, an interesting oblong sealing found at Harappa depicts, on one of its faces, a nude female figure, upside down, with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb. This is considered as depicting the Mother Goddess in her role as the author of fertility. Another instance of a figure skin to this is afforded by a small repoussé gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female recovered at Piprahva which is believed to represent the Earth Goddess. The inscribed sculpture of Nāgārjunakonda also seems to be a representation of the Mother Goddess in her aspect as the Goddess of fertility or fecundity. It is in all probability a votive image dedicated as an offering in response to the fulfilment of certain wishes or desires.

As for the contents of the inscription, Queen Khamduvulā who figures: for the first time in this record is described as Mahādevī and the wife (?) of Mahārāja Siri Ehavala Chamtamula. The latter is probably identical with his namesake who is mentioned as a son of Siri Virapurisadata and Mahādevī Bhātidēvā and as the brother of Queen Kodabalisiri, in inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda itself. In an inscription from Rentāla, not far from Nāgārjunakonda, the name of this king occurs in a slightly different form as Ehuvala Siri Chāntamula. The expressions a-vidhavā and jīvaputā used in describing the queen are noteworthy. The latter occurs in an inscription on brick from Mathurā, assigned to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. and also on some inscriptions of the Śunga period on the railings from Bodh Gaya. In literature these words are commonly employed either as an auspicious mode of addressing a lady leading a married life or when such ladies are referred to.

**TEXT**


**TRANSLATION**

Success. *(This image is) caused to be made by Mahādevī Khamduvalā, *(who is) an a-vidhavā *(i.e.,
one with her husband alive) and *(who is) a jīvaputā *(Sanskrit, jīvaputrā, *i.e., one who has her child or
children alive) *(and who is) the wife (?) of Mahārāja Siri Ehavala Cha[ṃ]tamula.

5. NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALAŚRĪ'S TIME, YEAR 11

The subjoined stone inscription was copied and examined by me in July 1957 at Nāgārjunakonda
in the course of my epigraphical tour. It is peculiar in several respects; it is one of the comparatively
few Sanskrit inscriptions that have been discovered at this site, most of them being in Prakrit; it is

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Brahmanistic in nature, the Prakrit ones being all Buddhistic; it is found in six or seven versions, all broken fragments, not a single version having been found in its entirety. It took me some hours to dovetail the fragments till then discovered and kept in the site museum at Nāgārjunakonda. Many of the fragments are still missing. I was, however, able to restore the complete text by deciphering the extant parts on the various fragments. The facsimile on Plate A shows the greater part of one of the versions, while those on Plate B represent parts of two more versions. The fragments, of the other versions, so far discovered, are too few and are hence not illustrated here.

The ancient site of Nāgārjunakonda is situated on the right bank of the Krishnā river in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh, and is famous for the Buddhist relics it has yielded in abundance. Of late, the site has been rendered more famous by the Nandikonda Dam Project, for this hydro-electric scheme, when complete, will have submerged the entire site, as the water so dammed will rise 60 to 70 feet over the vast area now dotted with the excavated antiquarian remains. The Union Department of Archaeology is thus discharging a very special and emergent responsibility of disemboweling, as fast as can be, the buried ruins and salvaging as many of them as it can possibly do before the threatened deluge takes place.

It may be remarked that the recent digging operations at Nāgārjunakonda have laid bare many Brahmanistic antiquities, whereas those formerly unearthed there almost all belong to the Buddhist faith.

The size of the inscribed bits of stone under study is indicated by the scale given in the photographs reproduced here. The inscription consists of six lines in each version. Though the duct of writing is markedly different in each version, the script in all of them is the same Brāhmī of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It resembles that of the Prakrit inscriptions discovered at the same place, and shares with it the characteristic feature of long and curved top and bottom strokes of the letters. The engraving is neatly and elegantly done.

As noticed above, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is remarkably free from errors. Except for the auspicious formula siddham at the beginning, the record is in verse, comprising two stanzas, the first in the Anushtubh metre and the second in Sragdhara. These are logically arranged; the first, being a small one, is divided into halves, each half occupying one line; and the second, being a lengthy one, is divided into quarters, each quarter occupying one line.

There is not much that calls for special notice in the script. The mute consonants are shown by the smaller size of the letter concerned: cf. m in line 1 and 6, t in line 5. Besides, they occur a little below the line. Further, the mute t is bereft of its top. There is very little difference between the forms of the letter t and n, both being unlooped. The form of the upadhmānīya (line 1) consists of a circle with a cross in the centre, or a four-spoked wheel, so to say, while that of the jihvānūtya (line 4 and 5) is identical with that of the letter m. In point of orthography, the consonant before or after r is in most cases reduplicated. The reduplication of the one before r, in pprasādat in line 5, is noteworthy. The change of visarga into s or š before these letters (lines 4, 5 and 6) is another peculiarity worth noticing.

As for the object of the inscription, it records the erection of a temple (prāśāda), described as the dwelling place for Śiva (Sarvavādēv-ādhyāsa), by one Ėliśrī, on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha during the 11th regnal year of king Ėhavāḷaśī. Ėliśrī, the builder of the temple, is described as a Talavara-vara (Apparently the same as Mahātalavara found in many other inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda) obviously in the service of king Ėhavāḷaśī. He is further described to be a grandson of the Šenāpati Anikki and a son of Gāndi. It is significant that our donor's father does not bear any title, while his grandfather is mentioned to be a Šenāpati or commander of armies, who had
won victories in battle fields and acquired great fame. His own title shows that he too was a high dignitary.

The most prominent thing in the description of Eliśrī is that he was a devout worshipper of the god Kārttikēya or Kumāra, the wielder of the terrible spear; so much so that he ascribes the erection of the Śiva temple in question to the grace and favour of Kārttikēya.

The names of the donor, his father and his grandfather as well as that of the king are all non-Sanskritic. They are presumably of Dravidian origin. It has been suggested to me that the word ēli or eĩ in the name Eliśrī may be connected with the Tamil word vēl, equivalent to Sanskrit sakti, 'spear' (weapon of the god Kārttikēya). Anyway, this name as well as the others in this inscription require further elucidation.

The king Ėhavalaśrī is known from some other inscriptions from the same place, the name being sometimes spelt of Ėhuvala. King Ėhuvala Chātamāla is mentioned as the son of the Ikshvāku king Virapurisādāta and Mahādevi Bhatidēvā. One of this king's records, it is interesting to know, is dated in the very 11th year of his reign as in the case with our inscription. His father and he himself bear the metronymics Mādharihputa and Vāsethīputa respectively, indicating thereby that the mother of the former belonged to the Mādhara gōtra while the mother of the latter belonged to the Vāsishtha gōtra. Ėhavala or Ėhuvala had a sister whose name was Kodabalisiri, queen of Vānavāsaka-mahārāja.

A much longer and well preserved Sanskrit inscription engraved on a stone pillar of the time of the same king Ėhavalaśrī has likewise been recently discovered at Nāgārjunakonda.

It is not possible to equate the regnal year given in the inscription with the corresponding Christian year. Yet, as indicated above, the inscription can palaeographically be placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

The text of the present inscription given below is based on my reading of the original fragments of the inscription.

TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 Anushtub; verse 2 Sragdhara.]

1 Siddam | Varsha ēkādaśē rājñān=prabhōr=Ēhavalaśriyab [1*]
2 śukla-pakṣhaśya Māghasa punya ēkādaśē=hani [|| 1*]
3 Dēvē yasy=ātibhaktir=Hutavaha-tanayē chanda-saktas Kumārē
g4 pautras=sēnāpatēr=yyas=samara-vijayinah=kkhyāta-kirttēr=Aṅikēh [1*]
5 prāśadān=Gāṇḍi-puttras-sa talavara-varah=Kārttikeya-pprasādāt
6 Eliśrī=śrī-viśālam subha-matir=akarōt=Saṟvvaśēv-ādhivāsam [|| 2*]

TRANSLATION

Luck !

(Verse 1) On the auspicious eleventh day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Māgha, during the eleventh year of the king, the Lord Ėhavalaśrī.
(Verse 2) Elissrī pure intellect, the chief Talavara, who is intensely devoted to (the god) Kumāra, son of Fīrl, wielder of the terrible spear, - Elissrī, grandson of the army-chief Añikkī who had won victories in battlefields and acquired wide renown, - Elissrī, son of Ĝāndi, with the grace of (the god) Kārttikēya (same as Kumāra), built (this) supremely glorious temple, an abode of Sarvadēva (i.e., the god Sīva).

(6) FOOT PRINT SLAB INSCRIPTIONS FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA (Undated)

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There are only three lines of writing covering an area about 13½ inches in length and about 2 inches in height. The first line is slightly bigger than the second owing to the incision of the auspicious word sidham in the left margin, while the third line is smaller than the second. The letters, excepting conjuncts as well as ā, k and r and the letters with vowel-marks added to the top or the bottom, are less than half an inch in height. The characters are similar to those of the epigraphs incised during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta and may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to a date about the middle of the third century A.D. Among the few points of palaeographical interest noticed in the record, mention may be made of the fact that the medial i is of the ordinary short type and not of the elongated ornamental form generally found in the Ikshvāku records. This was apparently due to the narrow space available for engraving the epigraph. In the passage Tambapārinni-dīpa-paśadakānam in line 1, the second n is of the usual type but the first one exhibits a somewhat earlier form. The language of the inscription is Prakrit and its orthography resembles that of the inscriptions of Vīrapurushadatta's time. The modification of the surd to the sonant is noticed in the word saṃghādā or saṃghāda (saṃghādā or saṃghāta) in line 3. Medial i and n have been generally used in the record for medial ī and ūn.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word sidham which is followed by the only sentence in which the record is written. The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the pair of the Lord's (i.e. Buddha's) feet in the Vihāra or Buddhist monastery which has now been exposed by the excavations at Site V-6 at Nāgārjunkonda. The language of the passage is vihāre bhagavato pāda-saṃghādā nipaṭiḥapito (line 3). The intended reading apparently being pāda-saṃghādā nipaṭiḥapito or pāda-saṃghādo nipaṭiḥapito. The expression used to indicate the feet of the lord is pāda-saṃghādā or pāda-saṃghādo which reminds us of Pali athi-saṃghā, used in the sense of 'the joint (i.e. bone-coupling)' according to scholars. The word is the same as Sanskrit saṃghātā, meaning 'a pair, a couple'. Thus pāda-saṃghāta means 'the pair of feet' obviously referring to the representation of the feet near which the epigraph is incised. The purpose behind the installation of the Lord's feet in the monastery is stated to have been the prayer (athanā, arthanā) for the welfare and happiness of all beings (sava-satānam hita-sukh-athanāya). But the person responsible for the installation is not mentioned in the record.

The Vihāra or monastery in which the Lord's feet were installed is stated to have belonged to certain Āchāryas or Buddhist teachers who are endowed with a number of interesting epithets. These epithets are Theriyā, Vībhaja-vāda, Kasmīra-Gaṇidhāra-Yavana-Vanavāsa-Tambapārinnidīpa-paśadakā, Mahāvīhāravāsin, Navaniga-Sathu-sasana-athyajana-vinniḥhaya-visarasa and Ariyavariss-paveni-dhāra. Among these epithets, the third stating that the said teachers converted to the Buddhist faith the peoples of Kaśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmraparnī-dvīpa is most interesting since it reminds us of the passage... tarāj-āchariyānām Kasmīra-Gaṇidhāra-Chinā-Chilā-Tosali-Avarānta-Vanagi-Vanavāsi-Yavana-Damilu-Pulara-Tampārinnidīpa-paśadakānām Theriyānām Tambapārinnakānām sampratigeta Sirīpaṭe Vījāpatīya puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriya Chetiya-gharatī sa-pata-samtharam sa-chetiyaṁ sava-niyutam kāritam uvāsikāya Bodhusiriya occurring in another inscription from
Nāgarjunikonda. The passage states how an upāsitā (female lay worshipper of the Buddha) named Bodhisiri was responsible for the construction of a Chaitya-grīha in the monastery on the Little Dharmagiri in the Śrīparvata range to the east of the city of Vijayapuri for the acceptance of certain Āchāryas of Buddhist teachers who are stated inter alia to have belonged to the Tāmraparni or Tāmraparnī-country, i.e. Ceylon (Tamuwapattamaka), and converted to the Buddhist faith the peoples of Kaśmira, Gandhāra, China, Kirāta, Tosali, Aparantaka, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Yavana, Damila, Palura and Tāmraparnī-dvīpa. Although the list of countries in the present epigraph contain only five out of the twelve names of the other inscription probably due to the shortage of space, the teachers mentioned in the two records may be the same. In that case, the Buddhist teachers referred to in our inscription were of Ceylonese origin.

The epithet theriyānam applied to achariyānam in both the inscriptions is interesting. The word theriyā in the masculine plural used in the Mahāvihāsa has been taken to mean 'the fraternities of the Theravādins'. Vogel, who edited the other Nāgarjunikonda inscription referred to above, derived the word theriya from theram, 'a monk, an elder'. According to him theriya is primarily an adjective meaning 'belonging to the thera or monks' from which comes the substantive sense 'a fraternity or community [of monks]', while N. Dutt commenting on Vogel's views was inclined to interpret the word theriyānam as 'of the nuns' and took all the epithets in the feminine gender. But the epithet Mahāvihāra-vāsam (of those dwelling in the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery) used in our record is in the masculine and shows that Dutt's interpretation is wrong. This Mahāvihāra seems to be identical with the Buddhist monastery of that mentioned in several other Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions referring to 'the Mahāchāitya in the Mahāvihāra' and indicating the location of the monastery in the Nāgarjunikonda valley. As it is difficult to believe that the Great Monastery at the Ikshvāku capital accommodated nuns, this fact also appears to go against Dutt's suggestion.

The epithet Vibhaja-vāda (Vibhajja-vāda) indicates that the teachers in question belonged to the Vibhajja-vāda school. Vibhajja-vāda is the doctrine of analysis or the religion of logic or reason and is identical with the Theravāda or doctrine of the Elders, which was the original teaching of the Buddhist Church. Thus our inscription mentions the teachers both as Theriya (i.e. Thera-vādin) and as Vibhajja-vāda (i.e. Vibhajja-vādin).

The remaining two epithets refer to the learning of the Buddhist teachers. One of them says that they were expert in determining the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Śāstra, i.e. the Buddha (navān-ga-Sathu-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-visarada-nāgam-Śāstra-sāsan-ārthavājana-vinnachchaya-viśarada). Pali Sathu-sāsana (Sanskrit Śāstra-sāsana) is often used in literature to indicate Buddha-sāsana, i.e. the doctrine or teachings of the Buddha, one of the Lord's popular names being Sathā (Sanskrit Śāstra). The nine divisions of the Buddhist scripture are Sutta (sermons in prose), Geya (sermons in prose and verse), Veyyakarna (explanation or commentary), Gāthā (scriptures in stanzas), Udāna (pithy sayings), Itivuttaka (short speeches of the Buddha), Jātaka (stories of the Buddha's former births), Abhuta-dhamma (stories of miracles) and Vedalla (teachings in the form of questions and answers). The other epithet says that the teachers know the traditions of the different classes of Buddhist recluses by heart (ariya-vamsa-paventi-dhara-ārya-vanśa-praventi-dhara). The expression pavendi-dhara may be compared with dharīma-dhara, vinaya-dhara, mātikā-dhara, etc., of the Pali literature as well as vinaya-dhara and mahāvinaya-dhara of the Amaravati inscriptions and Digha-Majjhima-nikāya-dhara in a Nāgarjunikonda inscription. According to Buddhist scripture, there are four classes of recluses (ariya-vanśa, literally 'noble family'), viz those who are contented with the robes presented to them, those who
are contented with the food presented to them, those who are contented with the bedding presented to them, and those who delight in meditation.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kaśmira is still known by its ancient name, Gandhāra (the Rawalpindi-Peshawar region), Vanavāsa (the district round Banavāsi in the North Kanara District) and Tāmraparnī-dvīpa or the Isle of Tāmraparnī (Ceylon) are well-known. By Yavana, possibly the old Greek settlement in the Kabul valley was meant.

TEXT


3. vihāre Bhagavato pāda-samghādā nipatiḥapito sava-satānām hita-sukh-althanāya ti

(pls. CXCVI A and B)

TRANSLATION

Let there be success! The pair of feet of the Lord (i.e. the Buddha) has been installed, with the prayer for the welfare and happiness of all beings, in the monastery of the teachers who are Theriyas (i.e. Therā-vidins) (and) Vibhaja-vādas (i.e. Vibhajja-vadās); who caused delight to (i.e. converted to the Buddhist doctrine (the people of) Kaśmira, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmraparnī-dvīpa; who are the residents of the Great Monastery, who are experts in the determination of the meaning and implication of the nine-fold teachings of the Sāstrī (i.e. the Buddha); (and) who know the traditions of the (four) classes of (Buddhist) recluses by heart.

(7) TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA

1. Inscription of the time of Ehaśala Chantamūla, Year 16

This epigraph is engraved on a four-faced pillar excavated from a site where originally a temple was standing. As known from the record under study, this temple belonged to the god Mahādeva of Śiva called Pushpabhadravāmin.

The inscription consists of 11 line of writing and occupies a space measuring about 27" long and 21.5" wide. The lines of writing, except line 1, 2 and 8, extend up to the right end of the fourth face of the pillar. The engraver appears to have taken care to see that words are not split up at the end of the line and this is the reason why the said three lines are shorter in length. The average height of a letter is ½ inch excluding the elongated vowel-marks often added to the top or bottom. The engraving of the record is neat and the preservation of the writing satisfactory.

The characters are Brāhmī of the third or fourth century A.D. and are very much the same as found in the other records of the dynasty, which were discovered at the same place and have been edited in this journal. The following palaeographical peculiarities of the inscription may however, be noticed. The difference between the letters da and da is not very considerable, while ku and kū are written in two ways. Ku is usually written by adding a small curved stroke at the right of the vertical of k about its middle (line 8) and kū by adding two such strokes (lines 4 and 8). But sometimes ku is written by curving the
lower end of the vertical towards the right (line 8 and 10) and kō by adding a stroke to the right above the lower curve of ku (line 5). While generally the sign for anuvāra is placed on the top of the letter, in one case it has been placed to the right of a letter (see Chāntamūla in line 7). The last line seems to have been engraved by a different hand at a slightly later date.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Expressions such as siddham for siddham and nānto bhagavate Mahādevasya Pushpabhadrasvāminah in line 1, vājapēya in line 3 and bhagavato (for bhagavataḥ) in line 10 betray Prakrit influence on the orthography and language. It is also interesting to note that the inscription makes no attempt to Sanskritise the Prakritic name Chāntamūla. The word stambha has been spelt as stamba. The consonant t is reduplicated before r only in some cases, while j, n, t, etc., following r, have been reduplicated. The name of the king has been uniformly spelt as Ehuvala though the spellings Ehuvala and Ehuvala are known from some other records. There are a few cases of wrong sandhi.

The inscription commences with the expression siddham followed by an invocation to the god Mahādeva Pushpabhadrasvāmin. Then the date of the record is given in the regnal reckoning of Vāsishtiputra Ehuvala Chāntamūla as the 5th day of the second fortnight of the summer season in the year 16 (expressed in symbols). The record next proceeds to introduce Mahārājakumāra Mahāsenāpati Hāritiputra Virapurushadatta who is stated to have caused the construction of a shrine (dēvakula) for Bhagavat Pushpabhadrasvāmin and the erection of a flagstaff (dhvaja-stambha) apparently in front of the shrine. He is further stated to have created a permanent endowment of the village of Pudokedam, no doubt for the maintenance of the temple.

Prince Virapurushadatta is introduced in relation to both his paternal and maternal lines. He is represented as the great-grandson of Mahārāja Vāsishtiputra Chāntamūla who is described, as in other Ikshvāku records, with reference to his munificence and also to his performance of the agnishtoma, vājapēya, aśvamēdha and bahuśuvāravaka sacrifices and is also stated to have acquired the glory of victory in battles by his own valour. His grandfather Mahārāja Ehuvala Chāntamūla, in whose reign the record was engraved, is then introduced as an equal to the epic heroes Sagara, Dilipa, Ambarisha, Yudhishthira and Rāma. Then Mahādevi Kupanāṣri, the queen of Ehuvala Chāntamūla and the mother of prince Virapurushadatta, is introduced as the granddaughter of Mahātalavara Skandagopa of the Pushyakandya clan and the daughter of Mahātalavara Khandahāla, while her maternal grandfather and uncle are stated to have been Sesebamāgūraka and Utara-mahātalavara (i.e. Mahātalavara Uttara) respectively. The expression Sesebamāgūraka apparently contains a personal name and an epithet, though it is difficult to determine them precisely. A passage in line 9-10 saying that the said temple was the fruit of the merit of both the mother and the son suggests that prince Virapurushadatta's mother Kupanāṣri was associated with her son in the construction of the temple. The last line of the inscription seems to suggest that two persons Kankaphala and Kankachandra were appointed priest of the temple.

Prince Virapurushadatta is called Mahārājakumāra and Mahāsenāpati, the second epithet indicating his position as the commander of the father's forces. He was apparently named after his grandfather who bore the metronymic Māthariputra. The male relations of queen Kupanāṣri, except Sesebamāgūraka whose status remains obscure, were Mahātalavaras. In this connection it may be recalled that most of the princesses of the royal household mentioned in the inscriptions of Māthariputra Virapurushadatta were wives of Mahātalavaras of different clans. Prince Virapurushadatta's metronymic Hāritiputra suggests that the paternal family of Kupanāṣri belonged to the Hārīta gōtra.
It is well known that all the ladies of the royal household of the Ikshvāku family had leanings towards the Buddhist faith. But Chāntamūla I, who performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, was apparently not a Buddhist while the religious persuasion of his son Vīrapurushadatta and grandson Chāntamūla II is unknown. The suggestion that they were followers of the Brahmical faith is possibly supported by the present epigraph recording the construction of a temple for the god Śiva by a son of Chāntamūla II. This is the first direct proof of the Śaivite leanings of the Ikshvāku family. Another Nāgarjunikonda inscription records the construction of a temple for Sarva (Śiva) by Eliśrī, called a Talavara-vara (probably the same as Mahātalavara) and said to be a devotee of the god Kārttikēya, in the 11th regnal year of Ehavala Chāntamūla. But Eliśrī, no doubt a subordinate of the Ikshvāku king, does not appear to have belonged to his master’s family.

The only geographical name mentioned in this record is the village of Pudokedam which is not identifiable.

TEXT

1 Siddham(ddam) || Namo bhagavate Mahādevasya Puppa(shpa)bhaddrasvāminahi [*] Mahārājasya Vāśishthi-puttrasya

2 śṛy-Ehavala-Chāntamūlasya samva 10 6 gi pa 2 diva 5 [*] rājno Vāśishṭhiputrasya agnishtomavājave(pe)y-āśvamedha-bahusuvrañaka-yājinaḥ naika-hiraṇṇya-koti-pradātuḥ go-śatasahasra-halasatasahasrā-pradātu[b]

3 sva-śṛya-āṛjjita-vijaya-kirtteḥ Ikshvākunāṁ śrī-Chāntamūlasya prapatrenā(na) mahārāja(ja)sya Māṭhariputrasya Ikshvākunāṁ(tām) śrī-Vīrapurushadattasya

4 pautreṇa mahārājasya Sagara-Dilip-Āmbarisha-Yudhishthira-ṛ[ṛ]ulya-dharmma-vijayasya Rāmasy=eva sarva-ja-an-ābhirāmasya Ikshvākunāṁ(ṇāṁ)

5 śṛy-I(śṛy-E)havala-Chāntamūlasya puttreṇa Puśhyakamdiyānām mahātalavarasya Skarindhālasya duhituh mahātalavarasya

6 Khamdahālasya duhituh Sesebamāgūruka-dauhityāḥ Utara-mahātalavara-bhāgineyyāḥ rājṇāḥ śṛy-Ehavala-Chāntamūlasya
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

8 mahishyāh mahādevyāh Kupanaśryāh śriyāh) putrenā mahārájakumāre[ṇa] mahāsenāpatinā Háritiputrenā Ikshvākūnām

9 śrī-Virapurushadattena mahārájasya mahādevyā gottasya cha [v]ijaya-vajjayeke āyur-vvardo[hane] dvayor-api cha mātā-putrayo[h*]

10 dharmma-phalāṃ bhagavato(tah) Pushpabhadrasvāminah devakulam kāritam dhyājastambhā(bhā)s=cha pratishthāpitaḥ grāmās=cha Puddokeḍam(dam) akṣhaya-ni(ni)vi

11 dattah [[l*]

12 śrī- Ka[m]kaphala[h*] Kamkachamdraś=cha bho 2 (?) (pl. CXCVII)

2. Inscription of the time of Rudapurisadata, Year 11

The epigraph is engraved on a pillar which is reported to have been discovered at Site No. 13 and is now preserved in the Nāgarjunikonda Museum. The pillar bears a sculpture executed in bas-relief above the inscription. The sculpture which is somewhat defaced seems to depict a lady seated on a high stool with an attending lady standing nearby. The seated lady's feet are resting on a small pedestal and there is a small seated female figure by the side of the stool.

The Indian Archaeology - A Review, 1955-56, p. 24, states, "On the chhāyakhambha is carved the scene of Prayatpati Gotamī, the foster-mother of Buddha, holding Buddha (as child) in a scarf. Below it was an inscription which acquaints us with the word chhayakhambha in a manner that brings out the idea that it is a recapitulative pillar or an epitaph. Besides recording a complete genealogy of the Ikshvaku kings (Chāntamula, Virapurushadatta, Ehavala Chāntamula and Rudrapurushadatta) who bear the Kśatrara tendentious title svami, it established the relationship of a great Ikshvākū queen (Mahādevi) in whose memory one Srivarman of the Brihatpahalayana gotra raised the epitaph (chhayakhambha)." At p. 23 of the same work, we are told, "The inscriptions discovered in the course of excavation gave the name of a new king of the Ikshvaku dynasty, viz. Rudrapurushadatta, besides king Srivarman of the Brihatpahalayana gotra." Unfortunately the statements are not all quite accurate.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing. The characters are the same as in the other epigraphs edited above. The form of initial / in line 5 is interesting as the left and upper curved strokes have been joined together. The form of medial ā in kā in line 5 is interesting as the length is indicated by a curved stroke attached to the right arm of k in ku from above. The form of the letter ā in line 1 is slightly different from that of the same letter in line 5. The language of the record is Prakrit. As regards orthography, the words ekkāra for Sanskrit ekādaśa and pattiya for Sanskrit patnyāh are interesting. Reduplication of consonants, not usually noticed in early Prakrit inscriptions, is exhibited by the record under study a swell as by some other epigraphs of Ehavala Chantamula's time.

The inscription is dated on the eighth day of the first fortnight of the spring season in the 11th regnal year of Mahārāja Rudapurisadata and records the erection of the chhāyā-khambha (chhāyā-stambha) of the deceased queen Varinmahatā (Varinmahatā), evidently the pillar on which the record under study is engraved. The expression chhāyā-stambha means a stambha or pillar adorned with a chhāyā or image. The use of the word chhāyā in this sense is known from records like the Śrīkūrmm inscription of 1353 A.D., according to which the Ganga king Bhāma III dedicated to the god in the Śrīkūrmm temple a chhāyā each of his father Narasimha III and his step-mother Gangāmbikā. The images in this case are stated to have each held perpetual lamps in their hands. Such lamps in the hands of images are called chhāyā-dīpa in epigraphs like the Puri inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōdaganga above. In
this connection it is interesting to note that the stone pillar on which our inscription is engraved bears certain figures to which reference has been made above. As we have seen, the scene depicted is that of a seated lady attended by two females. This lady seems to be no other than the deceased queen Varmabhatâ. She has a head-dress; but her locks are not tied in a knot. She wears an upper garment covering her bust and a long scarf covers her right shoulder and upper right arm and also her left forearm. The queen appears to be dressed like a foreign lady which she really was as we shall see below. Her extended right hand seems to hold a dârpana. The sculpture thus depicts a toilet scene.

Varmabhatâ is described as the mother of the said king, as the wife of Mahâraßâja Ehavâla Chantămûla, as the daughter-in-law of Mahâraßâja Virapurushadatta and as granddaughter-in-law of Mahâraßâja Chantămûla. She is further stated to have belonged to the Bahapala (i.e., Brihatphala or Brihatphalâyana) gotra and to have been the daughter of a Mahâkhutapa (Mahâkhutrapa). Thus the record supplies us with a second instance of the relations of the Iskhvâku family of the Krishna-Guntur region with that of the Saka. Mahâkheatrapas of Western India, the first being that of Mâthariputra Virapurushadatta’s marriage with Mahâdevî Rudradhara-bhâtârikâ described as the Ujjanikâ-mahâraßâja-balîkâ (Ujjaninikâ-mahâraßâja-balîkâ; i.e., daughter of the Mahâraßâja of Ujjaini) known from an inscription from the same place. The discovery of a hoard of the coins of the Saka rulers at Pêlîpuripâlem in the Guntur District is also interesting to note in this connection. The presence of Sâkas at the Iskhvâku capital is also indicated by the epigraphic and sculptural records discovered at Nâgarjunakonda. Though the identity of the Mahâkheatrapa who was the father of queen Varmabhatâ is not disclosed, a very interesting information supplied for the first time by the inscription under study is that the Saka Mahâkheatrapas of Western India claimed to have belonged to the Brihatphala or Brihatphalâyana gotra.

While the Hinduization of these Sâkas is clearly indicated by the records of Rishabhadatta and Rudradhama, the Sâkas in general were regarded in ancient India either as clean Sûdras or as degraded Kshatriyas.

Rudapurisadata, whose mother Varmabhatâ is stated to have been and in whose 11th regnal year the record is dated, is described as a Vâsîshthiputra. The paternal gotra of the king’s mother was therefore Vâsîshtha. It is thus clear that the Saka princess Varmabhatâ was a step-mother of the king and not his real mother.

King Rudapurisadata (Sanskrit Rudrapurushadatta) of this record is no doubt the same as Rulapurisadata in whose fourth regnal year the Gurzala Brâhmi inscription is dated. It may be noted that Gurzala is only a few miles to the east of Nâgarjunakonda. The palaeography and provenance of the two epigraphs and the similarity of the two names appear to establish the identity of Rudapurisadata of our epigraph and Rulapurisadata of the Gurzala inscription. The use of dh and jh for the same sound in these records may be the result of an attempt to render the Sanskrit name Rudrapurushadatta in Prakrit under Dravidian linguistic influence. In that case, we may think that rudra became rûda through the intermediate form rûdâ and rûjâ through the intermediate form rûjâ. But the possibility of rûda being a modified form of a Dravidian rûla cannot be regarded as out of question.

TEXT

1 Mahâraßâja asamedha[ya]jisa anéka-hiramâa-kôdi-go-sa-
2 tasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padâyisa svâmi-siri-Charintam[û]lasa
3 pasun[h]äyä mahâraßâja [svâmi]-[s]i[r]-Vîrapuri[sadatasa]
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

4 sumbhaya mah[ā]rājas[ā] [svāmi]-S[i]ri-Ehavala-Charitamūlasa
5 pattīya raño Vāsiṣṭhiputtasa Ikākūnam siri-Ruda-
6 purisadata sa māṭṭya mahādeviya mahākhatapa-dhūtuyā Ba[ha]-
7 phala-sagotāya siri-Vammbhahatāya samvachharam ekkāram 10 1
8 vāsā-pakham patharam 1 divasam aṭhamān 8 saga-gatāya chhāya-
9 khar[bho] || (pls. CXCVIII A and B)

(8) NĀGĀRJUNIKONDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ĀBHĪRA VASUSHĒNA,
YEAR 30

An inscription recently unearthed at Nāgārjunikonda has been noticed with an illustration in the Indian Archaeology 1958-59 - A review, p. 8, Plate Va. The notice reads as follows: "On the bank of the river Krśnā, in the north-eastern corner of the valley (i.e. the Nāgārjunikonda valley), long rows of pillared mandapas had previously been noticed, superimposes by medieval rubble structures. These later structures were removed to expose the plans of the underlying early Ikshvāku buildings. During this operation, a slab bearing an inscription (Pl. Va), dated in the 9th regnal year of the Ābhīra king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Vasūshēna and recording the construction of a wooden image of Ashtabhujasvāmin, was discovered. The record further mentioned mahātalavara mahāgrāmika, mahādandanāyaka Śivasēna of Kauśika-gōtra, the Yavana princes of Saṅjayapuri, Saka Rudradāman of Avanti and Vishnurudrasvalānanda Sātakarnī of Vanavāsa, who appear to have had some share in the consecration of the image and benefactions made in the reign of the Ābhīra king. The statements about the contents of the inscription are, however, based on an imperfect and inaccurate transcript of the record. Indeed it has to be admitted that the decipherment of the epigraph is considerably difficult owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing especially in the lower part. Many of the letters are damaged here and there throughout the inscription. Another fact is that the engraver formed some of the letters rather carelessly and sometimes omitted an akṣara here and there.

There are altogether six lines of writing which cover an area about 38 inches in length and 15 inches in height. Individual akṣaras, excluding conjuncts and other like a, ā, k, r, etc., and those having vowel marks attached to the top or bottom, are a little above half an inch in height.

The characters belong to the Middle Brāhmī stage of South India and resemble those in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus found at Nāgārjunikonda and in the neighbourhood and belonging to the latter half of the third century A.D. and the early part of the fourth. But the medial / sign is not as longish as in most of the Ikshvāku epigraphs. The sign for medial / is formed by the above sign making it end generally in an inward curve almost forming a loop. But the type of medial / often found in the Nāgārjunikonda records, which is formed by a smaller stroke above the left end of the top māṭrā added to the medial / sign, seems to be used in / in line 2. Like some other inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda and unlike most ancient Indian epigraphs, the words of our record have been usually separated from one another by a space.

The language of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. There are a few sentences in Prakrit and the orthography of the Sanskrit sentences is also often influenced by Prakrit (cf. Śivasēba for Sanskrit Śivasēpa in line 2). But the Sanskrit element is predominant and there is also a Sanskrit
stanza in the classical Upajñāi metre. It will not be wrong if the language of our record is described as Sanskrit influenced by Prākrit. As is well known, the Buddhist inscriptions discovered at Nāgarjunkonda are generally written in the Prakrit language while the Brahmanical epigraphs of the place are usually in Sanskrit. The inscription under study is a Brahmanical record. The word purīna occurring in line 2 seems to be formed on the analogy of grāmīṇa, kulīna, etc.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word siddham followed by an adoration to the god Nārāyaṇa described as dēva-parama-dēva (i.e. the Supreme God among the gods) and purīna-puruṣa (i.e. the Primordial Male), the epithets indicating the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Vishnu. This is the earliest epigraphic reference pointing clearly to the said identification.

The following passage in lines 1-2 gives the date of the record as the 1st day of the 7th fortnight of the rainy season during the 30th year of Vāsishthiputra Vasushēna, the Ābhīra. The symbol for 30 is of the lē type found in some inscriptions of the Kushāna age. The date seems to correspond to Kārttika-bādi 1. The significance and importance of the year of the date will be discussed below.

The next sentence in line 2-5 constitutes the main document and states, in the first place, that the lord rumbara-bhava Ashtabhujavāmin was not removed from his place but was installed on the Sēra-giri by the following persons: (1) Mahāgrāmika Mahātalavara Mahādānāyaka Śivasēpa of the Pēribidēha family or clan; (2) the Yōrājis of Saṇjayapura; (3) Śaka Rudradāman of the city or country of Avanti, and (4) Vishnurudrāsivalānanda Sātakarni of the city or land of Vanavās. Of these people who were responsible for the installation of the deity, the name of Śivasēpa meaning the same thing as Śivalinga is interesting since the name is Saivite but the deity installed by him along with others was Vishnu as will be seen below. This person belonging to the Kauśika gōtra and enjoying the designations Mahāgrāmika (either a resident of Mahāgrāma or the head of a group of villages like the Rāshrakūta of some later South Indian records), Mahātalavara (title of an official or subordinate chief often found in the Ikshvāku records from Nāgarjunkonda) and Mahādānāyaka (a leader of forces), seems to have been a resident of the Nāgarjunkonda region. The designation of this scion of the otherwise unknown Pēribidēha family or clan reminds us of Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādānāyaka Skandavāsākhanāka of the Dhanaka family, who is mentioned in a Nāgarjunkonda inscription as the husband of a sister of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta (about the third quarter of the third century A.D.). Śivasēpa seems to have been an officer of the Ābhīra king Vasushēna, even though originally he may have owed allegiance to the Ikshvākus. Among his associates who were foreigners, Śaka Rudradāman bearing the name of two Śaka rulers of Ujjayini (Rudradāman I ruling in the second and Rudradāman II in the third century) came from Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayini, or the country around it, i.e. West Malwa) and Vishnurudrāsivalānanda Sātakarni, whose name reminds us of Vishnukadachchutukulānanda Sātakarni of the inscriptions found at Banavāśi, from Vanavās (modern Banavāśi in the North Kanara District or the land around it). The lengthy name of this person is interesting in that it contains the names of both the gods Vishnu and Rudraśiva and that such lengthy joint names are popular in South India even today.

As the associates of the above three persons are mentioned certain people of Saṇjayapura as the Yōrājis. The meaning of the word Yōrāji is uncertain and it is possible that the expression yōrājībhi contains an error. If it is believed that the akshara na was left out by the scribe or engraver after yō through oversight, it may be conjectured that yōrājībhi is a mistake for Yōnārājahbhīh and stands for Sanskrit Yavanarājah, and that certain Yavana or Indo-Greek chiefs of Saṇjayapura are referred to in the
passage in question. As regards Yavana or Greek settlements in Western India, we know that the Sātavāhana king Gautamiputra Satakarni (c. 106-30 A.D.) fought with the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas in the first half of the second century A.D. while the Rāghuvasāna (IV, 61) of Kālidāsa (about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. ) locates a Yavana land between the Northern Konkan and Persia, probably in the Sind region. But it has to be considered whether, if Saṅjaya-pura was a city as it seems to be, several chiefs could have been ruling from the same place. The possibility of the rule of a king and a sub-king from the same capital, however, cannot be precluded in view of the fact that the dual number is represented by the plural in the Prakrit language. As regards the location of Saṅjaya-pura, it should be pointed out that Saṅjaya is stated to have been another name of Saṅjān in the Thana District of Bombay State. The place is often identified with Saṅjayantinagara mentioned in the Mahābhārata in connection with Sahadeva's conquests in the South. If the above interpretation of the passage in question is acceptable, the inscription under study offers the only evidence regarding Indo-Greek rule in the Saṅjān area about the close of the third century A.D. These Indo-Greeks, if they really ruled at Saṅjān, appear to have been originally subordinates of the Sakas of Western India.

The god Asṭabhujasvāmin is known from a couch-shall inscription unearthed from the same site at Nāgārjunikonda. This epigraph in Prakrit reads: Bhagavatō Athabhujasvāmin (Sanskrit Bhagavatāb Asṭabhujasvāmin). There is no doubt that Asṭabhujasvāmin was a form of the god Nārāyana (Vishnu) invoked at the beginning of our record. The name of the deity suggests that his image in question was endowed with eight arms. This seems to be the earliest reference to the eight-armed form of Vishnu. The expression ratubara-bhava used in the inscription under study as an epithet of the deity cannot be satisfactorily explained. If ratubara may be regarded as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit udumbara (or udumbara), the epithet may indicate that the image of Asṭabhujasvāmin mentioned in our record was made udumbara wood.

It is further stated that the god Asṭabhujasvāmin was installed on the Sētagiri which is, as is well known, mentioned in a Nasik inscription of the nineteenth regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Pulimāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) in connection with the description of the vague supremacy of his father Gautamiputra Satakarni over the whole of South India. The inscription under study poses the question whether Sētagiri has to be identified with one of the hills surrounding the Nāgārjunikonda valley, especially the Siddhāldhāri hill standing within 200 yards towards the north at the findspot of our inscription. The words ēśa bhagavān, 'this Lord', used in the inscription in relation to Asṭabhujasvāmin, seems to support the identification. Its mention in the Nasik inscription as a well-known range of hill bearing the shrine of Asṭabhujasvāmin formed a part. Sētagiri thus appears to have been the name of the range of which the Siddhāldhāri hill near Nāgārjunikonda formed a part. It is said that there are one well on the Siddhāldhāri hill and two caves on its slope. Two images of Kubēra are stated to have been found near the caves many years ago.

The statement that the said god was not removed from its place (sthānatō-pi na chūlitō) but was installed on the Sētagiri is not quite clear. But it may be a case of the re-installation of a deity at the same place where it was being worshipped for some time. The specific mention of the fact that it was not removed from its place probably suggests that the image in question was going to be taken to some other place. It may be conjectured that some foreign conquerors were in possession of the area and that one of their leaders wanted to carry the image home but that the idea was later given up. It may, however, be admitted that re-installation of the deity is not clearly suggested by the language of the epigraph. If, moreover, the expression ratubara-bhava really means that the image was cut out of the trunk of an
udumbura tree standing on the hillock, the non-removal of the image may of course refer to its installation at the place where it was fashioned. It should, however, be pointed out that the ruins of the temple in which the inscribed slab has been found do not lie on the hill. Was the god Ashtabhujasvāmin housed in this temple at a later date?

The next part of the sentence referred to above states that the persons in question also caused the wall of the hill to be made variegated or decorated with sculptures or painted (parvatasya cha prākāraḥ chitāpitoḥ = parvatasya cha prākāraḥ = chitrītah). By the expression 'the wall of the hill' is probably meant the enclosure around the shrine of Ashtabhujasvāmin standing on the hill. The word chitāpita reminds us of the grant of a village for the purpose of the chitana (Sanskrit chitrana) of a Nasik cave, mentioned in the Nasik inscription referred to above.

Certain further activities of the persons concerned are also mentioned in the said sentence in its concluding part. They are the following: (1) a vāpi or well called Mahānandā was cleansed (i.e. re-excavated); (2) two tanks (tadāgāni 2) were excavated, one on the Sēta-giri and another in a locality called Mudērā; and (3) some groves of palmyra trees were planted. Mudērā seems to be a locality in the neighbourhood of Nāgārjunikonda, although we are not sure about its identification. It is difficult to say whether the tadāga on the Sēta-giri should have to be identified with the well on the Siddhaladharī hill, to which reference has been made above.

The above sentence constitution the main document is followed by a passage in prose, a stanza in the Upajāti metre and a sentence in prose; all referring to the ullēkhaka of the document, the word no doubt meaning the engraver of the record. He is Vardhamānaka of the Sēnibaka family or clan. This person describes himself as one who would not spare even his life in the cause of a Brāhmaṇa and a friend and also as the host and friend of all, as one having the virtues of gratitude and truthfulness, as the vanquisher of the hosts of enemies, as a straight-forward person, as one engaged in planting banyan trees apparently on the roads for the purpose of offering shade to men and animals and as one who was a friend of pious and righteous people.

The above section of the inscription is followed by another sentence stating that Anūṭya (minister or counsellor) Tishyāśarman of the Bharadvāja gōтра composed the record under study by dint of divine power. Tishyāśarman appears to have been an officer of the Ābhira king Vasushēna. It is difficult to say why the engraver of our record was the subject of so much praise. Was it because he was responsible for fashioning the image of Ashtabhujasvāmin?

The inscription ends with the prayer for the welfare of herds of cows. Such benedictions are sometimes found at the end of early Brahmical epigraphs, especially Vaishnava records in which the word brāhmaṇa, prajā, etc., are often added to the word gō. It is well known that the god Vishnu-Nārāyana is especially associated with the conception of gō-brāhmaṇa-hita, 'the welfare of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas'.

The most important historical information supplied by the inscription is in the reference to the reign of the Ābhira king Vasushēna. As regards the history of the Guntur District, we known that the Ikshvakus held sway over the area from the second quarter of the third century A.D. down to the early part of the fourth and that the Pallavas of Kāñchi occupied the area before the middle of the fourth century. Ābhira Vasushēna's rule of thirty years in the Nāgārjunikonda valley in the same age cannot be reconciled with these facts. This raises the question whether the year should be referred to an era. It also appears that Vasushēna was ruling elsewhere and that his hold over the Nāgārjunikonda area was short-lived. It is
well known that the Ābhīrās were ruling over the region around Nasik and the adjoining areas of Western India (roughly the Konkan and Northern Maharashtra) and that the Ābhīra king Mātharīputra Īśvarasēna of a Nasik inscription of his ninth regnal year probably founded the era of 248 A.D. Vāsishthīputra Vasushēna of our inscription was very probably a descendant of Mātharīputra Īśvarasēna, both having metronymics and sēna(shēna) ending names. If then the years 30 of our inscription is referred to the said era, the date would correspond to 278 A.D. If such was the case, Vasushēna subdued the Ikshvākus and his rule was acknowledged in the Nagājūnīkonda area for a short time in the eighth decade of the third century probably between the reign of Vīrapurasahadatta and that of the latter’s son. As regards the relations of the Ikshvākus with the Western regions of India, we know that they were matrimonially allied with the Śakas of Ujjayini who were the neighbours of the Ābhīras. The close relation between the Ikshvāku and Saka kingdoms is further indicated by the discovery of a big hoard of Śaka coins at Peṭlūripālem in the Guntur District not far from Vijayapuri in the Nagājūnīkonda valley, which was the capital of the Ikshvākus.

It may be argued that Vasushēna paid a visit to the Ikshvāku capital as a friend and relative of the contemporary Ikshvāku king Vīrapurasahadatta and it was his servants who were responsible for the installation of the deity. But, in such a case, we have to assume that persons from various places, such as the Nagājūnīkonda region, Avanti, Saṅjayapura and Vanavāsa were all in his service and came to the Nagājūnīkonda valley in his company. If the passage sthānato=pi na chālītō means that the people responsible for the installation of the image of the god Ashtabhujaśvāmin on the Sēta-giri belonged to a party of the conquerors of the land and that they showed special consideration for the god, it cannot be reconciled with the above view. Another possible argument may be that Vasushēna occupied the Nagājūnīkonda valley at the time when the Ikshvākus were struggling for their existence with the Pallavas of Kāṇecli in the early part of the fourth century as an ally of the latter. But the year 30, when the record was engraved, should in this case have to be referred to Vasushēna’s regnal reckoning and not to the era of 248 A.D., generally assigned to the Ābhīras. If, however, the era was really started by the Ābhīras, it is difficult to explain away its absence in an Ābhīra record as the one under study. In any case, the circumstances leading to the acknowledgment of Ābhīra suzerainty in the Nagājūnīkonda valley cannot be satisfactorily determined without further light on the subject. But, in the present state of our knowledge, it is probably better to suggest that the Ābhīra king Vasushēna of the Nasik region extended his sway over the Ikshvāku kingdom in the Krishna-Guntur area for a short time about 278 A.D. The internal evidence of our inscription seems to preclude the possibility of its being a pilgrims’ record in which the ruler of a distant land having little to do with the place of pilgrimage could probably have been mentioned.

The location of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been discussed above. As already indicated, one of them, viz. Mudērā, cannot be satisfactorily identified. If Mahāgrāma is the name of a place, it was probably situated in the region around Nagājūnīkonda.

TEXT

Siddham ||

1 namō bhagavatō dēva-parama-dēvasya puraṇa-purushasya Nārāyaṇasya [1*] ra(rā)jō Vāsē-(si)sthīthiputrasya Ābhīrasya Vasushēnasya sa[m]vatsara(rē) [30] vā-pā [7]

2 [d]jivasa (sē) 1 ma[h]agrahikēna(na) ma[h]aṭalavar(ēna(na)) mahādamanayaka(kē)na Kauśika [sa]gōtrēna(na) Pēribidhēhānām(nām) Śivasēbēna Samjayapuri(na-Yōrājibhih[*]

569
Let there be success!

(Lines 1-5). Salutation to Lord Nārāyaṇa who is the supreme god among the gods and the Primordial Male. On the first day of the month of Saṅgāraṭhī of the rainy season in the thirteenth year of king Viśnuśrī-putra Viśnuśēna, the Ābhīra, thus Lord Ashtabhujavān, the runbāra-bhava, is installed on the Sēta-giri, without being moved from his place, by Mahāgrāmika Mahātalavara Mahādāndanāyaka Śivasēṇa belonging to the Kauśika gōtra and to the Pērībīḍēha (i.e. the Pērībīḍēha family or clan), the Yavatārājas of Saṃjaya-pura, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti, and Viṣṇūdraśivalānanda Sātakarnī of Vaṇavāsa; and the enclosure (of the shrine of the god) on the hill was decorated (by them); and the well (called) Mahānāṇḍa was cleansed (i.e. re-excavated) (by them); and 2 tanks were excavated on the Sēta-giri and at Muḍēra (by them); and groves of palm trees were planted (by them).

(Lines 5-6). The engraver of the above is Vardhamāna, the Sēmbaka (i.e. belonging to the Sēmbaka family or clan); who would not spare even his life in the cause of the Brāhmaṇas and in the cause of (his) friends, (and) who is, as regards (his) qualities, a host to all (and) a friend of all; who is grateful, who has taken a vow of truthfulness; who has subdued the hosts of (his) enemies; who is straightforward; who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees; (and) who approves of the pious and righteous people. (The above) has been made (i.e. composed) by anāyan Tīshyaśarman of the Bhārdvāja gōtra by virtue of the god's power. Let there be good to the herds of cows!

B. Fragmentary Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda

Vol. XXXIV

The Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions discovered in the course of earlier excavations were published in the *Epigraphia Indica* nearly 30 years ago. Recent excavations conducted at the site by the Department of Archaeology since 1954 have yielded a large number of new inscriptions which have been mostly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology - A Review and Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* and only a few of them have been properly edited. Four fragmentary inscriptions of the Iskhvāka age, discovered at the earlier stage of these excavations and noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, Nos. B 7-10, are edited in the following pages.

The palaeography of the second of these four epigraphs may appear to be slightly earlier than the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions of the time of the Iskhvāka king Viṣrapurushadatta (about the third quarter
of the third century A.D.) and his successors, as their characters do not exhibit the ornamental flourishes of the upward and downward strokes of certain letters and some of the vowel marks attached to them, which are characteristic of the records of the time of those rulers. But this is not a valid conclusion as we have a few records of the time of the Ikshvāku kings exhibiting characters in which the ornamental flourish is not pronounced. The third and fourth of the four inscriptions exhibit the ornamental flourish of the upward and downward strokes in the aksharas. The language of the records is Prakrit. Their orthography resembles that of other Prakrit inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunakonda.

I

The first of the four inscriptions referred to above contains traces only of two lines of writing. But the upper, left and right sides of the record are broken away and lost. The first line contains the aksharas [nā] da bha [da na]. There seems to be a reference here to Parama-bhada (Sanskrit Peramadi-bhada) occurring in Inscription No. 2 discussed below and meaning 'a soldier [fighting under the leadership] of Peramadi'. The second and last of the lines ends in the expression chhāyam[yā]-thambho with which the epigraph also ends. There is no doubt that the inscription was meant to record the installation of a chhāyā-stambha, i.e. '[memorial] pillar bearing the image (chhāyā) of the person in whose memory it was raised,' probably of certain soldiers (bhadana=Sanskrit bhatānām) who belonged to a contingent led by a commander named Peramadi and lost their lives in a battle. The composition of the record reminds us of that of Inscription No. 2 while another 'Nāgārjunakonda' inscription likewise ends with a reference to a chhāyā-stambha.

II

The second record is also a fragment of the type of the first, although it is a slightly bigger piece. It exhibits traces of six lines of writing which reads as follows.

1 ... [g]a[ra]na-vathavasa kula-puta[sa]
2 [Ma?]rabāna Rājamisirī-kula[kasa]
3 Damasama[ka]sa [p]u[ta]-[Si]-
4 sa[ba]sa Peramadi-bhada[sa]
5 padita[s]a chhāy[a]-tham[bho] [||*]

Line 1 refers to a kula-putra, 'one born in a noble family', as the resident of a locality, the name of which is not fully preserved. Some Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions, discovered at Site No. 113 and published below, appear to suggest the restoration of the geographical name as Maga[la*]raṇa.

Lines 2-5 give in name of the kula-putra as Dhamasamaka (Dharmaśarmaka) and the family to which he belonged as the Rājamisrī kulaka (kula) belonging to the Maraba clan (Marabāna Rājamisirīkalakaṣa=Sanskrit Marabānāṁ Rājamisrī-kulakasya). Lines 3-4 mentions Sisaba as the son of the said kula-putra and as a soldier of a contingent led by Peramadi. The name of the general reminds us of that of Permaṇi borne by Chālukya Vikramādiya VI and others. Line 5 states that the chhāyā-stambha or the memorial pillar in question was raised in memory of Sisaba who had been padi(d)ita (Sanskrit Pānta), 'killed [in a battle]'. It will be seen that, while Inscription No. 1 was raised to commemorate the death of a number of soldiers (cf. plural number in bhada=Sanskrit bhatānām), Inscription No. II commemorates that of a single soldier.
The third inscription, many sections of which are broken away and lost, shows traces of 8 lines of writing which reads as follows:

1  ... [cha] tethika[n]a ... na kā ....
2  ... lasa cha Bhadaphula Satāhapa S[a]ma[gandaka-vathava-Ki ....
3  ... bhunjiṭavasa akhaya-nivikā datā gāma-pa ...
4  ... han[i] [K]a[kolūra]m Nelāchava[sa]m ...
5  ... ya cha Apara[ma] ...
6  ... sa cha [akhaya]-niv[i] d[i]nāri-māsakā[n]a[ṃ] divadham satam [bha] ...
7  ... supayutam [i*] esā cha akhaya-nivi ku[l]i[ka]pamukhāyaṃ ....
8  ... atathey chī ... yam [hi] ...

Line 1 of the inscription contains the word tethikānām (Sanskrit taithikānām), the meaning of which has been discussed by us in connection with the Manchikallu inscription of the Pallava king Pāhuvarman (first half of the fourth century A.D.). Line 2 mentions certain persons whose names appear to be Bhadaphula and Sāthapā and another who was an inhabitant of a locality called Samagandaka, while the word gāma in the passage gāma-pa.... at the end of line 3, used with reference to an akshaya-nivikā or permanent endowment, seems to suggest that the following line (line 4) mentions some villages, two of which were probably Kakoliura and Nelāchavasā. Since several localities appear to have been mentioned in this context, the partially preserved expression gāma-pa ... may possibly be restored as gāmas-paṭichekam, meaning a group of five villages forming the permanent endowment mentioned in line 3. The passage akhaya-nivikā datā (Sanskrit akshaya-nivikā dattā) shows that this section of the inscription was meant to record the creation of a permanent endowment in favour of one of the religious establishments at Nagārjunakonda. The community of Buddhist monks that was benefited by the said endowment seems to be mentioned in line 5 of the inscription, wherein we can read apar[am]a[ṃ]... suggesting the mention of the Buddhist sect called Aparamahāvīnapaśīlaya. The teachers of the Aparamahāvīnapaśīlaya community are known from several inscriptions from Nagārjunakonda itself. They are also mentioned in some of the Amaravati inscriptions. The said sect has been identified with the Aparaselika subdivision of the Mahāsāṅghikas while the Aparaselikas (Aparāṣṭaṇḍikas) and Pubbaselikas (Puruṣasāṅḍikas) have been supposed to have derived their names from the Aparasela (Aparāṣṭaṇḍa) and Pubbasela (Puruṣasāṅḍa) located by Hiuen-tsang on the hills respectively to the west and east of Dhānyakatāka (modern Amarāvatī). But why the Aparaselikas or Aparāṣṭaṇḍikas were called Aparamahāvīnapaśīlaya in the early inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh cannot be satisfactorily explained. A number of geographical names are mentioned in this inscription. But we are not sure about their location.

Lines 6-7 of the inscription contains the reference to a second endowment in the passage sa cha akhaya-nivi dināri-māsakānāṃ dvadham satam .... supayutam (Sanskrit sā cha akshaya-nivi diṇāra-māshakānāṃ dvyaḍham satam .... suprayuktaṃ). In this, dvadha is the same as Pali diyaśda or diyaśda meaning 'one and a half'. The amount of money deposited for the creation of the endowment was therefore 150 diṇāri-māsakās. The first component of the name of the coin is associated with Sanskrit diṇāra being Indian modifications of Latin denarius. The same coin is also known from another Nagārjunakonda inscription. Since māshaka was one-sixteenth of the standard suvarṇa, it is sometimes
regarded as identical with the South Indian Fana which may have been regarded as one-sixteenth of the Roman Denarius or Aureus, imported in the course of trade in the South Indian ports in the early centuries of the Christian era, either in weight or in value. The following line of the inscription (line 7) contains the passage esā chu akhaya-nivi kuṭिकka-pamukhāya — The mention of *kulika*, 'the chief or head of a guild,' here reminds us of the deposit of an akhaya-nivi in the nikāya or śreni, 'guile,' as referred to in certain early Indian inscriptions. The word *atatheya* in line 8 seems to stand for Sanskrit *atitheya*, 'hospitalable'.

IV

The preservation of the fourth and last of the four inscriptions, although fragmentary, is somewhat better than the others. It consists of 6 lines of writing, of which the first is almost totally obliterated and the second broken at both ends. The concluding part of the inscription is also lost. But the letters of the extant portion are well preserved and read as follows:

1

2 ..................................................

3 gimha-pakham bitiyām divasam padhamam 1 [Si]-

4 ripavate Vijayapuriya puva-disā-bhā-

5 ge vilhare Chula-Dharmagiriya Achamtaraj-ā-

6 charyānam saka-samaya-para-samaya-sa-

The inscription abruptly ends here as indicated above.

The record was apparently engraved during the reign of a king whose name ended with the word *data* (Sanskrit *datta*) such as Virapurushadatta and Rulapurushadatta. Since a large number of inscriptions of the reign of Virapurushadatta have been discovered at Nāgarjunikonda, it is not impossible that it is the same king's reign which was referred to in the record under study. The date is the king's regnal year ..., first day of the second fortnight of summer (i.e. Chaitsrudi 1). The Buddhist monastery on the Chula-Dharmagiri (i.e. Kshudra-Dharmagiri, 'the little Dharmagiri' as opposed to the Mahā-Dharmagiri or 'the big Dharmagiri') situated to the east of the city of Vijayapuri, is already known from another Nāgarjunikonda inscription and has been identified with the present Nāharāljābōu hill. The inscription obviously meant to record the dedication of a structure in favour of certain Buddhist *ācharyas* (*āchāryas*), 'teachers', described as *achamtaraj-āchariya* and *sakasamaya-parasamaya-sa* .........

The second of the two epithets seems to suggest that the said teachers were experts in expounding the doctrines of their own religion as well as of those of the religious beliefs of others since the concluding *akhara* (i.e. *sa*) may be supposed to have been a part of an expression like *sanyak-pāragānam*. No expression like *saka-samaya-para-samaya-samyak-pārāga* has been noticed so far in any early inscription; but it reminds us of the passage 'proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy* (sva-samaya) as well as in those of others (para-samaya)' occurring in the description of the celebrated Jain savant Bhātt-Ākalaṅkā of Kamātaka in an inscription of the sixteenth century from Bilgi in the North Kanara District of Bombay State. The epithet *para-samaya-patu* 'proficient in the doctrines of other [religions]', occurs in the description of a Jain scholar in the Masulpatam plates of the Eastern Chāluṅka king Amma II (middle of the tenth century A.D.)
The interpretation of the other epithet is more difficult. The word achairita, meaning 'excessive', occurs in the expression achairita-hita-sukhāya (Sanskrit atyanta-hita-sukhāya), 'for the excessive welfare and happiness', in one of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions; but that meaning does not suit the context, unless it is believed that some letters were inadvertently omitted after the word and that ra{i}-āchariyanam (i.e. 'of the king's teachers') is to be read separately. But the same expression apparently occurs in another Nāgārjunikonda inscription where Vogel suggested the reading [bhādara]ta-rāj-āchariyanam. The expression acharitarāj-āchariya would mean 'teachers of (or from) Acharitāraja' or better 'teachers of the Acharitāraja school or community'. Unfortunately we do not know of any king or locality called Acharitāraja or a community of Buddhist teachers characterised by that name. The name Achanta reminds us of Āchanta which is a village in the Narasapuram Taluk of the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh.

(9) A CHHĀYA-STAMBHA RECORD OF SVĀMIN CHĀNTAMULĀ

VOL. XXXV

It states that the chhāya-thabho (chhāya-stambha, i.e. the memorial pillar on which the inscription is engraved) of the saga-gata (sarga-gata, i.e. deceased) Rājan Vāsiṣṭhiputra Svāmin Chāntamula [was raised] by some ladies who were his sisters, mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers or only step-mothers) and queens. As in some other records, Chāntamula is described in this context as the performer of the Agnihotra, Agnishtoma, Vājapēya and Aśvamedha sacrifices, as the bestower of crores of gold [coins] and of lakhs of heads of cattle as well as of lakhs of hala measures of land and as one whose will was unimpeded in all matters. It may be pointed out that both Vogel and the then editor of this journal failed to read the expression chhāya-thabho in this record. The memorial pillar seems to have been raised many years after Chāntamula's death.

The list of the ladies responsible for raising the memorial pillar does not clearly indicate as to who were Chāntamula's sisters, his mothers and his queens. But there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 9 and another in line 11 and they may suggest that the said list was divided into three sections indicating respectively the sisters, mothers and queens of the dead king. If such was the case, the list of Chāntamula's sisters includes the names: Anantaśri, Skandaśri, Vindhyabodhiśri, Mitraśri, Samuśri (Samudraśri ?), Nāgavasusri, Manguśri, Skandakoṭiśri, Kundamasśri, Mulaśri, Āryakotuśri and Mridviśri. The king's mothers then were Nāgaśri, Kāmaśri (or Rāmaśri), Golaśri, Khaliśri, Bodhiśri, Skandaśri, Satilaśri, Pujatiśri, Panditaśri, Śivanagāśri and Samudraśri. The names of the king's queens likewise were: Bappyśri, Nadiśri or Nandiśri, Āryaśri, Krishnasri and Śivanagaśri. The word śrī suffixed to all these names is no doubt an honorific. Some of these names were wrongly read by Vogel.

The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word śrī. They are Sarasikā and Kusumalatā described in the record as abhatarikā (Sanskrit abhyantarikā), 'an intimate female friend', possibly used to indicate 'a concubine'. The official designation abhyantarika is, however, often understood in the sense of 'a guard of the harem'. Vogel read the word as subhatarikā which he failed to interpret.

TEXT

2. siri-Chaṇṭamulasa putasa ramāṇo Mā[da]ri-putasā Ikkākuma siri-Virapurisadatas[sa]
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

vasa-satāya savachhara[ṛth] Vijaya[ṛth] vāsa-pakhāṁ prathamam 1 divasa bitiya[ṛth] saga-gataṣa
ramīgo aghot-āghita[go]ma-vājapey-asamedha-yaśisa hiranā-k[ṛti-go-satasahasa-
halasatasahasapadāyisa sav-athesu [apa]tiṭhata-sarinkapasa Vāśīthi-putasa
Ikhākusa sāmi-siri-Cha[ṛth]tamulasa saha(ho)darāhi matāhi mat[aha]d[e]vih Samasirya
Khamasirya Viṭhab[o]dhisirya Mitā[si]rya Samusirya Nāgaśavasirya
Mariagusirya Khamdakotisirya Mahisarasirya Kondamatisirya Mula[s]irya
Ayakotusirya Maduvirisirya Nāgasiriya Kāmasirya Golasirya
Khaliirya [Bo]dhisirya Khadavisirya Satilasirya Perajatisirya
Patidtisirya Sivānāgirisirya Samudisasirya Bāpisirya Nadisirya
Ayasirya Khamhasirya S[i]vanāg[as]irya abhatarikāhi cha
Sarasikāya Bhū(Kn)sumalatāya cha chhāya-thabho |

(10) 1. Inscription of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, 333 A.D.

This inscription is engraved lengthwise on a lime stone pillar found at the site named by the excavators as the Burning Ghāt. There are eight lines of writing, the last of them being a little less than six feet long and the others a little above four feet in length. The writing covers three sides of the pillar, lines 1-3 being incised on one side, lines 4-5 on the next side and lines 6-7 on the third side. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, the letters in most parts being more or less rubbed off. A number of letters in each one of the lines cannot be read at all.

The characters of the inscription belong to the usual Ikṣvāku alphabet and its language is Prakrit. The most important section of the record is its date. It refers itself to the reign of the Ikṣvāku Rājan Ehuvula Chāntamūla, the son of Rājan Vīrapurushadatta and the grandson of Mahārāja Chāntamūla who is described, as in some other epigraphs, as the performer of the Ayamētha and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. The date is quoted as the first day of the second fortnight of the summer season (probably Chaitra-sudi 1) in the year Vijaya falling in the reign of Ehuvula Chāntamūla. It is the second epigraph of the Ikṣvākūs, which is dated in the cyclic year instead of the usual regnal reckoning. Another inscription dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of Vīrapurushadatta has been edited above. As will be seen below, the date of the present inscription would correspond to 333 A.D. and is of great importance to the student of South Indian history.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word sidham (siddham) and an adoration to a deity whose name is uncertain although it may be Bhagavat Nodagiśvaravāmin. The name of the same god occurs also in line 4. But the reading of the first three aksharas is doubtful in both the cases. The adoration to the deity is followed in lines 1-2 by the date, viz., the year Vijaya, the second fortnight of summer, the first day, falling in the reign of the Ikṣvāku king Vāśishṭhiputra Ehuvula Chāntamūla, the son of king Vīrapurushadatta and the grandson of king Chāntamūla. The following sentence in lines 2 ff. states that certain persons made the devakula and thala (sthalā) of Lord Nodagiśvaravāmin and created an akshaya-nivṛti (permanent endowment) apparently for the maintenance of the religious establishments in question. The word devakula means 'a shrine' while sthalā seems to indicate, in the present context, a vedikā in a spacious area surrounded by a wall. The said pious acts are stated to have been performed for the victory and longevity of the king, i.e. the reigning monarch Ehuvula Chāntamūla. Unfortunately, the name of the main figures responsible for the deeds cannot be deciphered. Only a few names of the saha-mātris of the said person can be read with certainty. These are the antahpura-mahattarikā Bhāgavatā
and the śreshthi-bāhikā (daughter of a śreshthin or banker) Ratavaśā (or Rativasā). Since they are ladies, it is possible that the main person responsible for the pious deed was also a lady. The word saha-mati seems to mean 'a person with the same intention', used here to indicate several persons who helped one in and performance of the pious deeds in question, i.e. contributed to the construction of the dēvakula and sthala as well as to the creation of the akshaya-nīvī. The list of these collaborators is introduced in our inscription by the word seyatha (Pali seyathā, Sanskrit tadd-yathā) meaning 'namely'. Antahpuramahattarikā was apparently a female officer in charge of the harem of the Ikshvāku king.

In connection with the akshaya-nīvī or permanent endowment, reference is made to the interest accruing to it month by month (akhaya-nīvī cha katāna māsanumāsiikasa vadhisa = Sanskrit akshaya-nīvī cha kritā māsānūnāsikyāḥ vṛiddhyāḥ). But the details as to the utilisation of the amount are not clear. It appears from the partially decipherable writing in lines 4-5, that, for the purpose of creating the endowment, the sum of one hundred dināris was deposited in four different guilds, seventy dināris in one of them and ten dināris in each one of the others. The coin called dināri may be the same as dināri-māshaka known from other Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions or the coin of which the dināri-māshaka was the 1/16th part in weight or value. Dināri is derived from the Roman coin named denarius; but it is difficult to say whether it meant original Roman coins which are known to have been in circulation in the area or local imitations of the Roman coins. The fact that only ten dināris were deposited in the guilds in several cases suggests that it was probably a gold coin. Among the guilds, the name of two can be satisfactorily read. They are called panika-seni and puvika-seni. The first of these may be Sanskrit Pāmik-sreṇī, i.e., the guild of the sellers or growers of leaves (betel leaves), while the second is certainly Pali pūvika-seni meaning 'the guild of confectioners'. The existence of several such guilds at the Ikshvāku capital or its neighbourhood is interesting to note.

Very little can be made out of the writing in line 6 and the first half of line 7. The legible part of line 7 appears to begin with some personal names such as Parādika, Bhagapphula and Sathapa. Whether the persons mentioned were witnesses or trustees cannot be determined. These names are followed by two sentences with which the inscription concludes. These state that the embellishments (chitana=Sanskrit chitrana), apparently of the dēvakula and sthala, should have to be done by the person responsible for the creation of the religious institutions and that, in case the said person could not do it, the council of the citizens headed by the śreshthin (sethi-pamakha-nigama), probably meaning a board like the Pañchāyat, should get it done.

As we have seen, one of the inscriptions of Ehuvela Chāntamāla's father king Virapurushadatta, is also dated in the cyclic year Vijaya, apparently corresponding to 273-74 A.D. As the son must have ruled after the father, the year Vijaya when the present record was engraved must correspond to 333-34 A.D., since the seasons mentioned in the two records seem to preclude the possibility of the date of the record of the son's time falling in the latter part of the year 273-74 A.D. As we have suggested above, the mention of the cyclic year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku epigraphs seems to be due to its importance as the first year of the cycle.

On the basis of the date available previously, we were formerly inclined to believe that the Ikshvāku dynasty was overthrown by the Pallavas in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. The date of the inscription under study, however, shows that the Ikshvākus were not overthrown much earlier than the middle of that century. The latest known date of Virapurushadatta is his twentieth regnal year while those of his son Ehuvela Chāntamāla and grandson Rudrapurushadatta (Rulapurushadatta) are respectively their twentyfourth and eleventh regnal years. The long intervening period between Virapurushadatta's record
of 273 A.D. and Ehuvula Chântamûla's inscription of 333 A.D. would suggest that the year 333 A.D. fell near about the end of his reign and that Rudrapurushadatta probably ended his rule sometime before 350 A.D. Thus the Pallava conquest of the Krishna-Guntur region, evidenced by the Manchikkallu inscription of Simhavaran and the Mayidavolu plates of Sivaskandavarman, took place about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This would also suggest that Pallava Simhavaran of the Manchikkallu inscription and Sivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates ruled about the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century A.D. This is no doubt a very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of both the Ikshvâkus and the Pallavas.

We also know that the Abhira king Vasushêna ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area for sometime in the last quarter of the third century or in the first half of the fourth. The date of Vasushêna's inscription, viz. year 30, if referred to the era of 248 A.D., which is generally believed to be an Abhira institution, would yield 278-79 A.D. and, in that case, we may suggest that Virapurushadatta ruling in 273 A.D. was overthrown by the Abhira king. If such was the case, the reign of Virapurushadatta, covering about twenty years may be assigned to c. 255-75 A.D. In case however, it is believed that the Abhiras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikshvâkus who were overthrown as a result thereof, we may assign the reign of Virapurushadatta and his son and succeeded in ousting the Abhiras and re-established their hold on the Krishna-Guntur region within a few years. In the second alternative, we have possibly to suggest that the Abhiras ruled over some parts of the erstwhile Ikshvâku kingdom after the overthrow of the Ikshvâkus and that they were ousted by their erstwhile allies, viz. the Pallavas, a few years later.

**TEXT**

Sidham |

1 namo bhagavate(to) savâ-loka-mahitasa [Noñagi?]sarasâmîsa [*] [maha]rajasa [asamedhayâjisa anekahirana-koṭi-padâyisa siri-Chatamulasa putasa].


4 bhagavato [Noñagi?]sarasâmîsa devakula thala [cha kâri]tâ akhaya-nîvi cha katâna masamumasisaka vadhisâ...........dhika-seniya [dini].............[dini] dasa 10

5 panika-seniye dini dasa 10 puvika-seniye dini dasa 10 [!] eva[m] senisu chatusu.....dini-sa[ta]

6 ............ sara chhaya ........ paraputa .. ni ........... vakâye sadha

7 ............. thika ...... tarapa [Pa]radika Bhagaphula Sat[hapa] [!] apanâ cha chitanam katavam

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvula Chântamûla, Year 8

The first of these two epigraphs, hereinafter mentioned as A, is engraved on a broken pillar found in a Mandapa in Site No. 9 (Longhurst's Stûpa No. 9). The second record, hereinafter called B, is engraved on another broken pillar which, as the internal evidence suggests, was likewise found from the same site.
Each of the two records, which are damaged and fragmentary, contains seventeen lines of writing. The writing in A covers an area about 29½ inches in height and 12½ inches in breadth while, in B, it covers a space about 28 inches high and 14 inches broad. The characters of the epigraphs belong to the usual Ikshvaku alphabet and the language is Prakrit. Like some Prakrit inscriptions of the time of Ehuvala Chantamula, reduplicated consonants are used in the inscriptions under study, though only in a few cases. Both the records bear the same date which is the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season (probably Vaiśākha-sudi 15) in the eighth regnal year of the Ikshvaku king Ehuvala Chantamula. The king is mentioned in A as the son of Virapurushadatta, but in B both as the son of Virapurushadatta and as the grandson of Chantamula.

Both the epigraphs record, in similar language, the pious activities of an upasaka (lay follower of the Buddha) named Chadarsra (Chandraśri) who was the dear brother of Nagaśri (Nagaśri). He is further described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various localities such as cities, hills and market-towns in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies or festivals in honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha (Buddha-Dharma-Sangha-mangala-nagaravara-girivara-negamavara-bahu-deyadhamā-kāraka). The place where Chandrasri performed the pious deeds recorded in the inscriptions is described as the Sethivara-vardhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vardhamāna) in the Mahā-nikāya of the Apanamahāvinnasaśailiyas at Vijayapura on the Śrīparvata. The word nikāya in Mahā-nikāya seems to mean, in the present context, a dwelling rather than a fraternity. The name of Śreṣṭhivara-vardhamāna reminds us of Mahārajavardhamāna at Vijayapura, which is mentioned in another Nagarjunakonda inscription edited below (No. 7, B II). The real meaning of vardhamāna is difficult to determine. Since, however, this Śreṣṭhivara-vardhamāna was situated within the Mahā-nikāya of the monks of the Apanamahāvinnasaśailiya sect, it seems to mean a religious institution probably maintained by the chief śreṣṭhin or banker.

Inscription A states that Chandrasri made a sela-madava (śaila-mandapa), i.e. a pavilion made of stone, and a bhara-sala for a particular Ariya-sangha (Ārya-sangha), i.e. a community of Buddhist monks, with a view to attaining Nirvāṇa. The name of the Ārya-sangha is not readable in either of the two inscriptions. The expression bhara-sala seems to be a mistake for buṅdāra-sāla (Sanskrit bhāṇḍāra-sālā) meaning 'a store-room'. Line 13 refers to the above pious activities of Chandrasri as having been done for the longevity of the king (i.e. Ehuvala Chantamula). Lines 14-17, which are damaged and fragmentary, appear to suggest that Chandrasri also built a sālā (probably 'a hall') in the name of his parents with a prayer for attaining happiness (sukh-athanāya = Sanskrit sukha-arthanāya).

Inscription B records that the same Chandrasri built a sālā for the Therās (senior Buddhist monks) residing at the śaila-mandapa of the Ārya-sangha mentioned in A. This act was also done for the king's longevity. Lines 14-17 contain some of the expressions in the concluding part of A such as the reference to the honouring of the parents and the prayer for attaining happiness. But the nature of the pious work referred to in this section is not clear.

The geographical names Vijayapura and Śrīparvata, mentioned in both the records, are well known.

**TEXT**

**A**

1 .............. s[i]r[i]-Vīrapurasa[datasa] ..............

2 .................. raño Vāseti-puta[sa] [I]kḥā ..............

578.
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

3  Euhuvula-Chântamûlasa savachhara
4  [ma] gimha-pakha chavutha divasa pa
5  [pa]vate Vijayapure Aparamahâvina
6  yânâ mahâ-nigâye Sethivara-vadhamâne
7  ...sikasa Ariya-saighha[sa] se
8  [da]jva padithapeti bhara-[sa]lam niva[nâ]
9  v[e]ti Budha-Dhamma-Saighha-[malgala]
10  ...vara-girivarac[am]-varâ
11  ...bahu-[de]yadhamakaraka
12  [upphâ[pâ)sako Cha[da]sirî cha [Nâ],
13  ...piya-bhûtuk[o] raño â[yu]
14  ...apana mâtâ-pituno
15  ...riyaka nimitta sâlâ
16  ... purat[o] [kâ]râpitâ
17  ... [mane] sukh-sthanâya

B

1  Sidha | mahârâjasas asametha-yâji-
2  sa a[ne]ka-hirana-ko[t]i-padâyisa sirî-Charn[ta]mô-
3  lasa p[u]tasa mahârâjasa sirî-[Vi]ra[pu]-
4  risadattasa putasa raño Vâsethp-putasa Ikhâ-
5  [ku]na sirî-[E]havu[la]-Chantamûlasa savachhara athatma gî-
6  mha-pakha chavuthâ divasa padarasa Siripavate
7  Vijayapure Aparamahâvinas[e]liyânam ma[hâ]-
8  [vina]seliyânam mahâ-nigâye Sethivara-vadhamâne
9  .... ... kasa Ariya-saghasa selâ-[mâdava]-
10  [vathavana] therana sâlâ nivanaya [na]hâ[ti [Bhudha]-Dhama...
11  ...magala-nagaravara-girivarac[am]-varâ-bahu-deya
12  ... karako upâsako Chadasirî cha Nâgasiri ...
13  ... ko raño âyu-vadhanika kata ...
14  ... a[pano] mâtâ-pituno pûjâ ...
15  ... [na]puta bhariyako ni[mil]ta sa ...
16  ... ma-bhâgarin puram dâtâ apa ...
17  .... neva ..... gama[ne] sukh-athanaya .....
3. Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chântamûla, Year 13

This inscription is engraved on a pillar found in an area to the north of the sixteen-pillared Mandapa in Section IV of Site No. 61. There are 7 lines of writing covering an area about 7½ inches in height and 10½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in the upper three lines of the inscription.

The characters are the same as in many other epigraphs of the place, which can be assigned to dates about the third or fourth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Prakrit. It is dated the seventh day of the fifth fortnight of the summer season in the thirteenth regnal year of the Ishvâku king Vâsishthiputra Ehuvula Chântamûla who flourished about the close of the third and the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhaya-thaṭṭha (chhāyā-ṣṭambha, i.e. a memorial pillar bearing the representation of the deceased person in whose memory it was raised) of Mahâsênâpati Kumâra Eli Ehuvuladâsanâmakâ. In this name, aînâka is a suffix and no part of the actual name while Ehuvûla is the same as Ehuvula and its variants. Eli Ehuvuladâsa is stated to have been the son of Mahavalabhâkâ Yakhîlînîkâ who was a mahishî (i.e. queen) of the Ishvâku king Mâtharî-putra Virapurushadatta. We know that king Virapurushadatta was the father and predecessor of Ehuvula Chântamûla probably born of Vâsishthî Bhatîdevâ, another queen of Virapurushadatta. Eli Ehuvuladâsa thus seems to have been a step-brother of king Ehuvula Chântamûla, during the thirteenth year of whose reign the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was raised.

Prince (Kumâra) Eli Ehuvuladâsa was a Mahâsênâpati (literally, 'the great commander of the forces') no doubt in the service of his step-brother, king Ehuvula Chântamûla. Opposite Nâgârjunîkônda, there is a locality called Eleśvaram on the other bank of the Krishna in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place has yielded antiquities of the Ishvâku age and also of earlier and subsequent periods. The name of the locality is apparently that of a god called Eleśvara probably installed by a person named Eli. Whether the name of Eleśvaram can thus be associated with Prince Eli Ehuvuladâsa of the Ishvâku family, known from the inscription under study, cannot of course be determined without further evidence. The word elî, probably connected with Telugu elika (from elu, 'to govern') meaning 'a ruler, king, master', is also found in the name of Talavara Eliśrî mentioned in a Nâgârjunîkônda inscription of the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvalaśrî (i.e. Ehuvula Chântamûla).

The name of Eli Ehuvuladâsa's mother, who was one of the queens of Virapurushadatta, is given in the inscription as Mahavalabhâkâ Yakhîlînîkâ. In this, nîkâ (i.e. aînîkâ) is a suffix added to the personal name Yakhîlî. Mahavalabhâkâ seems to be an epithet derived from the name of the place whence the queen hailed. Unfortunately, we do not know any place called Mahâvalabhî although the name no doubt reminds us of Valabhi in Kathiawar, which was the capital of the Maitraka kings from the sixth century A.D.
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

4. [Mādhrā-pātasa Ikhākuna[m] sa(s)i-virāpurṣadatasa]
5. mahisija(ya Mahavalabhikaya Yakhilinikaya pu-
6. tasa mahāsenapati kumārasa Eli-Ehav[ō]-
7. ladāsamakasa chhaya-tha[m]bh[ō] thāpito ||

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chāntamūla, Year 24.

The inscription under study was briefly noticed in the Indian Archaeology 1956-57 - A Review, p. 36, and the sculptured stone bearing it was also illustrated there in Plate LVII, A. The inscribed slab has been described as 'a sculptured frieze in a Buddha-chaitya' and the inscription is stated to record 'the installation of a Buddha image in the Chaitya by one Kumāranandin, a stēshthin (tradesman). There is, however, no mention of a Chaitya in the epigraph.

The frieze, 8 feet 6 inches in length, bears the representation of four principal incidents of the Buddha's life in medallions in deep relief along with mithuna figures at five places in bas-relief; so arranged that a figure of the Buddha is flanked by the mithuna in each case. The inscription is engraved in a single line in the lower part of the frieze, the letters being small (a little below ½ inch in height) and the line of writing nearly 8 feet in length. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory in some parts. A number of letters are broken here and there while recent marks on the inscription show that the writing was further damaged during the process of digging out the slab from the earth.

The characters of the inscription are the same as in the other records edited above. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography is somewhat influenced by Prakrit. The record refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvula Chāntamūla and is dated the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season (probably Bhāḍrapada-sudi 5) in the king's twenty-fourth regnal year. Year 24 is the latest known date of Ehuvula Chāntamūla's reign.

The inscription begins with the siddham symbol followed by the word siddham. This is rather unusual especially in an early inscription. The symbol and word are followed by the date referred to above. The object of the inscription is then recorded in a single sentence. It is stated that the stone image (sālamayi pratiṃa) of the Bhagavat Buddha, i.e. the frieze bearing Lord Buddha's representations and the inscription under study, was installed by Kumāranandin at the Mahādevi-parivena at Vijayapuri on the Śrīparvata. We know that Vijayapuri was the name of the Ikshvāku capital situated in the Nāgarjunikonda valley while the Nāgarjunikonda hills form a part of the ancient Śrīparvata, i.e., the modern Nālamalai range. The word parivena means 'the cell or hut forming a monk's private chamber in a Buddhist monstery'. The name Mahādevi-parivena suggests that the inscribed frieze was fixed in the residence of a Buddhist monk in a local monastery and that the hut in question had been built by an Ikshvāku queen. The queen referred to may have been one of the wives of king Ehuvula Chāntamūla.

Besides the epithet Bhagavat, the Buddha has been endowed with three other epithets, viz. Samyak-
sambuddha (one who is perfectly enlightened), Sarva-sattv-ottama (one who is the best among all beings) and sarva-guṇa-pārami-prāpta (one who has attained perfection in all the virtues). The word pārami and pāramitā are used in Pali in the same sense.

Kumāranandin is described as a stēshthin (i.e. a banker) from the Syandaka-parvata apparently meaning a locality at the foot of the hill called Syandaka. Unfortunately no such hill is known to us. The stēshthin is stated to have performed the meritorious deed along with his wife the stēshthini, his son
named Īśvarabhartṛi or "bhaṭṭi, as well as his other kinsmen and relatives (sva:jana-sambandhi-varga). The purpose was the attainment of welfare and happiness for his own-self and for all the beings. Kumāranandin is further described as the son of Īśvaradatta belonging to a sect, probably called Baranakīya, which belonged to a kula (clan), possibly called Irusaka.

An interesting feature of this Buddhist inscription is that it ends in a stanza of the nature of the benedictory verses generally found at the end of copper-plate grants. It expresses the wish in the Mahāyāna style that the world might attain Nirvāṇa as a result of whatever merit was achieved as a consequence of Kumāranandin's donation of the deya-dharma, i.e., the gift of the slab bearing the representations of the Buddha, which had no doubt been installed for worship.

Of the geographical names in the record, mention has already been made of Vijayapuri, Śrīparvata and Syandaka-parvata. The epithet looking like Baranakīya applied to the name of Īśvaradatta, father of Kumāranandin, also seems to contain a geographical name like Baranka, although its identification is uncertain.

TEXT


5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chantamula

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar said to be found near a Māndapa about 100 yards north-east of 'the Antiquity Section'. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The inscription in four lines is written in the usual Ikhshvāku alphabet and in the Prakrit language. It is dated in the reign of the Ikhshvāku king Ehuvula Chantamula, though the symbol or symbols indicating the regnal year cannot be read. The exact date is quoted as the tenth day of a certain fortnight of the winter season (hecanta).

The inscription indicates that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhāyā-stambha of Kodaraka who is described as araka-bhadaraka (Sanskrit āryaka-bhattāraka) and yati-samane-khandaḥikata (Sanskrit yati-samana-skandaḥikirta). The first of these epithets may suggest that Kodaraka was a religious personage, probably the head of a monastery. The other epithet, in which skandaḥkīrtī literally mean 'borne on the shoulder', seems to mean that he was highly respected by the yatis (Brahmanical ascetics) and śramanas (Buddhist monks).

TEXT

1..... aka-siri-Ehavala-Chantamula [sa] ..... 

2..... hema .... diva 10 araka-bhadarakasa ......
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

3 yati-samaña-khamdhikatasa Koda[rakasa]
4 [chhāya-khambhō]

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered outside the eastern gate of the citadel in Site No. 36. There are five lines of writing covering an area about 14 inches in height and 14½ inches in breadth.

The characters are similar to those in the other records edited here; but their size is bigger, individual letters, excluding the conjuncts and those endowed with vowel-marks, etc., being nearly 1½ inches in height. The elongation of the letters is less prominent in this record than in others. The initial vowel o and the consonant / occur in the epigraph. No king is mentioned and there is no date. The language of the record is Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word sidham (śiddham) and records that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhāya-thabha (chhāya-stambha) of Chantapula of the Kulahaka family. It is not impossible that Chantapula is just a variant of the name Chāntamūla, while the Kulahakas are certainly the same as the Kulahakas mentioned in some of the Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions.

Chantapula, in whose memory the pillar bearing the inscription was raised, is called a Mahā-sēnāpati, though which king he served in the capacity of a commander of the forces is not known. There other epithets are also applied to his name, of which amita-janasa dapa-damanas (Sanskrit amita-janasya darpa-damana), 'the subduer of the arrogance of the enemy folk', is easy to understand. The other two are khamdhāvārāna okhamdhaka and olabaku-hathi-gāhaka which are both difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two epithets may stand as skandhāvārānām = avaskandaka meaning 'one who attacked or subdued the camps [of the enemies'] forces'. The expression hathi-gāhaka (hasti-grāhaka) means 'one who seizes the elephants [of the enemies] or catches elephants [from the forests]', while we may also have here ku-hathi (a wicked elephant) instead of hathi. The expression olabakuhathi-gāhaka may thus mean 'one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku', or 'one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku', or 'one who captured an elephant named Olabaku' or 'one who captured a wicked elephant at or belonging to or in the shape of Olaba'.

TEXT

1 Sidham [*] khamdhāvārāna okhamdhakasa amita-
2 janasa dapa-damanasa Olabaku-
3 hathi-gāhakasa mahāsenā-
4 patisa Kulahakānam sri-Chamta-
5 pulasa chhāya-thabho []

B

Several memorial pillars bearing small inscriptions in a few lines were discovered at Site No. 113. They are referred to in the records as chhāya-stambhas which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers. The soldiers are described as pudita (=pāṭita) apparently meaning 'killed
[in a battle]. But their numbers are not indicated in any of the cases. The characters of the records are similar to the other inscriptions edited above and their language is Prakrit.

These inscriptions show that sometimes a single memorial pillar was raised for a number of dead persons. Although the word chhāyā-stambha suggests that the pillar bore the figures of the soldiers in whose memory it was raised it is doubtful whether it was possible to represent all the dead soldiers when their number was high. The inscriptions also suggest that a great battle was fought probably by the partisans of an Ikshvāku king against some enemies. Unfortunately, no king or date is mentioned in any of these records and little can be definitely said about the battle indirectly referred to. Whether the battle was fought at the site where the inscriptions have been found is uncertain. But it is interesting to note that the leaders of the soldiers, as mentioned in the different epigraphs, all hailed from a single locality called Magalarana (probably Mangalāranya). The location of this place is uncertain, but its importance is indicated by the fact that there were many leaders of forces stationed therein.

I

This is an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, though a few letters are damaged at the end of the second line.

The record states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the chhāyā-stambha of the dead soldiers who had enjoyed the favour of Rathika Bhata (probably Sanskrit Bhakta) who was an inhabitant of Magalarana. The word rathika stands for Sanskrit rāṣṭrika meaning 'the governor of a rāṣṭra (i.e. a small territorial unit of a kingdom)'. The Rāṣṭrika mentioned in our record was apparently the subordinate of an Ikshvāku king.

TEXT

1 Maga[la]rana-vathavasa
2 rathikasa Bhātasa pā[sa]....
3 bhādana[r] padita[na]r chhāyā-tha[bho] [||*].

II

This is also an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The language is similar to that of No. I above. But the leader of the dead soldiers in this case is called a Sēnāpati. The first letter of the name of this Sēnāpati is doubtful. But the name was possibly Rataputa.

TEXT

1 Magalarana-va[tha]va[sa] se[nā]pat[isa]
2 [Ra?]taputa[sa pata[na]m] bhādanaṁ pasa ....
3 ....[yā]-kharṁ[bho] [||*]

III

This is an inscription in three lines like Nos. I-II. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. The leader of the forces mentioned in this record is called Karadaru-kumāra, 'Prince
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

Karadaru, who was a sēnāpati hailing from Magalarana. It is, however, difficult to determine whether he was an Ikshvāku prince stationed at Magalarana.

IV

It is record in four lines. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. The leader of the soldiers in this case was a Rathika (Rāshtri, 'governor of a rāshtra') whose name was probably Haraka.

TEXT

1 Magalarana-vathavasa rathikasa.
2 [Harakasa pasadatana patata]-
3 na[m] ma(bha)da ...... chha[ya]-kha[bha] ||||
Mahakoduvaka, in which araka may stand for Sanskrit āryaka. But the meaning of Kođuvaka is uncertain though Kođuva, to which the word mahat (big) has been prefixed, may be the name of a place whence Āryabhūti hailed.

1. ... mahāsa[nāpa]tisa mahātala ......
3. chhaya-thabho |

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

This inscription is engraved on a broken pillar excavated from a site of what is called a University by the excavators though the reason for the nomenclature is unknown. The extant portion represents the lower right hand section of the record. There are altogether five lines of writing in the inscription, the left half of all of them being almost totally lost. Each line originally contained 24 or more akṣharas, about 12 in a line being now found in the well-preserved section of the epigraph. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that the whole inscription was originally written in twenty lines, of which only the right hand part of the last quarter at the bottom now remains. The inscribed area on the slab is 9 inches in height while the breadth of the space covered by the well-preserved section of the writing is 7½ inches.

The characters of the record are similar to the other inscriptions edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph seems to have been written entirely in verse. The extant portion of the inscription contains parts of three stanzas of which the first is composed in Paņcha-chāturm or Tūnaka and the second and third are in the Vamsāstha metre. It is interesting to note that these three stanzas are numbered in the record as verses 8, 9 and 10. This fact shows that the inscription was originally composed in ten stanzas, with half of a verse engraved in each of the lines of writing. This kind of arrangement of the words of verses as well as the numbering of the stanzas is found in some early inscriptions. The extant part of our epigraph does not contain any date. It may, however, be pointed out that Sanskrit inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda, which are generally Brahmancial, belong to the post-Virapurushadatta age. The present inscription in Sanskrit as a Buddhist record.

The purport of the inscription is not satisfactorily clear from the fragment at our disposal. The last quarter of verse 9 in line 2 refers to a mandapa having a hundred (or more than a hundred) pillars and belonging to the same establishment. The nature of the mandapa is unknown. But if the cooks mentioned earlier were associated with it, as they appear to have been, the reference may really be to a sattra or free feeding establishment. The last quarter of the stanza in line 3 refers to a person as firm-minded (dhrīt-atman) and self-subdued (jit-atman) probably as one who maintained the mandapa attached to the religious establishment in question.

The second quarter in verse 10 in line 4 speaks of a monastery (vihāra-mukhya, literally, 'the chief monastery') either as the same as, or as containing in it, what has been called a vigatajvarālāya. In the said expression, vigatajvara (literally, 'freed from mental distress', or 'exempt from decay') seems to indicate a Buddhist monk or the Buddha regarded as the best of monks. Thus the expression vigatajvarālāya in the sense of 'a residence of the Buddhist monks' may be regarded as an adjective qualifying vihāra-mukhya, i.e. the monastery mentioned in the context, or the reference may be to a shrine (ālāya)
of the Buddha that existed within the monastery in question. Some writers on Nāgarjuna-konda are inclined to understand *vigatajvar-ālaya* in the sense of 'a hospital'. Of course, *vigata-jvara* may also mean 'a person recovered from fever'. But *vigata-jvar-ālaya* would then mean a sanatorium for the convalescence of such persons. It is difficult to believe in the existence of a sanatorium for housing only people recovered from fever even though there is enough evidence to prove the existence of hospitals called, *śālā, ātura-śālā, punaya-śālā* or *ārogya-śālā*.

The last quarter of the said stanza (verse 10) says that a *vihāra-bāhā, 'a wing of the monastery', was made in the monastic establishment mentioned in its second quarter. It seems to refer either to the *mandapa* mentioned in line 2 or to some institution associated with the *mandapa*. As already indicated above, from the reference to the cooks in line 1, the wing of the *vihāra* mentioned here may be supposed to have been a free feeding establishment. The person who made it is described as *vipul-ārtha-kānkshin* the expression being probably used in the sense of Pali *aṭṭhakāma* (Sanskrit *artha-kāma*), i.e 'one who is interested in the welfare of others'. It is also possible to take the expression *vipul-ārtha* in the passage in the sense of 'salvation'.

---

**TEXT**

1. クラシフィケーションオブレコード

2. ろく 頃 に 言及 の こと に て つ か る の で あ る。

3. *vihāra-bāhā, 'a wing of the monastery',

4. *vihāra-mukhye vigatajvar-ālaye [*

5. *nivesitā* vihāra-bāhā vipul-ārthā-kānkshinā ||*]

---

**B**

Out of numerous fragments of small inscriptions, some may be noticed here. The characters of these are the same as in the other inscriptions edited here. The language of the records is Prakrit. The word *vijaya* is written in one of the epigraphs (No. II) as *vichaya* which reminds us of names like Rāchamalla (for Sanskrit *Rājamalla*) found in medieval South Indian inscriptions and of words like *prājayati* changed in Pali to *pācheti*.

---

**I**

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of the Buddha discovered at Site No. 9. It states that the image (*padima=Sanskrit *pratimā*) in question was installed by a lady who was the wife of Kodabuddhi. The reading of the name of the lady is, however, doubtful.

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**TEXT**

1. *... rikasa Kodabudhisa bhariyaya [Makā?]lāya...*

2. *ti[thāv]itam padima ||*]

---

**II**

This inscription in a single line is engraved on the lower part of a sculptured panel discovered at Site No. 23. A small piece of stone bearing the *aksharas [tiṭhavita* (i.e. *patiṭhavita, 'set up') is stated
to have formed part of the above. The extant part of the epigraph begins with the word *saha* indicating that the person responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription performed it along with others. The said deed, which seems to be the setting up of the sculptured stone bearing the inscription, was apparently performed at Mahārāja-vardhamāna (Mahārāja-vardhamāna) within Vichayapura, no doubt the same as Vījāyapura or Vījāyapuri, the Ikṣvāku capital in the Nāgārjunikonda valley. Mahārāja-vardhamāna reminds us of Sṛṣṭhiva-vardhamāna (Sṛṣṭhiva-varṣhamana) of two other Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions (No. 2, A-B) which was probably a Buddhist religious establishment maintained by a *sṛṣṭhin* or banker. Mahārāja-vardhamāna of the present record may have been a similar religious establishment maintained by an Ikṣvāku king. The elongation of the letters is not marked in the record owing to the narrowness of the space.

**TEXT**

***** saha Vichayapure Maharaja-vardhamāne bha[tā].......  

*****[ti]ṭhavita

**III**

This is the beginning of an inscription in one line. The inscribed stone was discovered from the site of Stūpa No. 9. It mentions a *kumāra* (prince) called Vīra-Aribha..., the concluding letter or letters of the name having broken away. The prince's name reminds us of that of Vīrapurushadatta of the Ikṣvāku family. The absence of *sāndhi* joining *vīra* and *ari* in the name of the prince makes it clear that *vīra* was essentially an epithet. Similarly, in the name Vīrapurushadatta, Purushadatta is the real personal name and *vīra* is an epithet even though it is treated as an integral part of the name.

**TEXT**

Śi[dha]m [1]* kumarasa Vīra-Aribha......

**IV**

There are four fragments of an inscription, which cannot be connected with one another. The first of these reads .... /Vīrapurushadatta sa ...., the last *aṅkha* being apparently the beginning of the word *savachhara*. This shows that the inscription was engraved during the reign of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapurushadatta. The second fragment reads *bhagavat* (Sanskrit *bhagavat*) which either formed part of a passage like *nirmi bhagavatasa* at the beginning of the record or referred to a deity whose installation may have been the object of the inscription. The third and fourth fragments respectively read: *samudra* and *mukudāfaj*. The letters *samudra* reminds us of the female name Samudasi (Samudrasī) known from another Nāgārjunikonda inscription edited above (IA, line 11), while *mukudasa* may stand for Sanskrit *Mukundasya*, Mukunda being a well-known personal name.

**11. NĀGĀRJUNAKONDA PRAKṚTI INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA VIJAYA SĀṬAKARNĪ, YEAR 6**

The inscription opens with the adoration to the Best of Men (*āgappogala*) i.e. Buddha. One of the Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions read *āgappogala* (Pali *āgappuggala*-Sanskrit *aryapudgala*) as an epithet of Buddha. After the adoration, the details of the date of the record are given as Vaiśākha-pūrṇimā of the
CLASSIFICATION OF RECORDS

forth fortnight of the summer season during the sixth regnal year of the king Vijaya Śatakarni. The record ends immediately after the date portion without giving the purport or any other information. However, the pages about the adoration and the date portion would establish the Buddhist nature of the epigraph. For, the Vaisākhī-pūrṇima is traditionally associated with the day of Buddha's birth and nirvāṇa. It may, therefore, be suggested that the object of the inscription is to record the gift of the pillar containing the epigraph under study to a Buddhist establishment, which might have been situated close to the findspot of the inscription.

The present epigraph is important because, besides being the solitary Śātavāhana record from Nāgārjunakonda, it is the only inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya-Śatakarni so far known. He may be identified with the Andhra king Vijaya of the Purānic list. His name is read as [Vijālya Śatakarni in some of the coins from Tarhālā hoard. Since the record is dated in the sixth regnal year of the king, it supports the testimony of the Purānas according to which he ruled for six years. According to the Purānas two more kings, viz. Chaṇḍaśrī and Pulomāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty ruled after Vijaya; they are also known from inscriptions. D.C. Sircar suggests that at least the predecessors of Pulomāvi of Myakadonī inscription must have ruled over Andhradeśa. The present discovery of Vijaya-Śatakarni's inscription at Nāgārjunakonda proves that Andhradeśa formed part of his dominion.

TEXT

1  [Na]mo bhagavato Agapogalasa []*
2  raño Gotamiputasa Siri-Vijaya-Sā-
3  takannisa sava 6 gi pa 4 diva Vesā-
4  [kha] punimā || (pl. CC)

TRANSLATION

Adoration to the Lord, the Best of Being (i.e. Buddha). (The pillar is the gift made on) the Vaisākhī- pūrṇimā day of the fourth fortnight of summer during the sixth regnal year of king Gautamīputra Vijaya-Śatakarni.
APPENDIX
## APPENDIX

### LIST OF EXCAVATED SITES*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector No.</th>
<th>New Site No.</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A complete monastic unit consisting of a Mahā-chaitya, a stūpa chaitya-griha, a mandapa and three-winged vihāra. Renovation of Mahā-stūpa was done by Chāntisiri during the 6th regnal year of Virapurushadatta. Mandapa was donated by the same lady during the 15th regnal year and possible flooring only to the apsidal temple in 18th regnal year of Virapurushadatta. The unit has been dedicated for the benefit of Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect. Excavation revealed lime-concrete floor around the stūpa-chaitya and flight of steps with balustrade in front of it. The hoard of Ikshvāku coins was found below the floor slab in front of the chaitya, towards northeastern corner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N XI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A complete monastic unit near university consisting of an eight-spoked stūpa, two chaityas and three winged vihāras. This unit had yielded beautiful pieces of sculptures and probably the masterpiece sculpture of Nāgārjunakonda depicting the horse of the prince Siddhārtha returning in grief after renunciation, was found here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A complete monastic unit of university area consisting of an eight-spoked stūpa, two chaityas, one being the stūpa-chaitya and the other Buddha chaitya, vihāra wings, nunnery, store rooms, sculpture workshop, foreman’s seat, mandapa etc. A beautiful carved moonstone for a chaitya entrance and a urinal in one corner were outstanding features of this unit. Architectural features are worthy of note.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*This appendix was prepared by Ganesa Rao and later checked and revised by Shri Raghubir Singh.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors</th>
<th>Areas</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N XI</td>
<td>374, 375 &amp; 394</td>
<td>A complete monastic unit below Chula-dhammagiri consisting of a stupa on a higher level built above rock, two chaityas, one for Buddha image another for small stupa, one mandapa, three-winged vihara and an attached kitchen and refectory with courtyard on east. Clearance unearthed flight of steps leading to the stupa on the northern side. With moonstone on each of the steps at the base. The construction showed two phases of building activities. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N X</td>
<td>133 to 115, 133 to 136</td>
<td>The Bahusrutiya monastic-complex. A fairly big unit consisting of a stupa, two chaityas, three-winged vihara consisting of a stupa enclosing a mandapa. Another peculiar feature was the addition of one small pillared-hall each on the back, and on south and western sides. Founded by Bhattideva, mother of Ehuvala Chântitamûla in his second regnal year for Bahusrutiya sect. Latest excavations revealed a shrine on northwestern corner with a beautifully carved limestone dhvaja-stambha in front of it. Another four-pillared shrine had also been cleared on the southeastern corner of vihara, with an interesting drainage system towards east for carrying off water from the monastery. Only stupa was excavated by Longhurst. Fresh excavations revealed traces of vihara on east and thre votive stupas of rubble with a brick votive stupa to the west. Another bigger rubble stupa lay to further west.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N IV</td>
<td>4 to 7 &amp; 27 also 384, 385 of N X</td>
<td>The Mahisása Vihara, a complete unit on hillock on the way to Pushpabhadrasvâmi Temple or Bathing Ghât. It consisted of stupa on the summit (Stupa 8). An aâyaka pillar recorded the name of the foundress as Kodabalisiri, the sister of Ehuvala Chântitamûla, when donated it for Mahisása Sect during her brother's eleventh regnal year. A small stupa (No. 7) was built on a lower level</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1 The numbers below the Sector No. show the subdivision of the Sectors which were fully excavated.
nearby. Fresh excavations brought to light elaborate four-winged vihāra with pillared-hall in the centre. A fine lime-plaster had been used on the walls of the vihāra. A few pieces of stucco sculptures were also found from the vihāra cells, but unfortunately the pieces are too fragmentary to restore. The whole unit was enclosed by a huge rubble wall.

A complete monastic unit excavated in 1957 and 1958. Only stūpa was excavated by Longhurst. It consisted of stūpa, a Buddha chaitya and stūpa chaitya, three-winged vihāra and a mandapa. The unit showed three clear structural sub-phases, also evidenced by an inscription on a pillar of mandapa found there. A huge rubble enclosure wall and a chamber and a rubble circular platform on northwest were other features of important interest. Stūpa and earlier vihāra built possibly during Vīrapurushadatta's period and renovation in stone done during the eighth regnal year of Ehuvaḷa Chāntamūla.

A four-winged vihāra on a mound. Each wing of the vihāra consisted of five cells. The central open courtyard for these four wings measured 55' square.

Nakatara Vihāra was a three-winged vihāra without a mandapa in middle. Eastern and southern wings have earlier walls below. All the three wings each consisting of three cells were built on the slope of a natural rock, levelled up with stone filling, wherever necessary. Perhaps a square base of stūpa (?) built in rubble was at a distance towards west. An inscribed sherd had disclosed the name of the vihāra.
Stumps of a sixteen-pillared mandapa on a bund near University area. No complete plan of the walls was left.

The unit consists of a four-spoked stupa 26' in dia and built in two stages. The lower one after laying foundation was abandoned probably because it was out of the central axis bisecting the vihāra. The three-winged vihāra on the north consists of a sixteen-pillared hall in centre. Each vihāra wing had got three rooms. The unit was built on the top of a small hillock opposite to Chula-dhammagiri.

A complete monastic unit on whitish hillock by the side of road to Vijayapuri. It consisted of a rubble stupa with two votive stupas in front. The three-winged vihāra with a central mandapa was built on east of the stupa. Westernmost chamber of the southern vihāra wing yielded torsos of Buddha. Whole of this unit was enclosed by a rubble wall and approached by flight of steps from east.

A ten-spoked stupa to west of site office, on the way to Vijayapuri. It was 46' in dia and was enclosed by a brick wall, square in plan (roughly 70'). No attached monastery to this stupa was found.

Rubble construction of a stupa enclosing the peak of Tella Ralla Bodu.

The Hārīti Temple on top of the hill behind the staff quarters. It consisted of five shrines and two mandapas on top, enclosed or retained by a brick wall, a mandapa on west at a lower level, a mandapa and three rooms possibly for shrine towards north outside the enclosure wall. Approach to this complex was provided through flight of steps leading from below near stadium to three rooms exposed in 1958 towards north.
The stadium below on ground was a unique structure in the valley. The central area 54′ x 45′ had steps on all sides for seating arrangements. Twelve steps were built with slab facing on northern, western and eastern sides and sixteen steps on the eastern side where the 6th ones from below are platforms. Flight of steps in the centre of eastern side led to boxes one on either side above and two back rooms built higher up in terraces. A massive retaining wall had been provided in extreme back at top which also stopped the stone sliding down from the top of the hill during the rains. This huge wall abutted the natural hard rock end, against a base of three rooms to north-east exposed in 1958. Three rooms above on hill to east of stadium approached by a flight of steps on slope, possibly, residential in utility and were situated just on the way to temple useful on festivals were probably provided from near the southwestern corner shrine of the Hāriti Temple-complex. The filling below the structures of the complex was retained by a massive retaining wall towards stadium.

Forty-pillared hall opposite to the stadium behind the staff quarters excavated in 1958.

A big bathing tank behind Hāriti Temple. It was a covered bath built on ground level with deep filling around and a brick floor on all sides. A mandapa in front was subsequently added with a flight of a three steps leading to the floor of hall covering the tank. Two entrances had been provided to the front mandapa one each on the northern and southern sides. A rubble wall faced with brick had been provided on north outside the tank possibly to carry the feeding drain for the tank. A shrine chamber was built on southwestern corner of the mandapa behind the steps.

An Ikshvāku canal fed by rain-water coming from the Phirangimotu hill.
This unit consisted of a circular structure filled with rubble packing (36' dia). Further enclosed by a brick wall measuring 61' square and a two-winged vihāra each having five cells with a front verandah. The third wing of vihāra if existed, had possibly been destroyed by cultivation.

A monastic unit consisted of an eight-spoked stūpas yielding relics and a three-winged vihāra situated to south at a distance of about 200' from stūpa. Only this central wing of vihāra containing seven rooms each complete and other two were hopelessly ruined.

A circular structure (28' dia) with rubble filling and enclosed by a rubble wall, square in plan. There were no spokes in the core of the structure.

A big monastic unit consisting of three-winged vihāra, central mandapa and a stūpa chaitya in front near the main entrance on south. Other important features were a circular pounding amidst a square brick platform behind eastern wing vihāra a 12' wide gateway (blocked subsequently) on east and a small square tank with provision of steps from the courtyard. Two phases of construction particularly on eastern side blocking earlier passages (one also in southwestern corner) were clearly visible. Some of the pillars of mandapa bore inscriptions at base portion indicating the creation of the mandapa done by a person incharge of the elephantry. Digging revealed remains of a circular rubble structure perhaps stūpa, partly destroyed by a vagu. Unlike the other monastic units, this stūpa was built at a distance of about 200' from the entrance of the vihāra. Four votive stūpas had been added towards north of the main stūpa. A medieval wall and some human bones were recovered from this area.
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<td>N XXI</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Find-spot of a memorial pillar set up by the fourth Ikshvaku King Rudrapurushadatta in his eleventh regnal year of his mother Queen Sirivaitabha, wife of Ehuvala Chintamula. This unit consisted of an eight-spoked stupa within a brick enclosure, a chaitya and a four-winged vihara towards north. A circular platform to hold the memorial pillar for Queen Vammabha stood on the other side of entrance to vihara, opposite to the chaitya. A circular shrine with stepped-entrance and puranagaha upright slabs on either side of the moonstone was an important architectural feature in southwestern corner of vihara worthy of note. A sixteen-pillared mandapa stood in the centre of vihara courtyard.</td>
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<tr>
<td>N XXIV</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>The last site on the river bank near Siddhuladari. The site was probably used as a Burning Ghat; two mandapas and rooms with stone steps and balustrade leading to the river below form the main arrangement. The Siva shrine of medieval period overlay these structures and one of these shrines had been built between four pillars of earlier mandapa duly utilising them. Rubble walls had been built behind it to stop erosion from the hill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N XVII</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>A fairly big and complete monastic unit. It consisted of a stupa on west, two chaityas, a central mandapa and a three-winged vihara on east. The northern chaitya showed two sub-phases in construction. Other important features were two circular rooms (but square from inner side) one each of northern and southern sides of the vihara towards chaitya, an entrance hall and a store-room in eastern wing of vihara, and medieval burning platform in rubble overlying the northeastern corner of the vihara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N XII</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>A monastic unit enclosed by a huge rubble wall on the slope of the hill to east of University. It consisted of a small four-spoked stupa, 14' in diameter in a rubble enclosure and five cells of</td>
</tr>
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vihāra built in two wings on a higher level towards east. The southern two-roomed wing of vihāra had got remains of earlier rooms below. The central three-roomed vihāra had got a drain on north to carry off water from the courtyard to a pit.

A 31' square pillared hall, possibly having wooden pillars to support the roof, had got five roomed wing of vihāra each on northern and western sides. A Buddha chaitya on western front and a circular rubble structure (stūpa) had been found after further excavations.

It was a temple-complex located on the foot of Siddhuladari hill on the right bank of River Krishna. This consisted of two main shrines and possibly three smaller ones. Two spacious mandapas were provided within the enclosure of the temple and third one stands outside on east. Residential rooms for the priests had been provided on south-west corner. An elliptical structure near the eastern entrance was a pushkarini or temple tank. A secondary entrance to this unit was built in the southern enclosure. One of the important finds from this unit was gold leaf with embossed figure of a deity recovered from the centre of the elliptical tank besides inscribed sankhas from one of the mandapa, a dhvaja-stambha from the open courtyard on east. The main shrine was an aspidal pillared hall in front. The most important discovery of this unit was an inscription over a wooden image. The inscription revealed that a wooden image of Ashtabhujasvāmi was set up by an Ābhira King Vasuhsena in his thirtyieth regnal year.

Six-spoked stūpa in a brick enclosure measuring 49' sq with one entrance each on east and west is facing a three-roomed single wing of vihāra on each measuring about 120' from stūpa enclosure.
The hospital unit (*vigata-jvarālaya*) in University area. The whole unit was enclosed by a long brick wall with a gate excavated in 1958. The 'hospital' consisted of a stūpa, an out-patient examination hall or a pillared *mandapa* gallery and halls for beds of patients, examination rooms for eyes; urinal was provided on northeastern corner of enclosure wall. The *mandapa* showed traces of screening on all the four sides built by fitting stone slabs between groups cut into the small stone pillars.

A rubble stūpa in beak of hospital unit. The unit consisted of possibly a four-winged vihāra; a rubble enclosure with urinal in back from which a drain was discharged into a pit outside.

A large rubble enclosure wall on foot of Nāgārjuna hill. Two cells and one stūpa were the only structure found in the centre of this area. A strong rubble wall was the necessity here to stop erosion from the Nāgārjuna hill.

The Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple-complex. It was a large area consisting of the aspidal Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple; with the attached Bathing *Ghat* and the subsequent extension to it at right angles towards north, extension of Kārttikeya Shrine to the north of temple on slope of Nāgārjunakonda, and a sixty-four-pillared *mandapa* behind the temple. An inscribed *dhvaja-stambha* found in front of the temple towards the God revealed that the temple assigned to Lord Pushpabhadrasvāmi was built during the sixteenth regnal year of Ehuvula Chārītamula, the third Ikshvāku king.

A twenty-four-pillared hall with an aspidal room or shrine towards west. It was located just on the roadside on way to Mahīśāsaka or Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple.
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<td>N II</td>
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<td>N III</td>
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<td>N III</td>
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<td>S III</td>
<td>86, 87, 116, 117</td>
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Senāpati memorial hall, outside eastern gateway of the citadel. It consisted of a twenty-four-pillared mandapa on east and covered drain on northwestern corner. The memorial pillar recorded that the Senāpati, named as Chāntapūla, fell after capturing an elephant of enemy in a battle. The scene was also carved above the inscription. A drain with an enclosure wall outside had been excavated here on the west of the structure. A few lead coins were found towards north of the structure.

Longhurst's Palace: A twenty-four-pillared hall with entrances on each on east and west. One long room had been provided on either side, i.e., on north and south. A central platform inside the mandapa towards the east had beautifully carved pillars. The carved pillars of mandapa had Śaka figures and scenes from their daily life, such as dining, dancing, etc. Some later rubble wall had been raised over the thick walls of the Īkṣvāku building. On the basis of exceptionally fine carvings on pillars, Longhurst had identified this building as a "Palace". But as the palace was made in the citadel, this was a public building associated with Śakas.

Dhārīṇī Vihāra from where a Buddha-pāda was found lying near the chaitya. The unit consisted of a central stūpa, three-winged vihāra and a chaitya. Three structural sub-phases appeared in this structure.

Devasenāpati's Temple on southeastern slope of Peddakundelagutta hill. It consisted of a thirty-six-pillared mandapa with an inside square shrine towards east. It was enclosed by a brick wall, another rubble enclosure on three sides (except hill side). Main entrance had been provided to the east and the other one on the west. An image of Devasenāpati was found in this temple. Limestone thresholds and beautifully carved pillars of mandapa were worthy of note.
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<tr>
<td>S III</td>
<td>39A</td>
<td>Twelve-pillared hall to the east of this temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td>117 to 120</td>
<td></td>
<td>A few walls on eastern slope of Nagaraunakonda (only a rubble wall and a brick wall).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N XX</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Drain dug by Wahid Khan. It was built to carry off rain-water coming from the hill on east, in order to stop damages to the structures on slope such as Site NK XV or NK XVIII. The on-rush of waters to be discharged through this first stopped by a long rubble bund. This drain had been provided with slits on either side at regular intervals to hold some wooden sluices meant either for regulating the flow of water, or devices to filter water.</td>
</tr>
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<td>375</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monastic unit at Chuladhampagiri founded by Bodhisiri in fourteenth regnal year of Sri Virapuruṣadatta. The unit consisted of a four-winged vihāra, a mandapa and a chaitya with slabbéd flooring bearing Bodhisiri’s inscription. Stūpa belonging to the unit probably stood on a higher level towards south but conservation works had possibly covered the original structure. Nice mouldings and decoration appeared in front of the vihāra cells, with fine lime-plastering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N XVIII</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>A house behind Hārīti Temple in fields excavated in 1958. The debris of this building yielded a peculiar type of bevelled tiles used for roof covering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211, 212</td>
<td></td>
<td>A pillared hall to south of the Bathing Tank. This mandapa was surrounded by spacious rooms with an entrance hall possibly on west. It was located on the Ikshvāku canal bank, on the opposite side of the bathing tank excavated in 1955.</td>
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<tr>
<td>N V: 90-91</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>A sixteen-pillared hall to the south-west of the above mentioned pillared-hall with a huge moonstone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>110, 109</td>
<td></td>
<td>A chaitya enshrining a stūpa excavated by the side of the road to Macherla. Only one cell of vihāra found on south.</td>
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<td>S VII</td>
<td>48a</td>
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<td>S XVII</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>A four-spoked stūpa with a square hub just on road-side beyond the above chaitya.</td>
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<td>39, 40</td>
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<td>S XIX</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>A monastic unit by roadside. It revealed traces of stūpa, a mandapa and vihāra. It was possibly located by the side of ancient road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124, 125, 144, 145</td>
<td></td>
<td>A thirty-six-pillared hall with rooms on east, containing big jars. The structures were probably roadside shops or a dharmaśālā. Traces of ancient roads were suspected on the other side of nāla below this mandapa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>S XX</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>181, 182</td>
<td></td>
<td>A mandapa (behind antiquities section), enshrining an image of Hārīti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S VI</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Kārttikeya Temple and other small shrines with a stepped-well or probably a medieval baoli. Some stone pillars and sculptures from the Kārttikeya shrine or elsewhere were used to build steps of this baoli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>Habitation area to north of Stūpa 9. Here a brick house within a rubble enclosure yielded jewellery. House had tile roofing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N III</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Small brick near Site 52 N. This stūpa was built with svastika inset instead of usual spokes. An earlier chhāyā-stambha from a locality close to this area had been pulled down and used as the base of a lime tu near this stūpa. A big rectangular enclosure wall was built around the stūpa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>314 to 320, 322, 334 to 340, 341, 342 to 355, 360, 361, 378, 380, 374, 377, 395</td>
<td></td>
<td>A site full of chhāyā-stambha scattered all over the area between Stūpa 9 and Site 58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S IV</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>A sixteen-pillared mandapa with a long room to west is possibly a dharmaśālā for pilgrims or a memorial hall as stūpa of a chhāyā-stambha stood on the north of the mandapa. On further north of mandapa, two rooms were subsequently added as shrines. Another long room was built on north-west of mandapa. The whole structure was enclosed by a rubble wall rectangular in plan. To extreme north-west within the same</td>
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<td>7 &amp; 387 of N III</td>
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<tr>
<td>S IV</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>rubble enclosure a <em>chhāyā-stambha</em> had been excavated. Here, one of the pillars of the <em>mandapa</em> was inscribed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td>A small mound to west of Site 61. It revealed only one corner of a small room and deposits of ash below possibly remain of unit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S III</td>
<td>64</td>
<td><em>Kubera (Yaksha)</em> Temple was an extension area with <em>Dadisara</em> (tank) within the same brick enclosure. The main shrine consisted of a hundred-pillared hall, a subsidiary shrine, a room at the entrance of pillared-hall and an enclosure. The second major shrine on south consisted of two <em>mandapas</em> and three rooms. One shrine stood each near the northwestern and southwestern corners of the main brick enclosure. A spacious courtyard was provided to east of the shrines, approached by a main gateway from outside. In total eight shrines were possibly built within this complex. An inscribed pillar in the southern shrine disclosed name of a town Devapuri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241, 261, 276 to 280, 281, 296 to 300, 316 to 320, 336 to 340, 356 to 358, 379 to 380</td>
<td></td>
<td>A thirty-pillared <em>mandapa</em> near river bank under a tree. The <em>mandapa</em> had got an entrance on west and a verandah on the east. Two parallel walls with a square tank towards south-east of <em>mandapa</em> possibly meant for residential purpose were built in the neighbourhood. A square platform with floor of diagonally laid bricks had also been exposed in the same area. Two baths excavated behind underground chamber of Vagu and a drain to west of road. They mostly revealed shell bangles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S II</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>A meeting place or a club built in a huge rubble enclosure. It consisted of a rectangular <em>mandapa</em> having a strong floor of deep rubble packing, stone bases of pillars in <em>mandapa</em> suggested that wooden posts only held the roof. Two sides stepped entrance had been provided on east and</td>
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| 66, 67 | | }
a strong stone wheelguard was fixed on south-eastern corner of this mandapa suggesting a heavy traffic in front. Two residential rooms were attached on north and a brick platform further north in a separate enclosure was meant for the dice-players to sit as dice has been recovered there. Two phases of construction occurred in this building.

Habitation area to south of above site. Here traces of rubble houses with jars had been excavated and some Ikshvāku coins were found.

A brick pavilion with three balustrated steps provided on west is enclosed by a brick wall with main entrance on south. Some residential structures in rubble towards west with drains were built in west and a huge kachcha drain was dug on the south parallel to the main rubble enclosure and spread outside in a rectangle.

A row of four residential rooms with a front verandah on north had debris of tiles and some rubble rooms on west below western slope of the hillock.

A twenty-four-pillared mandapa with a rectangular shrine, lowest is enclosed by a brick wall and had a main entrance towards temple-complex on the south.

Temple-complex near Putlagudem consisting of nine shrines, two of these were apsidal, two octagonal and five square. It had got the main entrance on the east and the exit in back towards the river. A four-winged side-monastery had been provided close to it on south with a small square mandapa (shrine) between these two buildings. The whole complex was built within a rubble enclosure with a wall on west. Monastery later than the temple-complex (stratigraphically). The whole temple-complex covered an area of
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<td>XI</td>
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<td>XXI-A</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>N I 82</td>
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<td>270, 271, 290, 291, 310, 311</td>
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Almost 23,600 sq ft. The main mandapa built of sixty-four pillars was of a favourite Ikshvaku design with a bench and encased by stone slabs around it. The temple, possibly enshrined the Kàrttikeya image. Fragments of nicely carved limestone railing and moulding ran throughout the base of the enclosure for apsidal shrines. The building had yielded highly evolved sculpture pieces depicting scenes of daily life and outdoor games, such as wrestling.

A twenty-four-pillared mandapa with a rectangular shrine to the west enclosed by a brick wall with main entrance for temple towards the south.

Last detached monastery to south of the above temple-complex. It consisted of three wings and a courtyard in the centre. The main entrance was provided on the east. A bathroom with a drain on end to the southern wing of cells was an interesting feature here.

The last building, identified as ‘Rangà Mandapa’ excavated beyond Putlagudem. It consisted of a thirty-six-pillared hall surrounded by open courtyard on three sides and a green room behind mandapa. A drain from the courtyard had been provided in northwestern corner to carry off rain-water from inside the room with rubble enclosure. The main entrance to this building was on the east. A seal bearing (Sarasikà) name was found in the filling to raise ground level for construction of the building.

An incomplete mandapa beyond the above site. A few pillar, stumps only unearthed.

Kàrttikeya Temple-complex outside the citadel near southwestern corner bastion. The central unit consisted of the earlier temple towards west built of heavy rubble packing retained by a strong brick wall on river side and a thirty-six-pillared mandapa added subsequently with a small shrine.
in the southeastern corner. A sixty-four-pillared hall was located on south. A winged vihāra was built towards north of central mandapa. Each wing consisted of four rooms with front verandah, two more chambers, probably shrines to west and a square well in the courtyard. Boundary wall of this vihāra built probably during the period of Ehuvuja Chāmintūla, had been linked through vertical cutting laid across the western defences of the citadel.

The building with underground chamber. It consisted of a twenty-four-pillared mandapa towards east covering an oblong and narrow but deep underground chamber with a small room by its side on north. This small apartment was nicely floored with hard lime-concrete suggesting its utility as a bathroom and that of the underground chamber as a tank, for chamber walls were also set in lime. It might perhaps be a storing chamber too. Two more rooms were attached towards north, one was possibly a shrine and other towards west was an entrance hall. A rectangular hall belonging to an earlier phase was built on west of the mandapa. An area consisting of three nicely plastered rectangular tanks with brick enclosure wall and flooring attached by sides fell towards south-west.

A twenty-four-pillared hall below hill monastery. It consisted of an attached shrine on south with a square base for an image in the centre. Entrance to the shrine from inside the pillared-hall was indicated by the semicircular step.

Hill monastery. This unit consisted of an eight spoked stūpa with possibly a square hub inside two Buddha-chaityas, one each on either side of the entrance to the vihāra, three-winged monastery and a sixteen-pillared hall in centre. Each wing of monastery had got five rooms with a bathroom and drain on southwestern corner. Remains of an
earlier phase or vihāra underlay the floor of the
eastern wing and a subsequent extension,
probably in the third sub-phase in southeastern
corner. Pillars of mandapa bore numbers
inscribed by masons, the whole unit was further
enclosed by a rubble wall with main approach to
it from the west near the stūpa and the approach
is the back from the south-east corner behind the
vihāra cells as indicated by traces of a few rubble
steps were a ramp at the stūpa.

A small monastery above hill monastery on
‘Peddakundelugutta’ almost behind the brick
fortification was running over the hill. It consisted
of only two-roomed vihāra with a front courtyard
and remains of a small brick stūpa towards
south. A jar in the courtyard was probably meant
for water storage. A rubble drain had been
provided in the courtyard in front of the rooms
to clear off the rain-water coming down from the
top of the hill.

Habitation area indicated by rubble walls as
above. A brick platform for a mandapa enclosed
within a rectangular rubble enclosure, was the
only remnant of the house or a shop. Stone bases
in brick platform were suggestive of the wooden
posts held on them for supporting roof.

Two attached mandapas outside the eastern
gateway of the citadel to south-east.

The smaller sixteen-pillared mandapa on east
reveals interesting architectural features such as
vertical slabs serving a screen had been fitted
between two pillars with slits cut in their side. The
bigger mandapa on west consisted of twelve
pillars.

Habitation area indicated by rubble walls by the
side of the road to Vijayapuri. Two-rubble rooms
with verandah to south just on roadside was the
only visible plan of house in this site.
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<td>It was an extension of south of the above habitation area consisting of rubble walls. The plan revealed rectangular rubble enclosures which had the houses built of perishable material within them during the Ikshvaku period. A main street through this habitation area running almost straight towards eastern gateway of the citadel with a few side planes. A number of jars, some of them covered with lids, perhaps containing grains had been found all over this area. A small pot full of lead coins of the Ikshvaku had also been recovered. The most interesting feature of the discoveries here, was the equipment of a goldsmith's shop, consisting of a touch-stone, weights, moulds and stone slabs etc. Eastern gateway of the citadel with two guard rooms built on the western slope of the rampart to north of gate. This gateway had got a nice lime concrete road, underground drain one on either side; and a postern on south. Square gaps on equal intervals in the walls on either side of the gateway possibly held on wooden pillars to support wooden super structure. It was being linked up with the Senapati Memorial outside by a vertical Trench G. Habitation area within the citadel (Barracks) near eastern gateway. Possibly a contingent of soldiers was stationed here to guard the tanks. Cisterns and small tubs, for feeding horses, were found. A big moonstone towards vertical trench F, and a gateway inside brick enclosure along the rampart were other outstanding features. Residential structures to south of rubble enclosure in the heart of a citadel. Aśvamedha and all attached or associated structures within the massive brick enclosure wall except Ikshvaku palace area. rubble enclosure (latter to north-west) drain etc. Eastern</td>
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extension of excavations revealed underground storage chamber. Square tubs and a room near the enclosure wall. Fragmentary pedestal of a possible statue of the king had been found. The area appeared to be the remains of perhaps the Ikshvāku palace. But unfortunately it had been completely destroyed by the farmers as the cultivation had been going on at this area till recently. Northern extension of this site also revealed underground rectangular chambers possibly used for storage or as spoil pits, as they contained large number of pottery dumps, terracotta figures, etc.

Structures to south of Aśvamedha recovering rectangular soak pit cistern for water, a stone and pestle etc. and a long brick wall behind towards Aśvamedha.

A rubble enclosure on north-west slope of Peddakundelugutta with an earlier tank below. This site also included the revetment in brick built on the northern slope of Peddakundelugutta, to stop erosion and falling of stones from the hill.

Western gateway of the citadel with side guard rooms inside. This site also included a strong plastered brick wall by the side of river to west of the gateway. It was further strengthened by rubble filling behind. It turned towards east in a zig-zag way and stone steps, flanked by a balustrade, lead towards river.

Temple-complex to north of western gateway but outside the citadel near later rubble enclosure. It consisted of an eighty-pillared hall, main entrance on east, a central square shrine with concrete flooring opposite the main entrance and two apsidal temples on west, two rectangular shrines at back by the side of each apsidal shrine.
Brick walls to south of Sarvadeva Temple outside the fortification wall, connected by vertical cutting C, across the defences.

Sarvadeva Temple outside the citadel near the northwestern corner bastion. This temple was probably double-storeyed. Inscribed pillars record the date of its construction during the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvula Chārīramulā. A mandapa towards further north still buried in river sand was also included in the same site.

An oblong tank near the fortification wall inside the citadel. It is nicely stepped and sloped. A drain was provided to north discharged from the bathroom into a brick soak tank. Soakage tank to the north of the structure brought to light shell objects such as bangles cut from finished shell pieces and a metal handle, a dagger or sword. This structure consisting of sloped channels and tubs provided a different level led to suggest that it was used for dyeing or colouring of certain objects and for manufacturing ornaments for the royal family.

A rectangular brick platform with thick lime concrete flooring to east of the bath mentioned above.

A later structure in rubble overlying the Ikṣvāku structures on foot of Chinnakundelugutta. It consisted of rooms, streets, northern main entrance, the whole complex was enclosed by a long rubble wall running over the hill on south. Ikṣvāku building below had nicely paved participations drains, well, and bathing tank with side mandapa. An outstanding feature was a long retaining wall at the foot of the hill to catch water coming down from the hill during rain and to store it into a rectangular tank built on a natural depression in the natural rock. To north of the tank, was a spacious slab flooring enclosed by a drain which is probably meant to carry off
superfluous water towards further north, and throw it into a soak pit. Another lime-concrete flooring had been found to the north-east of the tank and another slab flooring sealed by post Ikshvāku rubble wall, lay on further east adjoining a rectangular stepped cistern having a brick flooring above. The whole complex appeared to be a large scale industrial unit, most probably meant for washing and dyeing garments of the Royal family.

The postern in the northern defences of the citadel, with a guard-room inside. The area to south of the Postern was full of residential structures inside the citadel. The houses had yielded nice terracottas and some Śankhas.

A complete Buddhist unit consisting of a stūpa, a three-winged vihāra each having three cells and a square shrine in centre containing a Buddha figure inside. The unit was enclosed by a rubble wall.

A complete and attractive unit consisting of an eight-spoked stūpa, four-winged vihāra, a nine-pillared mandapa and Buddha-chaitya from where an inscribed figure of Kumāranāndi set up during the twenty-fourth regnal year of Dhruva Chārintamūla. Eight votive stūpas were also added around the main stūpa.

A twelve-pillared hall to south-west of Site 45. A small chamber or an entrance hall was probably built on east. A stone gargoyle from the roof was fallen to south. It also appeared to have been enclosed by a rubble wall.

A four-spoked stūpa (14'6" diameter) with a wing of vihāra one opposite to stūpa having five cells was located opposite to Dhārinī Vihāra by roadside. A gold coin was found at this site. Structure almost on ground.
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Behind the above site towards south. Here remains of only two small brick walls and rubble wall on a higher level, existed. A habitation area.

A rubble wall and a piece of brick wall without any plan, residential structures to the south-east of Site 108.

A small four-winged mandapa, possibly a shrine for an oblong stone appearing like a linga lying by the side of it. A lime tub was built on north.

A thirty-six-pillared hall on roadside towards citadel. Here, white quartzite stones had been used as a filling for the floor.

Habitation area, full of rubble enclosures. Excavations yielded no brick structures. Houses were possibly made of perishable material. Only a small square shrine in brick was found towards south. The shrine had got an entrance towards south and is enclosed by a rubble wall.

Memorial pillars within rubble enclosures to north-east of citadel.

A sixteen-pillared mandapa (below Mahiśāsaka hill) (behind NK (V) III) enclosed by a rubble wall. A gargoyle in limestone was fallen from the roof on south.

A habitational rubble wall area.

Three-winged vihāra, below Mahiśāsaka unit towards south, within a rubble habitation area, two-wings of the vihāra consist of five cells and the middle one had got six cells.

Rubble enclosure walls, a habitation area to south-east of Mahiśāsaka Vihāra on a lower countour.

Structures to south-east of the Site 15. The site consisted of a rectangular rubble enclosure partitioned by another cross wall. Northern
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portion had got a rubble stūpa base and a small brick stūpa while the southern portion contains two detached chambers.

A wing of four brick rooms to south of Nāgārjuna hill on slope, by the side of road from Mahiśāsaka to Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple. A front verandah and a courtyard had been provided to these rooms on north. Two spacious rubble walls were also built in the same site to west.

Rubble rooms by the side of road on slope on Nāgārjuna hill behind Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple.

A twelve-pillared mandapa behind the tank-dock

The imposing dock reservoir with under stepped banks on all sides with a gap on the north-east corner.

Area between Pushpabhadrāsvāmi Temple (Site 124) and the brick reservoir yielding rubble retaining walls and animal bones below.

Rubble enclosures for residential buildings for common man to north-west of Site 6 Habitation area.

Leading to river on way to ‘Royal Burning Ghāt’ to the west of the cyclopean rubble bastion.

The Royal Burning Ghāt. It consisted of a mandapa nicely paved with slabs and with three jars found in situ. An effigy of a princess unearthed from this site was worthy of note and led to the identification of this structure.

The Royal Burning Ghāt. This area fell on north east of the Burning Ghāt mentioned above right on the river bank. It consisted of a spacious forty-eight-pillared mandapa paved with slabs, benches and seats and steps leading to the mandapa from slope of the hill above. Some structures are at
a higher level attached to the mandapa were also built on the slope of the hill. The mandapa yielded lingas. The inscribed sculptured figure was found near this mandapa. An inscription below this figure recorded that it was made for the benefit of the lady (wife of Mahārājaśri) Ehuvaḷa Chāmtamūla for vouchsafing non-widowhood and for longevity of the children. Probably, it was kept at the ghāṭ after the loss of some child.
Western part of the Nāgarjunakonda valley, before full excavation, showing the defence cuttings of the citadel at A, B & C in progress. The Pedda and Chinna Kundelugutta hillocks are seen with the Krishna river to the extreme right rear ground.
A. Citadel-cutting across the defences, showing the older mud-rampart, its rubble revetments and the later brick rampart. The bed rock is below in the trench.

B. Site 36: Chhāya stānibha (inscribed) of 'Chāntapūla' (early to middle period, as shown by the stratigraphic position)
A. Site 122, the large brick-built Reservoir dock (Part) showing the promenade steps on the sides, with silt and sand layers overrunning them, in two stages (late period)

B. Site 34, showing heavy silting over the rubble reinforcements of the river bank
Site 122, section in the Dock-reservoir, showing muller-stones at the bottom of the tank and also the heavy silted deposits and debris of pillars in desertion phase.
A. Site 85, showing desertion debris of pottery and hearth in the late period in the habitation site of the city.

B. Site 85, showing pottery dump on loose rubble wall of late period 'desertion'.
A. Site 17, stadium, on the eastern part of the valley on the hill below

B. Site 17, stadium, closer view showing details of the flights of steps, the galleries and entrance, in the foreground of the site
A. Site 17, stadium, showing the drain outlet on the south-west corner of the pit of the stadium.

B. Site 48, part of the residential area, with rubble walls.
A. Site 119. Residential buildings within a brick enclosure wall

B. Krishna in floods, touching the top landing of the Ghat structure. In the foreground is the Pushpabhadravāmi Temple site.
A. Site 122, massive cusped inlet mouth of drain from the Nāgarjuna hill slope, discharging into the dock-reservoir southwards, with its prominent stepped flanks

B. Site 122, southern flank (citadel rampart behind it), showing the galleries and the promenade deck, besides pierced revetments on its rear
A. Site 122, western flank, with massive structural-complexes above the galleries. The gap in this dock-reservoir was located at north-west corner.

B. Site 122, skeletal remains of an elephant found at the bottom of the reservoir-dock, filled with silt and sand.
A. Site 122, showing north-west corner gap-making it a dock-tank

B. Site 70, rectangular water cistern, plastered on brick, with a rubble enclosure and a jar in situ within
A. Site 80 (Ranga-Mandalap) showing the two enclosure gates, inner hall, rear stage room and side entrance to the stage.

B. Structural phase of the citadel wall
Citadel of Vijayapuri—cutting across the defence wall, showing the moat also (where the man on the ladder is located)
A. Site 93, Aśvamedha Site before excavation

B. Site 93, Aśvamedha 'Avabhrita Tank' with its debris
A. Site 93, Aśvamedha Tank—another view during excavation, showing its desertion filling

B. Site 93, long drain brick-built, from 'Avabhrita' Tank, with inspection chamber, at the turning point
A. Site 93, showing drain of Asvamedha Site emerging towards the river (to the west of the citadel) over the natural rocky surface

B. Site 93, rectangular brick structures (chiti)—connected with the 'Karma-chiti
A. Site 96, western gateway of the citadel with Asvamedha. Site on the left background.

B. Site 96, citadel area, well slab-paved and balustraded, stepped-landing, leading to the river bank (late period).
A. Site 90, eastern gateway, one of the passages

B. Site 90, eastern gateway
A. Site 104, postern gate (indicated by the man, during excavation) on the northern side of the citadel.

B. Site 104, postern gate, after excavation.
A. Site 102, general view of the residential unit

B. Site 102. outer enclosure wall, on plan, on the slopes of the Chinnakundelugutta hill
A. Site 102, residential buildings at the foot of the Chinnakundelugutta

B. Site 102, outer enclosure rubble wall of 'Palace-complex'
A. Site 102, 'palace-complex' inside the citadel: showing several phases of structural activity

B. Site 102, structure on the 'palace-complex' in the citadel.
A. Site 102, brick platform to the west of the residential unit

B. Site 91, rectangular hall inside the enclosure and provided with a moonstone
A. Site 103, rubble enclosure (south of the Site 102) which gave the memorial pillar

B. Site 100, series of tubs and cisterns of brick and plaster, inside the citadel
A. Site 100, details of masonry western cistern, with steps and landing

B. Site 100, showing deep brick-lined cistern with drain leading into it
A. Site 94, citadel area, set of two cisterns with plastered flooring and enclosure walls

B. Site 94, water tub, with paved floor around the top landing and pottery vessels in situ, within the citadel
A. Site 102, bath and a water cistern and a possible pavilion (by the post-holes adjoining it)

B. Site 70, citadel area, small rectangular tub, with a cistern, further off, of plastered walls, early phase
Site 70 A, rectangular tub or cistern with stepped sides
PLATE XXIX

B. Site 34, general view of the Gahal, in two wings, the main upper one and the (dry season) lower one, late period I. A. Site 70-A, citadel, barrack area, medium-sized tank, with stepped entrance on the east side.
Site 34, view of the lower (and relatively earlier) Ghāt abutting against the nose of Nāgārjuna hill
Site 19, public bath on the shoulder of the Phirangpura hill, with outer compound wall
A. Site 19, public bath, section showing two clear phases of structural activity

B. Site 19, another view of the public bath, with outer and inner cisterns
A. Site 19, detailed view of the public bath, with passage around.

Site 19, second phase temple brought on the public bath, with its enclosure wall.
A. Site 19, another view showing the later temple with approach and front hall.

B. Site 49 A, rubble embankment of the Ikshvaku period canal leading to Site 19.
A. Site 64, brick-built tank outside the Yaksha Temples, before excavation

B. Site 29, Ashtabahujaśvāmi Temple, showing right background
Site 57: square stepped-tank in the premises of the Kartikeya Temple
A. Site 74, row of four rooms (brick-built) with a front verandah

B. Site 74, large hall and rubble-built wings of rooms.
A. Site 58, find of a pot containing jewellery

B. Site 89 A, pot containing coins of Ikshvaku period, inside the Goldsmith's workshop-complex
A. Site 89 A, excavated remains of crucibles etc., inside the Goldsmith's workshop

B. Site 89 A, rectangular slab, platform floored with slabs and a soakage-pit just outside it, enclosed by rubble walls, in the Goldsmith's workshop complex
A. Site 89 A, general view of the Goldsmith's workshop-complex during excavation

B. Site 15, sculptor's workshop
A. Site 15, closer view of the sculptor's workshop with broken Buddha torso

B. Site 15, fragments of sculptures of Buddha etc., found outside a room in sculptor's workshop
A. Site 36, 12-pillared pavilion with a brick enclosure, representing the ivory and shell-worker's shop

B. Site 36, ivory combs found at the site

C. Site 36, ivory objects found at the site
A. Site 32, brick kiln site

B. Site 18 A, circular lime-kiln, with openings for inserting wooden fuel
A. Site 87, general view showing another rubble enclosure wall adjacent to the site (foreground)

B. Site 87, view of the central brick platform with rubble wall enclosure to the site
A. Site 37, Scythian warrior depicted on one of the pillars of the site (now in Museum)

B. Sculpture (now in Museum) showing a bathing scene of contemporary residential area of Vijayapuri, in the cistern type
A. Site 111, 36 pillared-hall

B. Site 18, 40 pillared-mandapa, with rubble flooring and rubble enclosure wall, early period
A. Site 88, technique of planting heavy pillars in mandapa structures

B. Site 50, 16-pillared-mandapa
A. Site 70, view of the 30-pillared pavilion with brick enclosure wall and front verandah

B. Site 114, pillared-hall below Mahiṣāsaka monastic-complex
A. Site 91, portion of a residential area with drainage line, covered with slabs.

B. Site 93, irregular slab-covered drain of early phase occurring well below the brick phase of later phase.
A. Site 89 A, open drain with rubble and slab blocks in the residential area adjoining Goldsmith's workshop.

B. A view of Giridurga with bastions, medieval Durgamkonda hill.
Site 1, Mahā-chaitya—showing the later stages of flooring
A. Site 3, University area, of the earlier excavation

B. Site 3, details of the stupa and Buddha-chaitya in the University area
Site 32 A, results of the excavations, view of drainage line and soak pit round the area
A. Site 4, Buddha-chhāitya with fallen Buddha image from its pedestal, in the vihara-complex

B. Site 5, showing two stages of construction in the foreground and the pillared-hall of monastery in the rear ground
A. Site 6, Eight celled vihāra with its fragmented outer wall in mid-background, with entrance indicated by man standing

B. Site 9, view of the 16-pillared hall (Later phase)
A. Site 9, stupa-complex showing the foundational rubble packing, fallen ayaka pillars and the entrance porch

B. Site 9, full view from Peddakundelugutta hill of the vihara-complex, chaitya and votive stupas
A. Site 10, four-winged vihāra site (middle phase) without the central pillared mandapa.

B. Site 14, showing two phases of establishment of the stupa, for arriving at the central hub position.
A. Site 17, stadium and Hārti Temple on the Phragimota hill, (before excavation)

B. Site 17, Hārti Temple above the stadium site showing the torso of the goddess in situ
A. Site 20, rubble stūpa with brick ayaka platform and enclosure wall

B. Site 21, 8-spoked brick stūpa (middle phase) showing pot offerings on the inner side of the tyre, at the time of conservation
A. Site 21, vihāra wing (late phase) after excavation

B. Site 24, circular structure at the corner of the vihāra-complex, well paved with slabs and entrance decorated with moonstone and pūrṇaghaṭa uprights on the flanks, late period
A. Site 24, two stages of use, middle and late phases of monastic wing with pots in situ on the middle phase floor.

B. Site 24, showing the well plastered stupa exterior wall of the middle phase.
A. Site 26, stūpa-chāitya of brick with enclosure wall, in two stages of construction, middle phase

B. Site 28, two winged-vihāra, with a pillarless central space, probably of perishable materials
A. Site 38, brick vihāra, with a small Buddhapāla slab inside a cell along with a pot also at the same floor level, slab floor of later phase is seen in the background

B. Site 51, Buddha Chaitya and fragmented enclosure wall (Both without foundations)—late phase
A. Site 54, four-spoked stūpa with enclosure wall and corner ledge platform for offerings, chaitya and vihara are also seen in the rear ground.

B. Site 85, hill monastery, general view.
A. Site 85, showing two structural phases-middle period

B. Site 85, view showing destruction of the earlier phase, towards the north-west corner
A. Site 85, view showing verandah towards the east, in two distinctive phases, middle period

B. Site 106, view during excavation of the Dharini Vihara, its stupa-complex and chaitya hall, with carved and inscribed frieze slab (foreground), late period
A. Site 106, Dhārini Vihāra, general view

B. Site 106, Buddha-chaitya with carved, inscribed frieze, caused by Kumāranandī, Late period
A. Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, general view after excavation.

B. Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, brick staircase on the southern end of the mandapa.
A. Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, steps leading to the main hall

B. Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, main hall of paved slabs
A. Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, shrine chamber and steps with section showing two phases of activity

B. Site 99, Sarvadeva Temple, gold plated and silver ritual vessels of the temple.
A. Site 97, pillared-mandapa

B. Site 82, general view of Kārttikeya Temple during excavation
A. Site 82, Kārttikeya Temple, pebble packing of the interior floor, with brick shrine chamber and pillared-hall in the rear background.

B. Site 82: residential wings in the Kārttikeya Temple.
A. Site 82, stone image of Kārttikeya from the site and another head

B. Site 83, apsidal shrine with the pillared-hall and underground chamber
A. Site 83, underground passage with brickwalls and floor
B. Site 78, main entrance on the east of the temple complex
Site 78, well to the west of the temple-complex
Site 78, apsidal temple with the pillared-hall in front
A. Site 78, sculptured panels showing frieze of animals and fish belonging to the coping of the plinth railing

B. Torso of Gāṅgā image

C. Dwarf and other gryphon figures

D. Site 78, medallion showing figures of wrestlers and gana
A. Site 78, standing pedestals around the mandapa

B. Site 78, octagonal plinth for the base of one of the subsidiary sub-shrines
A. Site 78, chatussála or residential apartments to the south of the temple-complex

B. Site 78, lime pot kept on the floor of the earlier phase, perhaps as part of the maintenance of the structure
A. Site 84, rectangular shrine-chamber in the complex

B. Site 39, Devasena Temple with its pillared-hall, double brick enclosure and main entrance porch
Fig. 39. Another view of the Devarana Temple, showing its elaborate layout.
A. Site 39. Devasena Temple, find spot of the stone plaque of Devasena

B. Site 39, details of Devasena image
A. Site 29. Ashtabujasvami Temple-complex pillared-hall series

B. Site 29. Ashtabujasvami Temple-complex with rear enclosure wall, late phase
A. Site 29, Asṭabhujasvāmi Temple, general view during excavation, showing the elliptical temple tank in the middle ground, right

B. Site 29, Asṭabhujasvāmi Temple, apsidal shrine with moonstone entrance for its 16-pillared front hall
A. Site 29, Ashtabhujaasvami Temple, massive rubble enclosures and ruined pillars

B. Site 29, Ashtabhujaasvami Temple, inscription of Abhira Vasushena on the pedestal (fragmented) referring to the installation on it of the wooden image of Ashtabhujaasvami
A. Site 29, Ashtabhujaśvāmī Temple, elaborately carved, fallen pillars

B. Site 29, Ashtabhujaśvāmī Temple, another highly decorated fallen pillar on the working level of the temple, overlain by silt and sand deposit of Krishna, close-by
Site 29. Ashtubhujasvami Temple. Ikshvaku coins discovered at the site during excavation.
A. Site 29, Ashtabhujaśvāmī Temple, rectangular burial site near-by

B. Site 34, Pushpavahadrasvāmī Temple complex, general view during excavation, inscribed pillar is seen on the foreground
A. Site 34, Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple, apsidal main shrine, paved slabs and apsidal array of pillar stumps

B. Site 34, Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple, sub-shrine chamber
Site 35, Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple, general view of brick temple and pillared-hall
A. Site 77, Temple of Kārttikeya to the north of Pushpabhadrasvāmi Temple

Site 57, Kārttikeya Temple, view of the pedestalled-chambers
Site 57. Kāṛtikeya Temple, broken image fragments of Kāṛtikeya
A. Site 64, Yaksha (Kubera) Temple, general view of entrance structure

B. Site 64, Yaksha Temple, 100-pillared mandapa
A. Site 64, Yaksha Temple, bust of Yaksha recovered during excavation

B. Site 64, Yaksha Temple, dwarf figure

C. Site 64, Yaksha Temple, fragmentary hands, one of them holding a nāga

D. Site 64, Yaksha Temple, fragment of Yaksha image
Site 64, Yaksha Temple, compound wall and the tank, in the background
A. Site 64, Yaksha (Kubera) Temple, showing pots of pre-structural phase

B. Site 64. Kubera Temple-complex, pots in pre-structural phase, with a coeval drain
A. Site 93, Aśvamedha Site, kārma chiti kūnda

B. Site 93, Aśvamedha Site, skeleton of a horse found for the Upasaviṇēśana ritual
A. Site 126, flight of steps from the hill fort to the Royal Burning Ghāt

B. Site 126, shrine of Nodagīśvarasvāmī Temple
Site 126, inscribed dhvajastambha of Nodagiswaraswami Temple
A. Site 126. Royal Burning Ghāt-complex. Stela sculpture of a princess, below the stripped Cuddapah slab-flooring (middle period)

B. Site 12. Inscribed pottery from monastery reading 'Nakatara Vihāra'
Saka II (Mahi-chaitra), find spot of the relics
A. Crystal objects from the Stūpa 1 (Mahā-chaitiya)

B. Contents from the Caskets of Stūpa 1
A. Silver Casket, Stūpa 2

B. Gold Casket, Stūpa 2
A. Contents of Stūpa 2

B. Silver Casket, Stūpa 3
A. Gold Casket, Stūpa 3

B. Gold Casket, Stūpa 3
A. Earthen pot, Stūpa 4

B. Silver casket from Stūpa 4
A. Contents of Stūpa 4

B. Contents of Stūpa 5
A. Fragmentary Silver Casket, Stūpa 6

B. Gold Casket, Stūpa 6
A. Gold medallions

B. Contents of Stupa 6
A. Stone Casket, Stūpa 8

B. Casket, Stūpa 8 (in parts)
A. Casket, Stūpa 8

B. Contents, Stūpa 8
A. Casket and contents from Stūpa 8 A

B. Gold and Silver Caskets from Stūpa 9 A
Sketch of Nāgarjunakonda relic caskets
A. Crystal Casket from Bhattiprolu

B. Crystal Casket from Bhattiprolu
A. Crystal Casket from Bhattiprolu

B. Stone Caskets, Amaravati
A. Relic Casket, Sanchi

B. Crystal Casket from Salihundam
A. Terracotta cult figurine, female, standing, with arms raised and bent at the elbow
B. Terracotta cult figurine, male, standing with arms raised and bent at the elbow
C. Terracotta cult figurine, female, seated with arms held close around the belly
D. Terracotta cult figurine. Kauberi with 'money-bag' in right hand and child against the crook of the left elbow
A. Terracotta mithuna (or dampati) type figurines and devi with mirror in left hand (lower row, central figure)

B. Dampati or mithuna figure, front and back view.
A. Terracotta female cult figurines

B. Single mould cult figurine. (Vishnu Ashtabhuja-?)

C. Terracotta mother and child (monkey)
A. Terracotta animal figurines

B. Terracotta animal figurines
A. Detail of the rearing lion

B. Terracotta male and female cult figurine

C. Terracotta female head off 'exotic' classical Greko-Roman type
A. Terracotta heads, with Buddha-like clipped curly hair

B. Terracotta seated cult figurines (male and female)

C. Fertility cult figurines
A. Architectural piece of an ornate pillar with ribbed or fluted Kapista and floral decoration above.

B. Toy carts, open and covered.

C. Toy carts, open and covered.
A. Dabbers

B. Small tablets
A. Gold ornaments (5 numbers)

B. Deep bowls

C. Deep bowls

D. Deep bowls

E. Shallow bowls

F. Shallow bowls
A. Shallow bowls

B. Shallow bowls

C. Silver incense stand

D. Rim portion of a high-necked vessel

E. Embossed plate
A. Pestle of long truncated type

B. Pestle of dumb-bell type
A. Muller of cylindrical and circular section

B. Lower and upper stone rotary quern
A. Complete rotary quern

B. Dabbers
A. Pigment grinder

B. Pivot stones and pigment grinders
A. Mould (negative impression for positive stucco ornamentations)

B. Circular shrine chamber with pūrṇaghaṭa decoration
A. Copper finger rings

B. Ear ornaments, pendants, bangles and brooches
A. Antimony rods
B. Beads, chisels, nail and knife, handle.
C. Bells
A. Bronze statuette

B. Sword hilts and handles

C. Chakra

D. Miscellaneous handles with makara motifs
A. Inscribed conch for Asitaśabhujaśvāmi Temple

B. Uncut shells and couries

C. Uncut shells and couries

D. Uncut shells and couries
A. Nails

B. Nails and Reventments
A. Bobbin, saw and needles

B. Spoon and socket like object
A. Arrowheads

B. Spearheads
A. Roman coins

B. Imitated Roman coins and bullae covered with gold gilt

C. Sātavāhana coins

D. Sātavāhana coins
A. Lead coins of the Ikshvākus, Chāntamāla I

B. Lead coins of the Ikshvākus, Chāntamāla I

C. Lead coins of the Ikshvākus, Chāntamāla I
A. Lead coins of the Ikshvákus, Vira Purushadatta

B. Lead coins of the Ikshvákus, Vira Purushadatta

C. Lead coins of the Ikshvákus, Bhuvula Chāntamūla-II

D. Lead coins of the Ikshvákus, Bhuvula Chāntamūla-II
Ayaka pillar inscription of King Siri Vrapurisadata
Ayaka pillar inscription of the reign of Siri Virapurisadata
Ayaka pillar inscription of the reign of Siri Virapurisadatta
Ayaka pillar inscription of the regin of Siri Virapurisadata
Ayaka pillar inscription of the reign of Vira Purisadata
Ayaka pillar inscription of the reign of King Siri Virapurisadata
Prākrit inscription from a Buddhist Site at Nāgārjunakonda
Second Apsidal Temple inscription from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunakonda
Präkrit inscription from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunakonda
Prakrit inscription from a Buddhist Site at Nagārjunakonda
Āyaka pillar inscription, of the regin of Siri Ehuvula Chatamula
Ayaka pillar inscription, of regio of Sīrī-Ebuvula Chatamīla
Memorial pillar inscription
Additional prakrit pillar inscription from Nāgarjunakonda
Additional prakrit pillar inscription from Nāgārjunakonda
Additional prakrit pillar inscription from Nāgarjunakonda
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Additional prakrit pillar inscription from Nāgarjunakonda
Additional präkrit pillar inscription from Nāgarjunakopḍa
Additional prakrit pillar inscription from Nagarjunakonda
Additional prakrit pillar inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda
Inscription of the time of Ehuvula Chántamulu year 16